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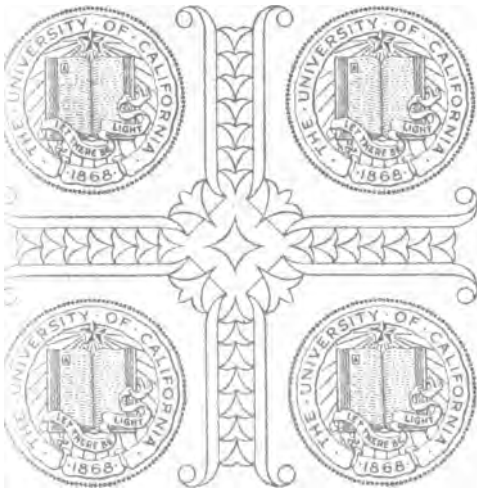
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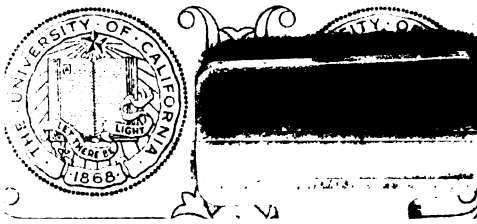




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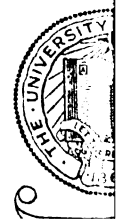
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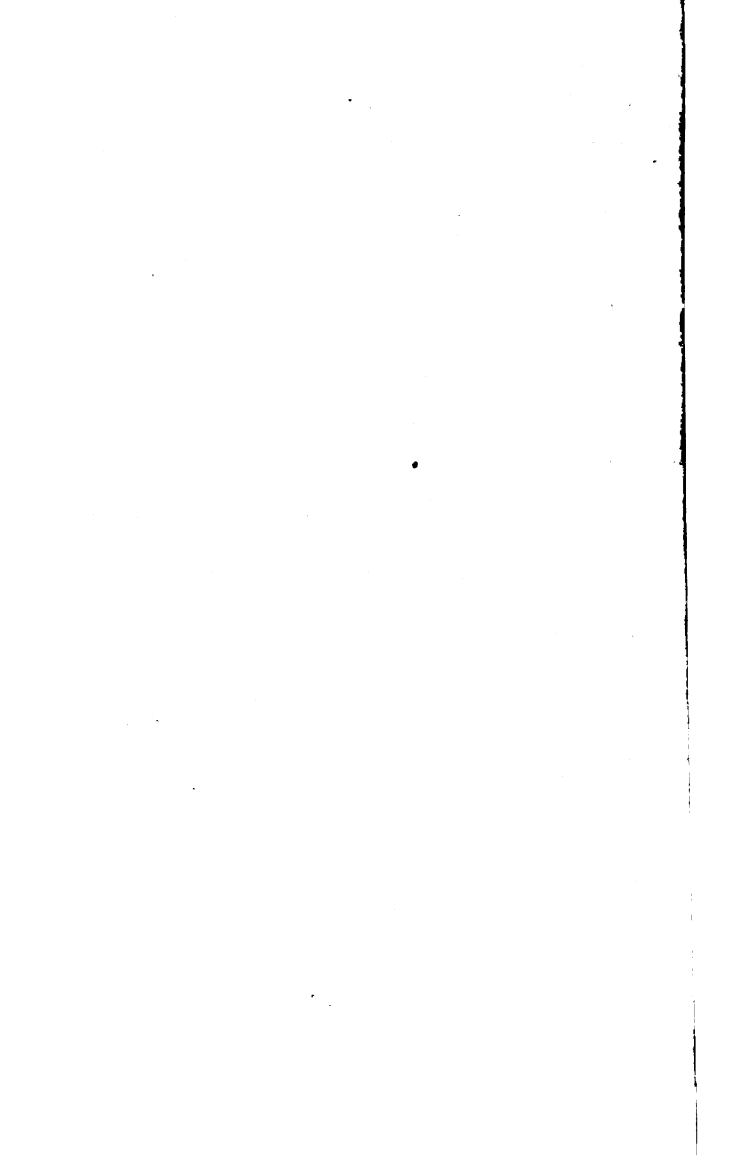


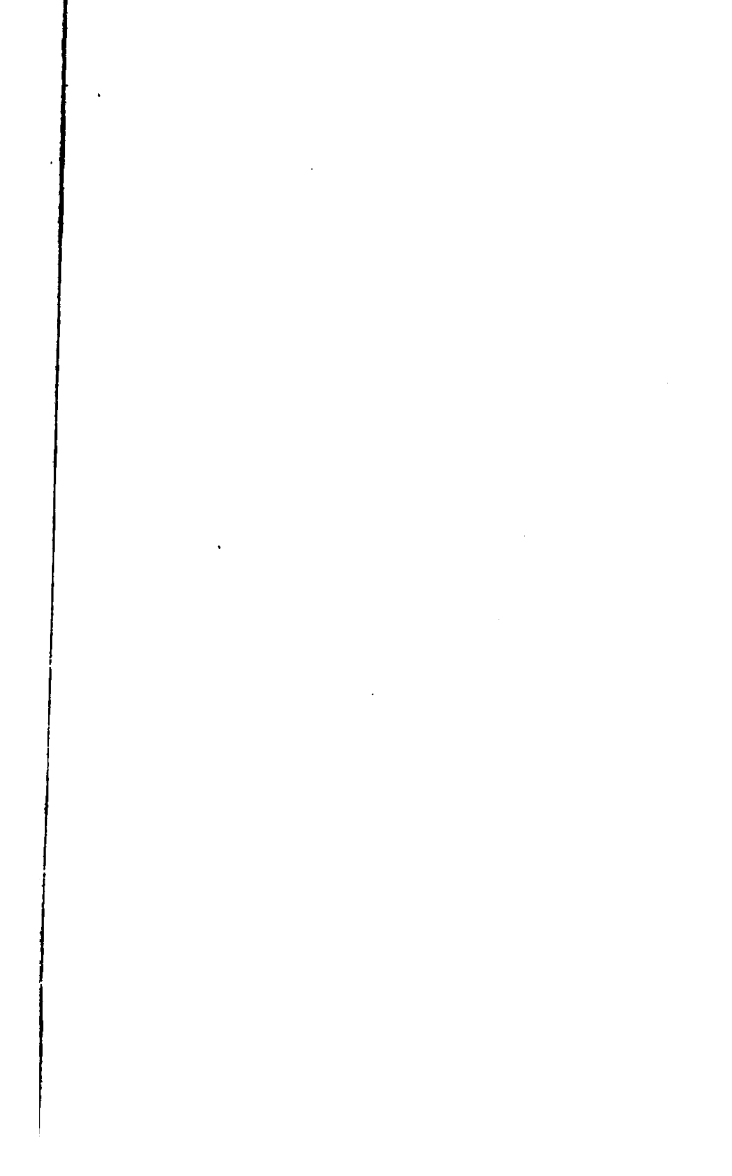
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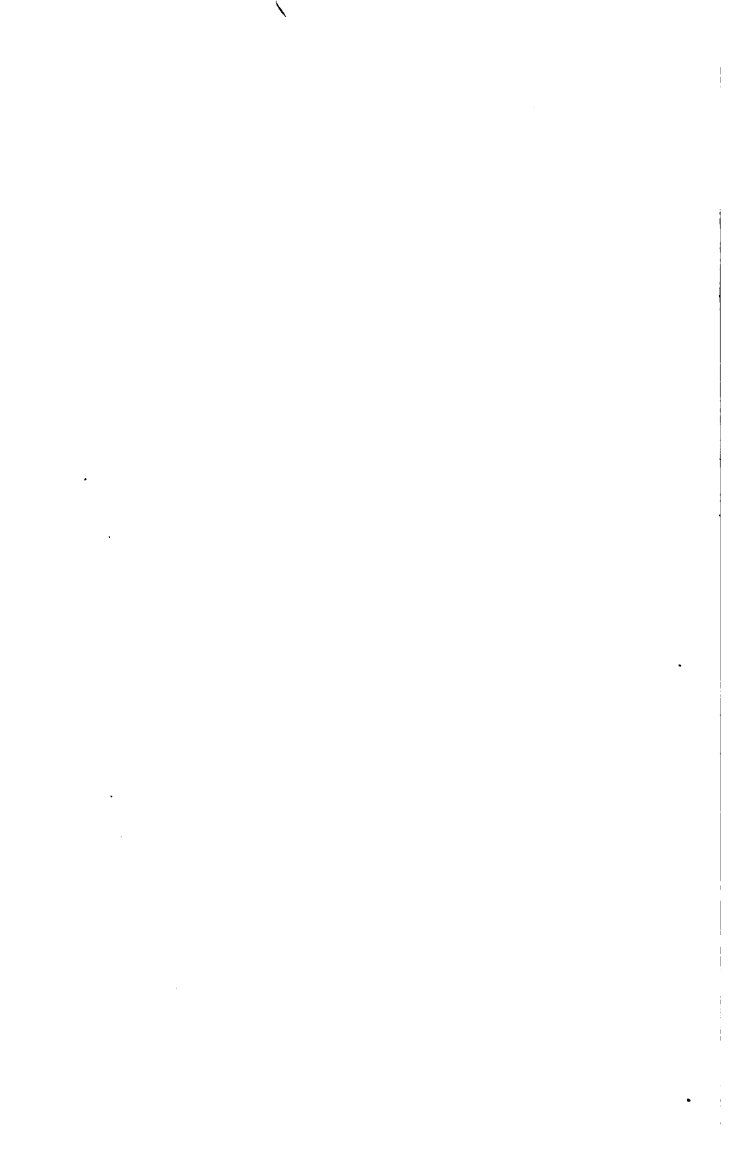


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THE HISTORY
OF THE
ACHAEAN LEAGUE



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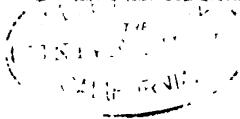
AS CONTAINED IN THE REMAINS OF
POLYBIUS

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

W. W. CAPES, M.A.

SOMETIME READER IN ANCIENT HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY
OF OXFORD, AND FELLOW AND TUTOR OF QUEEN'S
AND HERTFORD COLLEGES.



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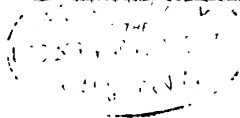
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INTRODUCTION.

(1) THE AUTHOR AND HIS WORK.

THE following selections from the great work of Polybius include nearly all the fragments that survive of what he wrote about the history of the Achaean League. Our knowledge of the period with which they deal is in great measure derived either from these fragments, or from what Livy transferred from the complete work to his own pages, together with some incidental notices in other writers.

The best days of Greece were over long ago: the language like the genius of the race seemed already in decline, and we may vainly look for the literary finish and the brilliant pictures which meet us in the earlier history of Greece. But there is no lack of interest in the subject. We may watch the old republics raise themselves again after an age of degradation and disorder, and assert their right to independence with a decision and a dignity which had been long forgotten; we may study the strength

and weakness of federal institutions in the successive stages of the League's progress and decline, till the subtle policy and overbearing force of Rome wrecked the last hopes of her patriotic statesmen. We see how in each act of the drama the horizon widens beyond the narrow limits of old Greece: how national development is modified at every turn by interacting agencies beyond, and the thoughts of men grow larger with the experience of life, till the conception of history expands, as in the treatment of Polybius himself, to an encyclopaedic view of the movement of events throughout the civilized world. The historian enjoyed exceptional advantages to qualify him for so large a work, and had spared no pains to turn them to a good account. As a son of Lycortas who was one of the foremost statesmen of the League he gained in early years an insight into the conduct of affairs in Greece, while the lessons of diplomacy and statecraft carried with them also intimate acquaintance with the policy of Eastern Courts. His military training passed under the eyes of Philopoemen, whose ashes were carried by him in the funeral urn, and he thus acquired the knowledge of technical details which is shewn in his accounts of the Roman warfare and other special points of tactics, such as that of fire-signals in regard to which he speaks with some authority as an inventor. When Rome in the stronghanded assertion of brute force stripped the Union of all the flower of experience

and loyal service in her sons, Polybius forfeited his freedom like the other exiles, but unlike the rest who pined in the dulness of the country towns of Italy, he was permitted to reside at the Capital, where the lucky accident of a passing correspondence on some literary question with P. Aemilius gained him admission to the homes of some of the noblest families of Rome and enabled him to live in close relations with the future conqueror of Carthage. Thanks to the influence of such powerful connections he could gather, even in the Archives of the State, materials for his great work, while he held familiar intercourse with the statesmen and the generals who had largely helped to make the history of their times. Taking part in the campaigns of Scipio he travelled widely in the west of Europe, and surveyed the towns, the battlefields and mountain passes of which he was afterwards to write. Meantime he had no lack of leisure for the literary studies which are reflected in his books, and the names of historians, chronologists and poets to be met with in his pages bear witness to the wide range of his interests and reading. Though privileged to return home with the rest after seventeen years of exile, he soon rejoined Scipio in the last Punic War, and stood by his side when Carthage fell, while his countrymen in Greece excited by the wild talk of a few fanatics dashed themselves in an explosion of ineffectual fury on the overpowering force of Rome. He came back to find

the struggle over, Corinth destroyed, and the hopes of the Greek patriots humbled to the dust. It remained only to settle the terms of their submission. Here the influence of Polybius served his country in good stead. In the communities into which the Union was now resolved constitutional changes were required to bring them into harmony with the governing ideas of Rome. The unique experience and divided sympathies of Polybius were used to carry out the work. In the best days of the Achaean League the powers of government were chiefly in the hands of men of means and leisure, who could attend the federal councils at a distance from their homes, and like the foremost statesmen of the Union Polybius was of aristocratic temper. Though he wrote complacently about democracy, he spoke with scorn of the noisy demagogues and mob-rule of the closing scenes of independence, and was ready enough to devise checks and limitations, and vest in more cautious hands such powers of home-rule as were still left. That task was done with tact and moderation, and his grateful countrymen were not sparing in their thanks. With that his active career in public life was over, but the scheme of universal history which he designed was large enough to occupy all that remained to him of life and strength. His plan, as it was first sketched, had been to tell the full story of the three and fifty years in which Rome had struck down one after another of the rivals who ventured to

cross swords with her, till in 167 B.C. she ruled, as it seemed, over an almost world-wide empire. The scene was to shift from land to land, as the various threads of distinct national histories were separately traced, so that the synchronisms of each might be brought clearly into view. Two books by way of introduction served to describe the course of earlier events in the relations between Rome and Carthage and in the growth of the Achæan League: thus explaining the balance of powers and the strength of the conflicting forces at the beginning of the period in question. Much of this, it would appear, had been already written, while the materials were collected during his residence at Rome or in the course of his extended travels. But while he was still engaged upon the work the original design was much enlarged, and a passage at the beginning of the third book explains that it was now his purpose to carry on the narrative to the year when Carthage fell and the Union was dismembered. This was an afterthought indeed, introduced probably when the work was far advanced, for some expressions in the following books point certainly to earlier authorship when Greece enjoyed at least some show of independence. The great work was now to spread over forty books; passages here and there imply that they were written many years afterwards, perhaps even as late in one case as 121 B.C., but he did not live to bring the last book to a close, and the concluding lines were added by a later hand.

The design itself was large and bold: one main object was to justify the ways of Providence, which had guided the march of events in Rome's career of conquest, by dwelling on the action of the moral causes, the public spirit and the sturdy virtues to which the great achievements had been due. It was to be no mere pleasant tale for idle readers, garnished with supernatural marvels, or with the legendary lore which seems wholly childish to him, except so far as it may serve perhaps to deepen the spirit of religion in uneducated minds, but he would write a sober narrative of the real facts of social life (*πραγματική*), such as earnest men might profit by, to guide their actions or mature their judgments. Truth was of primary importance: critical research was largely needed to ensure an accurate record of events: clear and definite outlines mattered far more than graces of style or flowers of fancy, since serious instruction was the one thing aimed at. The history was to be scientific (*ἀποδεικτική*) and explain the causal nexus of events, by tracing them back to antecedent changes, of which they were the natural outcome. It was to be widely comprehensive (*καθολική*) in its survey, not confined to the doings of a single people, though all the separate scenes were to be brought at times into relation with the one central figure of the Roman Empire. As the stage of the great drama was so wide more than common care would be required to fix with precision the details of time and space. As regards

the latter he read much and travelled widely, and local descriptions fill a large place in his pages, but he was well aware that he might err at times, like the earlier writers whom he criticises freely : in one place even he invites his readers to let him know at once of any mistakes which they may be able to correct. There was peculiar difficulty in determining the dates in the presence of the varying official systems, which reckoned from quite different eras, and had distinct limits for their civil year. Polybius however consulted the chief writers on chronology, and paused often in his narrative to mark the turning points of contemporary movements.

His conception of history, it may be seen, was very high and just : in his execution of it undoubtedly there were sterling merits, but there were also grave defects.

He was certainly truth loving and conscientious, clear sighted and large minded : unusually dispassionate and free from inconsistencies and national or party bias ; but he was strangely blind to the failings of Aratus, and ungenerous to the memory of Cleomenes ; there is some reason to believe that his unlovely pictures of the Aetolian character were too highly coloured ; and his Roman sympathies seem at times to check his criticism or cloud his judgment. His conception of a moral government of the world in which an all-ruling Providence disposes all things for the best, held by him as it was apparently as part of

the Stoic creed, rose to the highest religious level of his age, but yet there is something which must jar upon us in his attitude towards the popular beliefs, which he would sanction, childish as they seem to him, because they help by their machinery of mystery and terror to control and discipline men's lawless passions, and he has too little respect for average human nature to trust to the finer motives of a cultivated mind. When he had to travel over the same ground as earlier writers less accurate or less gifted than himself, some adverse comments might be naturally expected, but it was not needful to expose their errors at such length or in so acrimonious a spirit, and with such confident assumption of superior merit, as is too frequently the case in his treatment of authors like Phylarchus, Theopompus and Timaeus. Painstaking and laborious in the use of his materials he seems to have neglected no source of evidence that was available, whether oral, literary, or monumental, and to have illustrated various sides of national life, but he did not spare his readers repetitions that might have been avoided, digressions which are sometimes unduly long, and elaborate explanations which one terse phrase might have replaced. In his narrative there is no confusion or obscurity: no straining for effect: little in the way of rhetorical scene painting or imaginary speeches, but we may get impatient when he lectures us so often on his principles and methods, and tells us how useful we may find his

pages. The narrative has certainly a scientific value : the facts are carefully ascertained and clearly marshalled : the reasoning is logical and lucid ; but we could wish sometimes that the lessons were not made so obtrusive, or arranged with such recurring formulæ of technical expression. The style itself is often monotonous and dull, and with all his respect for the author's candour and research the reader may grow weary now and then of long trailing inharmonious periods, disfigured by cumbrous compounds, and pleonastic phrases.

But the style of Polybius cannot be fairly judged without entering into more details as to the state of the language which was current in his age in Greece, and the extent to which it was coloured by his own idiosyncrasies of thought and taste. There is this difficulty to be faced at the outset in dealing with the subject that little else of the same period remains with which we may compare his diction : contemporary authors have been lost, and we are thrown back on the evidence of the monumental language of the times, which scanty as it is seems to point to an official style of the same type, though used in different regions, and bearing some general likeness to that of the historian. But conclusions from such meagre premises must be drawn with caution.

Some changes indeed had come naturally in the lapse of time.

1. The language had grown more analytical : the

rich variety of the inflexions was becoming less significant as the use of the prepositions was extended, and more of the elements of each complex thought found separate words to represent them.

2. It had become more abstract also: the processes of cool reflexion had added to the stock of general terms which implied deliberate comparison and conscious thought more than dramatic action or vivacity of feeling.

3. The stock of technical expressions too was larger: the forms of scientific thought, phrases of ethics or of mathematics, naval or military terms, flowed naturally from the pen, and spoke more to the reason, though they might be chilling to the fancy or the taste.

4. Two processes of gradual change are always going on in every language: one by which words assume more general meanings: by another they become specialized in narrower senses than before. Both of these of course had been at work in Greek, and when we pass immediately from the classical models of the Attic dialect to the writings of the 2nd century B.C. we must be prepared for many unfamiliar uses.

5. The earlier literature again had commonly preserved in separate works the distinct types of various local dialects: the Attic in particular had been sharpened for the use of the Athenian writers into an instrument of remarkable keenness and pre-

cision. But in the days of Macedonian ascendancy the old boundary lines of national life grew fainter : soldiers of fortune, diplomatists and traders freely moved from place to place, and lost their fineness of ear for purity of speech, while some sort of official language was required for the uses of government and the intercourse of educated men. So a common dialect (*κοινή διάλεκτος*) grew up, the basis of which was Attic, but modified by elements which were drawn from various sources. Its language might well be somewhat shifting and uncertain, as there could be no definite standard to appeal to : in the text therefore of Polybius, when varying forms of the same word occur, we cannot tell if the variety is due to the author's caprice, or the copyist's mistakes, or to the want of fixity in the Common Dialect employed.

We may now proceed to illustrate the foregoing remarks from the pages of Polybius, but some of the examples offered are possibly peculiar to the writer, though they may be naturally referred to the general tendencies of the common language of the times¹.

(1) Of the words which are not found in the prose of the earlier historians many are purely technical, like the military or naval terms *κριοκοπεῖν*, *ἐναγώνιος πύκνωσις*, *ἐμβελές διάστημα*, *ἐξοδιασμός*, *παρεμβολή*, *ἐπάλληλος φάλαγξ*, *περικλᾶν ἐπὶ δόρυ*, *ἐπικάμπιος*, *καταπυκνοῦν*, *ἐκ παραβολῆς μάχεσθαι*, *ἐπικηρύτ-*

¹ Cf. Kälker, "De elocutione Polybiana," *Leipziger Studien*, III. 236. Krebs, *Die Präpositionen bei Polybius*.

τειν τὸ λάφυρον, ἐκπερισπασμός, ἔκταξις, πραξικοπεῖν, καταπέλτης, χειμασκέιν, ὀχυροποιεῖσθαι.

Others are imported from the philosophic schools, such as τὸ ὑποκείμενον, πρόβλημα, ἐνέργεια, προαίρεσις, ἀσυλλόγιστος, ἀπερίσπαστος, ἀδιαφορεῖν, ἀποδεικτική, ἀναπόδεικτος ἀπόφασις, ἀπαράγραφος ποσότης, κατόρθωμα, προκοπή.

Others are derived from various sources owing to the interchange of local idioms or the spread of foreign trade, such as βιωτικός, εὐκαιρεῖν, εὐχαριστεῖν, βουνός (cf. note on 2, 67, 1), αἰρετιστής, κανσία (4, 5, 5), βηματίζειν, σαρίσα, ἀργυράσπιδες, καθολικός; others are imitations of the Latin like ἐξαπέλεκτος (Praetor), ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς θάλασσα (mare nostrum), δοῦναι ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν πίστιν τινός (in fidem alicujus se tradere), νευροκοπεῖν τοὺς ἐλέφαντας (nervos incidere eleph.), ἀναχωρεῖν εἰς ἱμάτιον (redire ad togam), ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐμβόλους (rostra ascendere), μονομάχων ζεύγη (gladiatorum paria), βασιλικαὶ αἰτίαι (majestatis crimina).

(2) Many words have received a different shade of meaning, generalized in some cases, like αὐθέντης (from murderer to author), χορηγία (supplies of any kind), ὀψώνια, πρόσφατος (cf. note on 2, 46, 1), ἀπαντᾶν (happen), οἰκονομία (any arrangement).

Others have been specialized, such as διάφορον (money 4, 18, 8), βάρος (weight of purse 4, 32, 7), ἀποδοχή (friendly welcome cf. note on 2, 56 1), ἐπισημαίνεσθαι (approve or disapprove), καταφθορά (ravages

of war), σώματα (slaves 2, 62, 4), νέοι (soldiers), πράγματα (politics), πράξις (intrigue), περιστάσεις (troubles), προχειρίζεσθαι (elect), κίνδυνος (battle): to which class belong such euphemisms as πειρατής (pirate cf. note on 4, 3, 8), ὠφέλεια (plunder), ἄγνοια (guilt), or others changed in various ways like ῥύμη (street), φόβος (danger), ἀπώλεια and ἀόρατος in an active sense, βίος (substance), ἔθνος (federation), οἷός τε (inclined to), συλλογισμός (design), ἀξιωματικός (suppliant), κατὰ λόγον (as desired), φιλοτιμία (earnest effort), λαλεῖν and πανοῦργος (in good sense), ἀκροάματα (entertainers), διότι (equivalent to ὅτι).

So again transitive verbs become intransitive, as ἐπιμετρέειν, παρεμβάλλειν, ἀνατείνεσθαι, and vice versa σιτομετρεῖσθαι (cf. note on 4, 63, 10), παρασπονδεῖν, ξενολογεῖν, ἐπισημαίνεισθαι, πολυπραγμονεῖν, χορηγεῖν.

Simple words are replaced by their compounds without any apparent modification of the meaning, as ἀνθομολογεῖν, ἀποτολμᾶν, διαπορεῖν, διαπιστεύειν, συννπάρχειν, διανίσταναι, ἀποκαραδοκεῖν, παρολιγωρεῖν, προσερίσκειν, παραίτιος, ἔπις, ὑπεράνω, καταντικρύ.

(3) In another class of changes Attic forms are replaced by others scarcely known to the purer prose of the best times, as τέτευχε (τετύχηκε), εἶπα (-ον), ἀφιστάνειν (-αναι), ἐγενήθη (ἐγένετο), ἀπεκρίθη (ἀπεκρίνατο), ἀνείχετο (ἡνείχετο), αὐτις (αὐθις), αἰεῖ (ἀεὶ), δεῖν (διδῶν in masc.) ἀξιοχρέους (-ως), ὕπαιθρος (ὕπαιθριος), λεπτόγειον (-γέων), καθά (καθάπερ), δεικνύουσι (-ασι),

πρεσβεύειν (-εσθαι), δόξαι (-ειε), ἔπεσα and ἐλίπαμεν (cf. note on 4, 57, 1), ἱππέας (-εῖς).

4. The constructions again are often different from those of earlier days. There is a growing tendency to use the accusative more than the other cases, as the linguistic instinct becomes less sensitive. *ἵνα* is followed by the subjunctive after a past tense. Verbs like *ὀνειδίζειν* take *εἰς* with the object of remark. The dative case, instead of the genitive, is used with *ὑπό* as after *πραχθέντα*. *φροντίζειν* and *σπουδάζειν* and the like are coupled with *ἵνα* instead of *ὅπως*. The aor. inf. is found where Attic usage would require the fut. (cf. note on 2, 64, 5).

5. The prepositions take a more important place as the sense of the case meanings becomes less distinct, but *ἀμφί* has disappeared entirely from Polybius except in composition: *ἀνά* and *σύν* are rarely used, while *περί* and *ὑπέρ* become quite interchangeable. The frequent use of *ὑπό* and *ὑπέρ* with the acc. after a verb of rest, as *τάττεσθαι ὑπό τινα* or *κειμένην ὑπὲρ τὴν ὁδόν*: of *ἐν* to express size as *ἐν βραχεὶ διαστήματι εἶναι* (2, 66, 1) or a predicate notion as *ἐν χάριτι λαμβάνειν*, cf. note on 4, 6, 12: of *διά* instead of the Attic *ἐκ* with verbs like *σκοπεῖν*, *γινώσκειν*: of *ἐπὶ* in such phrases as *ἐπὶ γνώμης γίνεσθαι*: the extended use of *παρά* with both gen. and dat. after passive verbs, as also of *πρός* and *μετά* adverbially, belong to the later language. The vanishing *σύν* is replaced by

ὁμοῦ, ὁμόσε, ἀναμίξ, ἀντανδρί, as well as by the earlier equivalents *ἄμα* and *μετά*.

6. The later language also largely extends the use of adverbs in a prepositional sense, such as *ἄμα*, *δίχα*, *μέχρι*, *ἄχρι*, *ἕως*, *ἐγγύς*, *ἐνεκα*, *χάριν*, which are constantly recurring in our author. It further employs them with great frequency in constructions with the article and an infinitive, as *χάριν τοῦ λαμβάνειν*, *χωρίς τοῦ κομίσασθαι*, *ἄμα τῷ πλεῖν*. It likes to strengthen them with a preposition, either in composition as *συνεγγύς*, *ὑπεράνω*, *καταντίπεραν*, *ἀπέναντι*, *παραύτικα*, *ὑποκάτω*, or without as *μέχρι δεῦρο*, *μέχρις ὅτε*, *ἄχρι πρὸς*, *ἕως ἐπὶ*, *μακρὰν ἀπο*. Or it duplicates the preposition in a compound verb with an adverb of like meaning, as *συνεμβάλλειν ὁμόσε* (4, 16, 10), *συστρατοπεδεύειν ἄμα*. Again *χωρίς* takes much of the work of *ἄνευ*: *πέρα* of *παρά*: *ἔξω* of *ἐκ*: *μεταξύ* and *ἐξῆς* become very prominent: *πόρρω* disappears and *πλήσιον* is rare: *πρὸ τοῦ* appears for *πρίν*: *ὡς ἂν* replaces *ἄτε*: *ἀκμήν* stands for *ἔτι*, cf. note on 4, 10, 7: and for *τέως* we find a preposition and a case.

If we turn to what may seem the more special characteristics of our author's style we may first notice one which proves that if there are defects, they are not due to mere indifference to form or haste in composition. This is clear from the constant endeavour which he makes to avoid hiatus, and the various expedients which he resorts to for the purpose, thus:

a. When there are alternative forms of the same

word, the consonantal ending is always preferred before a vowel and the vowel ending before a consonant, e.g. μέχρι τίνος, μέχρ' οὗ: ἔνεκα (-εν): λάθρα (-αίως): ἄρτι (-ίως): δόξαι (-ειν): δείκνυαι (-ύειν): στάδια (-ους): εἶπα (-ον): ἔφη (-ησεν): ἄνω (-τερον).

b. Prepositions and prepositional adverbs are interchanged with the same case, as περί and ὑπέρ: ἔνεκα and χάριν: χωρίς and ἄνευ: or with change of case, ἐν μὲν τῷ πολέμῳ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν εἰρήνην.

c. The syllable περ is added or omitted without any change of meaning in ὅσπερ, διόπερ, ἐπείπερ, ἐπειδήπερ, ἥπερ.

d. Compounds are frequently used for the simple forms which begin with vowels, in precisely the same sense, when the preceding word ends with a vowel, e.g. κατάξιος, συνεγγύς, κατοικεῖν, προσανατρέχειν, καταρχή, παραίτιος, συνεπιστήσαι, προσαναλαμβάνειν.

e. Or vice versa simple verbs replace more usual compounds, as θνήσκειν for ἀποθνήσκειν.

f. Common, even favourite, forms of expression are modified to avoid hiatus;

ἄξιος λόγου becomes ἄξιος μνήμης,

ἐπὶ πολλοῦ χρόνου „ ἐπὶ πολλῶν χρόνων,

ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν „ τὴν ἡσ. ἄγειν,

δῆλον ὅτι „ δῆλον ὥς,

the substantive is omitted even in ἡ κατὰ πόδας ἡμέρα when a vowel follows, as τῇ κατὰ πόδας οἱ μὲν, while the article is dropped in the phrase παρὰ μικρὸν τοῦ when the infinitive begins with a vowel.

g. The usual order is inverted as in Ἰταλίας μεταξύ, αὐτῶν τὰ πράγματα, πάνν μετ' ὀλίγων : ἄμα and ἔνεκα are put between subst. and adj.

h. Needless words are inserted as in οὐ καθάπαξ ἐπέκεινα.

i. Less natural constructions are adopted. Thus κατὰ with the acc. is largely used for the simple gen. as ἡ κατὰ τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατολή for ἡ τοῦ ἡλ. ἀν. κατὰ ποσόν replaces the more common ἐπὶ ποσόν, ἀνὰ μέσον or μέσον even alone are put for μεταξύ. Different cases are combined with the same preposition in the same sense, as τὰ πρὸς θαλάττη καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν μεσόγειον ἡσφαλισμένον.

But Polybius had a curious liking for lengthy compounds, some of which he seems to have invented little to the advantage of his style, πανευέφοδος, ἀδοξοποίητος, ἀθυρογλωσσία, ἀλλοτριοπραγεῖν, ἀνεπιστάθμεντος, ὑμνησικάκητος, ἀψηφοφόρητος, ἀψυχαγώγητος, διαζηλοτυπούμενος, διαπροστατεύειν, δυσαντοφθάλμητος, μεγαλεπίβολος, προσακροβολίζεσθαι, τελεσιούργημα, κακεντρέχεια, πειθανάγκη. Cf. note on ἀντιπερισπάσαντος 2, 45, 6.

His phrases, when not exactly pleonastic, are sometimes cumbrous and periphrastic, πλεοναζούσης τῆς παρουσίας τῶν πρεσβέων (4, 3, 12), ἐπαναίρεσις γέγονε περὶ τὴν Μακεδόνων οἰκίαν (2, 37, 8).

Pleonasms are very frequent and grow tedious, λαφυροπωλεῖν τὴν· λείαν (4, 77, 5), οἱ ἀλυσκόμενοι αἰχμαλωτοί, παρρησία καὶ ἰσηγορία, καθόλου καὶ συλλήβ-

δὴν, περὶ ταῦτα καὶ πρὸς τούτοις, οὕτω καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ, οὐχ' ἐν οὐδὲ δεύτερον καὶ πλείω, διὸ τῶν προειρημένων χάριν, ὅλος καὶ πᾶς ἦν, κατὰ τέλη σπειρηδόν, ὁρμᾶν ἐπὶ τό with infin., τυχὸν ἴσως, πρὸς τί καὶ τίνος χάριν, τί δύναται καὶ ποῖ τείνει, ἀρχιτέκτων καὶ δημιουργός, ἀρχηγός καὶ αἴτιος, ποιεῖν αἷμα καὶ φόνον, εἰδεχθῆς κατὰ τὴν ἐμφασιν, κατ' ἐκλογὴν ἀριστίνδην. Cf. notes on 2, 38, 1; 2, 42, 7, and for pleonastic use of συμβαίνει with an inf. cf. note on 2, 41, 7.

Under this head we may class the numerous periphrases which he employs, such as οἱ περὶ τινα or οἱ κατὰ τινα for a personal name, even οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τόποι, the use of a preposition and case for a simple gen. as ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν πατήρ, ἡ περὶ τὸ προειρημένον ἔθνος διάθεσις, κατὰ with acc. for both objective and subjective gen., and οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόλου, ὁ ἀπὸ τίνος φόβος (πόλεμος or κίνδυνος).

Favourite formulae recur too often: ὁ προειρημένος, τὸ συνέχον, πῶς καὶ διὰ τί, πῶς καὶ διὰ τίνος αἰτίας, τίνος οὖν χάριν, μένειν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποκείμενων, cf. note on 2, 49, 3, ἐπὶ γνώμης γίνεσθαι, cf. note on 2, 57, 1, χρήσιμον μᾶλλον δ' ἀναγκαῖον, cf. 2, 56, 2, γίνεσθαι πρὸς τό with inf.

Repetitions of the same word or root offend the ear, as ἐπιτελεῖται ἡ συντελεία.

Awkward arrangement seems at times to spoil the rhythm of a sentence as αὐτὸν εὐρήσειν τὸν Ἄρατον εὐδοκούμενας ἀμφοτέραις ὑπισχνοῦντο πίστει.

The insertion of a word between a preposition and

its case is a feature of a later style, e.g. μέχρι γε τοῦ νῦν : πλὴν παντέως (or τελέως) ὀλίγων : χωρίς, ἔφη, τοῦ παρασπονδῆσαι.

So is his inversion of the Attic rule as to the respective meanings of ὅδε and οὗτος : τοιόσδε and τοιούτος. Also the use of the infin. fut. where the Attics would have preferred pres. or aor. and of πρεσβεύειν for πρεσβεύεσθαι.

So too the use of σφέτερος of the first person, and of ὑπόδειγμα for παράδειγμα.

There is indeed a general looseness in the style which is remarkable in a writer so laborious and clearheaded. This may be illustrated by the frequent use of different constructions with the same words. Thus παρά has both gen. and dat. without any difference of meaning after the passives ὁμολογεῖσθαι, ὀνομάζεσθαι, ἀποδηλοῦσθαι, χειρίζεσθαι, πιστεύεσθαι and others : ἐπί is followed by both gen. and dat. in a local sense with εἶναι, κεῖσθαι, as also without a verb : περί has both gen. and acc. indifferently as λόγους διατίθεσθαι περί τινος (or τινά) : πρὸς has dat. and acc., as τὰ πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ (τὴν μεσόγαιον) or with verbs of rest.

So the adjectives οἰκεῖος, παραπλήσιος, and the adverbs ἐξῆς, ἐγγύς, συνεγγύς, κατόπιν take the gen. and dat. indifferently. The article is inserted or omitted in the phrase παρ' ὀλίγον (τοῦ) λαβεῖν. ἄμα—σύν—μετά are interchanged in the same passage ; as are also ἔνεκα—διά—χάριν, while variations like ἕως—μέχρι

and ἄχρι—μέχρι and χωρίς—ἄνευ are still more frequent. ὥστε is followed by a participle without any finite verb cf. note on 2, 46, 1, a nom. is put for an acc. as ἐπὶ τὸ μὴ μῆται γενέσθαι (cf. note on 2, 39, 5), ἄν is combined with an indic. (9, 31, 2), ὡς θάπτον is used like ὡς τάχιστα. ἐφ' ᾧ takes an infinitive as well as a fut. indic., cf. note on 2, 46, 3.

Both ὀρνίθων, ὀρνέων and ἄλωνα, ἄλω occur. ναῦς as nom. and acc. plur. is varied by νῆες, νῆας. Polybius has usually the contracted acc. plur. in -εῖς, but ἱππέας, Χαλκιδέας, Φωκέας are also found.

The varying forms ἐφεστήκει, ἐφεστάκει (10, 21, 2) are used as also τελέως, τελείως : μεγάλως, μεγαλείως : ἐβελοντήν (-τί) : ἀντιπέρας (-αν).

The augment of the pluperf. is sometimes omitted, at others appears; ἀπηρείσθαι occurs as well as ἐξεπέρειστο; ἔτοιμος, παραπλήσιος, μάταιος, πολλαπλάσιος are declined as of both 2 and 3 terminations.

Again demonstratives are varied by relatives in the same passage as αὐς μὲν...ταὺς δέ, ὅτε μὲν—πότε δέ, ὅτι...διότι...καθότι (4, 25, 2), ὅσας—τίνας—πηλίκας in one line, ἀφ' αὐτῶν is often used for ἀπ' ἀλλήλων.

Optative and indicative in the same construction as ἐδήλωσε πῶς...ἔλαβε...καὶ πῶς...καταλείσαιεν.

Finally confusions of number, and anacolutha are too frequent, cf. notes on 2, 40, 1; 2, 44, 3; 2, 58, 2; 4, 12, 10; 4, 29, 6; 4, 74, 3; 5, 8, 5.

We may notice also the poetic terms which stand out but do not improve his prose, with the tameness

of which they markedly contrast, e.g. ἀγχιβαθής, ἄλκιμος, ἀργυρώνητος, δαυιλῶς, εἰμαρμένη, χειμάρρους, ἐκήβολος, μεγαλωστί, ἀγερώχως, ἀδήριτος, παλίσσυτος, παρευδιαζόμενοι, ἐξαίσιος, κυδοιμός, πλησίμοχθος, ἀρχῆ-θεν, ὀττεύεσθαι, χαννοῦσθαι, χρυσοστέφανος, πανώλεθρος, ὁμέστιος, δοριάλωτος, ἀτέραμνος, διάπυρος ἱμερος, τὸ τῆς πατρίδος ἔδαφος, παλαίειν συμφοραῖς and the Pindaric phrase ἀνατρέχειν τοῖς χρόνοις.

Some of his compounds are awkward and unusual like ἐνδομενία (cf. note on 4, 72, 1), εὐρεσιλογία (18, 46, 2), καλλονή, διαβούλιον, ἀστυγείτων, ὀλοσχερής, ἐθελοκάκησις, σωματοποιεῖν τὰς ψυχάς, νουνέχεια, ψυχομαχία.

In his compound verbs the usual prepositions are often replaced by others less natural, thus διακαρτερεῖν for ἐγκ. : διεργάζεσθαι for κατεργ. : διανίστασθαι for ἔξαν. : ἐγχειρεῖν for ἐπιχ. : ἐξίκεσθαι for ἀφικ. : ἀναδιδράσκειν for ἀποδ. : ἀντιπίπτειν for ἐπιπ. : ἀναστρατοπεδεύειν for μετασ. : ἀποτελεῖν for ἐπιτ.

Prepositions seem quite needlessly prefixed with little meaning in ἀνθομολογεῖν, ἀποκαρδοκεῖν, ἀντι-καταλλάττεσθαι, ἀντιπαράγειν, ἀντιπαραπορεύεσθαι, διαπρεσβεύεσθαι, ἀπερείδεσθαι, διαπιστεῖν, διοργίζεσθαι, διυσθμίζειν.

Forms of hendiadys are constantly recurring like ἀπόνοϊαν καὶ τόλμαν (2, 47, 4) : ἐντολὰς καὶ ὑποθέσεις (2, 48, 8) : κινδύνου καὶ συμπλοκῆς (4, 10, 6) : περιστάσεις καὶ καιροὺς (4, 32, 2) : ἀρχὴ καὶ σύννευσις (2, 40, 5).

He has his favourite words and phrases which too

frequently recur, such as *πραξικοπεῖν*, *όλοσχερής*, *ἐπίστασις*, *διάληψις*, *ἀναστροφή*, *παράστασις*, *περίστασις*, *διαβούλιον*, *οἰκονομία*, *ἐπιβολή*, *πραγματικός*, *παραβολός*, *ἐπιστροφή*, *ἐμφασις*, *ἀντοφθαλμεῖν*, *εὐδοκεῖν*, *ἀξιώχρεως*, *παρεμβολή*, *προειρημένος*, *οὐ μὴν ἀλλά*, *μόνον οὐ*, *παραντά*, *πρόφασις* καὶ *ἀφορμή*, *αὐτός* in the sense of *μόνος*, *φιλοτιμία* for earnestness, *δι' ἀπορρήτων*, *ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ* where Thucydides would have used *ἐν χερσὶ*.

In expressing the predicate notion the order which he specially affects is that of (1) *adj.*, (2) *art.* and (3) *substantive* as in 2, 40, 5.

As an illustration of the effect of his moralizing tendency on the language used we may notice the number of words which begin with *εὐ-* or *δυσ-*: thus he has 66 words compounded with the latter, while only 23 are to be found in the index to Demosthenes, cf. also note on 2, 44, 3.

Of the whole work of Polybius five books only are complete, and of these several MSS. remain, the earliest of which, the Codex Vaticanus, is a copy made by a careless scribe in the 11th century of an earlier MS., perhaps of the 10th, to which all the later copies also may be traced, though various changes in the text were introduced meantime. Of the other books we have only a fragmentary knowledge. Many quotations occur in ancient authors, historians, grammarians and others, to illustrate the subjects of their works, and these have been collected carefully by modern editors. Far more important are the

extracts which were gathered by various hands in earlier times. The first set of selections contains a large part of the 6th book and portions (*ἐπιτομαί*) of the 12 following. Besides this we have two collections made by order of Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, who wished to have all that was noteworthy in Greek History gathered up under 53 different heads.

The *ἐκλογαὶ περὶ πρεσβειῶν* and *περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας* include much of what Polybius wrote, and the fragments can be generally referred to their proper place. The various collectors and abbreviators seem to have dealt often freely with the text, especially with the opening lines in each case, and the peculiarities of the historian's style must be estimated chiefly from the first five books.

For the text of the present book the edition of Hultsch is followed with a few changes, such as the occasional omission of a word in brackets and of the introductory *ὅτι* of the collector.

(2) THE ACHAEAN LEAGUE.

Federal institutions had been tried from early times in very undeveloped forms in various parts of Greece, but they had soon passed away except among the least progressive peoples.

Where the interest in city life was keenly felt the strain of political excitement made the desire for

home-rule so narrow and intense that no community could bear to part with any of the elements of sovereign power. Each would live its independent life apart, and fence itself within its ring of walls, where it found ample leisure for the stirring game of politics with its occasional crisis of revolution or of foreign war. In the splendid noonday of the brilliant life of Greece its history consisted in the balance or the conflict of these free republics, which entered into varying combinations as each acted out the drama of its rise and progress and decay. One and another of stirring energy or bold ambition aspired to imperial status, and others for a time moved in their courses round the central light of Athens, Sparta, or of Thebes, but one after another the inorganic systems were resolved into their atoms, till the petty states were left in all the feebleness of isolation to bow after ineffectual struggles before the overpowering might of Philip of Macedon and his greater son. But Alexander passed away before he could organize his empire, and the rival claimants who disputed his succession brought only chaos and disaster to the cities of old Greece. In some they planted garrisons and ruled by martial law : in others they encouraged the rise of reckless tyrants, who ruled mainly as their creatures and relied on their support ; and in all they made themselves felt by their intrigues or open force, though without the responsibility of acknowledged rulers.

At length in the West of the Achaean highlands, where federal institutions had prevailed centuries before, a few petty townships took advantage of a passing crisis in the North when the Macedonian forces were engaged elsewhere, to form themselves into a tiny Union which was destined to be the nucleus of the national league of independence. Across the Straits not many miles away the Aetolians had obstinately clung to freedom under cover of their rugged mountains, and they too were soon extending their national union of a federal type. Why the new movement spread at first in these two countries, far away from the old highways of politics, cannot now be confidently stated. It is possible, as has lately been suggested¹, that soldiers of fortune, who had issued from these poor mountain regions, came back to their homes enriched by pay and plunder, and spread around them more material well-being and a bolder spirit of self-respect than could be found commonly in the old historic cities, where the hardier virtues had been gradually exhausted in the hot-beds of political excitement. It would be hazardous however to lay much stress on this, but we may say that federal tendencies would encounter least resistance where the interests of town life were least absorbing, and there were fewer traditions of the past to appeal to local jealousies and pride. They revived therefore soonest there where they had before lasted longest, among the peoples

¹ J. P. Mahaffy, *Greek Life and Thought*, p. 7.

least affected by the main currents of Greek life. And now that all other experiments had failed to secure any sort of peace with independence, the example of the League, tiny as it was in its first infancy, soon proved attractive to the rest. One after another took heart and nerved itself with courage to rid itself of some domestic tyrant and face the dread of Macedonian resentment, in the hope that in the strength of numbers all might gain respect abroad and self-government at home. The identity of race and language, the common type of social institutions and religion, had always seemed to mark them out for national union, but the passion for autonomy, strengthened by the mountain barriers which parted them, had snapped the ties of even partial combinations. But now old rivals dropped out of sight their ancient feuds, and famous Dorian cities were content to meet on ancient terms the pettiest Achæan townships, though some held sullenly aloof like Athens, that lived on the capital of her intellectual renown, and Sparta, that never could forget the days of old. For the League which was thus formed some sort of Constitution must have been drawn up at once to regulate the functions of the central power, and its relations to the several States. But we have no copy of any formal document of this kind, and only incidental notices in the historian's pages enable us to understand the constitutional forms.

The General, or President, constantly appears as

the head of the Executive and as the moving spirit of all its active forces. His character seems commonly to shape the foreign policy, and to determine much of its success or failure in matters of detail.

Ten Ministers (*δημουργοί*) chosen annually like himself in the federal assembly, formed his Cabinet Council, and the choice of both President and Ministry at the same time, under the influence of the same currents of political opinion, secured probably a general harmony between them. The General Assembly met regularly twice a year, but extraordinary meetings could also be convened by the President in Council.

All the citizens of the contracting states who were 30 years of age could take part in the debates in which the Ministers presided, while the General himself appeared to expound and justify his policy, after which a final vote was taken on questions of peace and war and all the important interests of the State. A council (*βουλή*) of an hundred and twenty members, as a sort of Committee of the larger body, discussed the business which was to be submitted to the Assembly, and decided on the form of the proposals to be laid before it. In time of war the General was Commander-in-chief, and had unrestricted authority while in the field.

— Such in briefest outline was the system of co-ordinate powers adopted by the League to provide a central government distinct from the rulers of the

several States. Though definite it was not rigid, for indeed the Greek republicans had little of that instinct of legality, which regards a constitution as a sacred compact, or as a compromise with which it is dangerous to tamper. A convention might be summoned readily to consider changes, or a legislative body set in motion without scruple. Certainly important features were modified in course of time. The generalship which was at first a dual office, was then filled only by one: the place of meeting for the General Assembly which was at Aegium for many years, was afterwards transferred to different cities in succession; dependent townships or municipalities which were only fractions of a central city were raised by Philopoemen to the rank of independent States. The Federal system did not therefore encourage conservatism in the sense that there was any special fear of disturbing the balance and relations of the parts. It does not seem to have provided any Supreme Court of Justice to interpret the fundamental law, and to decide on what was constitutionally binding. It had indeed its federal court (*δικασταί*), but its officials dealt probably with cases in dispute between the citizens of one State and another, where impartial arbitration was required, for there is no mention of any appeal to this tribunal to assert State rights or regulate the action of the federal executive.

The system did tend no doubt to strengthen the

aristocratic elements which were least inclined towards change. For as the Sovereign Assembly met but rarely, and for a short time only, and at some centre far distant from the homes of most, few could attend the meetings save men of means and leisure: at other times the conduct of affairs was vested in the ruling classes, who must have had more influence in the central government than in the States where the democracy could jealously control its office-bearers, and leave even its executive without a head. Moreover the higher federal offices were unpaid, and only men of substance could afford to hold them.

But the system of government was weak for several reasons.

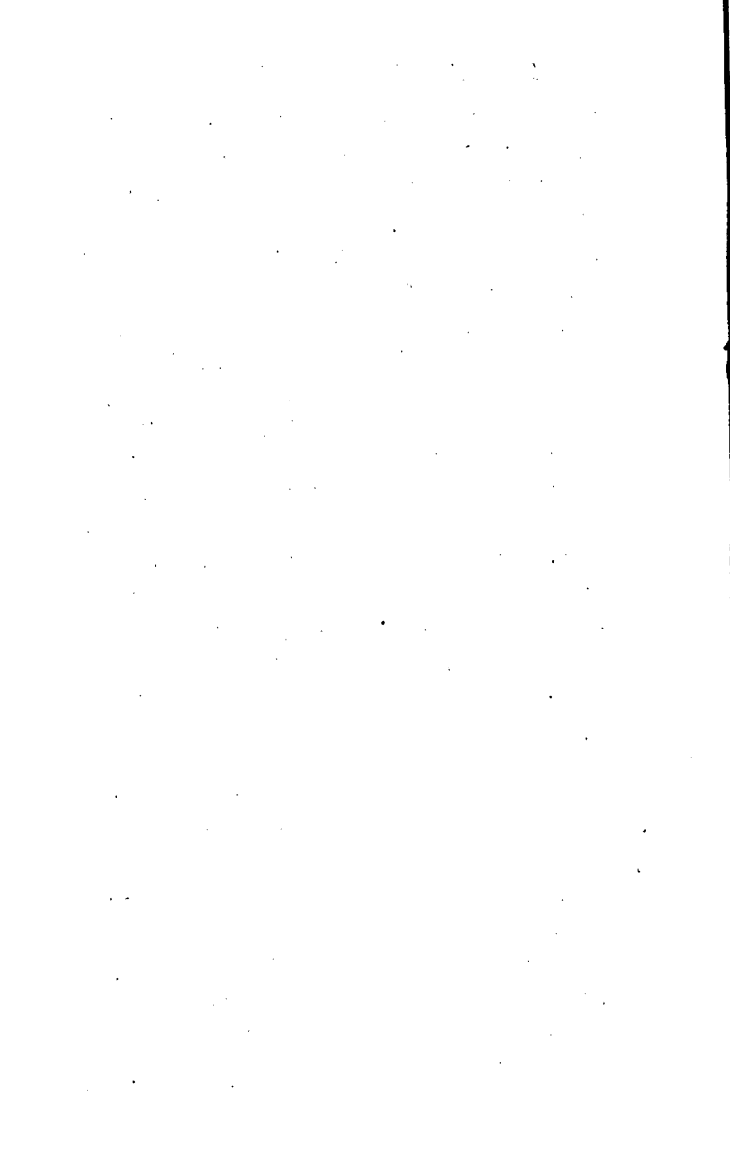
(1) Large powers indeed were vested in the General, who could stamp his influence on the foreign policy, and lead the army in the field. But his tenure of office was too short to secure the advantages of monarchic rule. If himself unready he had no time to gain experience, nor power to choose able ministers to advise him. The period of change and indecision before and after each election, less noticeable in the little States where the Assembly really governed, might be, and often was a signal weakness in the face of watchful enemies and with danger close at hand. For a while the territory of the League might be left undefended, and in a moment the whole spirit of its counsels and its temper in the field be changed. There were frequent re-elections, it is true,

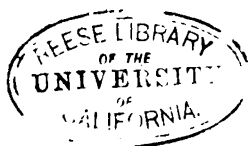
but only after a year's interval, and even so there was always uncertainty and suspense. Aratus could usually nominate a friend or a dependent to fill the office in alternate years till he could once more be re-elected, but such advantages as there might be in this course were secured by ignoring the spirit of the constitution while abiding by the letter, and the League had cause to rue its infatuated trust in the man who could never lead its forces in the field save to defeat, and who undid all his life's work and set the foot of a Macedonian master on his neck rather than consent to take the second place in an independent Greece.

(2) It was weak also in resources. Its finances depended on the willingness of the contracting States to pay the quota voted: there was no way of enforcing the demand except by military force: there were no officials of the central power that we hear of dealing directly with the various households: no civil method of appeal to the tribunals to secure the payment of the debt. There were scant funds therefore to maintain a standing army, except a little nucleus of mercenary troops round which were grouped the various contingents of militia forces, which under the unskilful handling of Aratus were scattered to the winds by the trained soldiers of Cleomenes. In later days indeed the persistent energy of Philopoemen breathed a new fire and resolution into the Achaean ranks, but in that late

age of exhausted energy and dwindling population the petty armies of Greece could never be a match for the solid Macedonian phalanx, still less for the steady infantry of Rome.

(3) The League was weak again in its forces of cohesion. Only fear of a foreign master had bound them all together : it included jealous neighbours and unwilling partners almost from the first : it began to crumble to pieces at an early stage before what seemed a reviving Spartan empire. When it was too weak in the Social War to protect its territory from the incursions of the bold Aetolians, a few of the federal townships most endangered drew together in despair and formed a special league for their protection without the sanction of the rest. In later days when stronger pressure was applied to force reluctant States to join them, there was always slumbering discontent and constant danger of disruption. Local embassies went to and fro without regard to the prerogatives of the Central Government, which alone had the right to diplomatic action with the outer world. The League enjoyed indeed the semblance of dignity and strength while the balance of power was kept up in the great States around it, but there were always traitors in the camp to serve the diplomatists of Rome, and when the dynasties of the North and East had shewn their weakness, it scarcely needed the presence of the legions to pull down the tottering fabric of federal independence.





HISTORY

OF THE

ACHAEAN LEAGUE.

POLYBIUS, Book II. cc. xxxvii. 9 to lxx.

Πολλῶν ἐπιβαλομένων ἐν τοῖς παρεληλυθόσι 9
χρόνοις ἐπὶ ταὐτὸ συμφέρον ἀγαγεῖν The character
of the Achaean
League,
Πελοποννησίους, οὐδενὸς δὲ καθικέσ-
θαι δυνηθέντος διὰ τὸ μὴ τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας
5 ἕνεκεν ἀλλὰ τῆς σφετέρας δυναστείας χάριν
ἐκάστους ποιεῖσθαι τὴν σπουδὴν, τοιαύτην καὶ 10
τηλικοαύτην ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς καιροῖς ἔσχε προκο-
πὴν καὶ συντέλειαν τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ὥστε μὴ μόνον
συμμαχικὴν καὶ φιλικὴν κοινωνίαν γεγενῆσθαι
10 πραγμάτων περὶ αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ νόμοις χρῆσθαι
τοῖς αὐτοῖς καὶ σταθμοῖς καὶ μέτροις καὶ νομίσμασι,
πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἄρχουσι βουλευταῖς δικασταῖς
τοῖς αὐτοῖς, καθόλου δὲ τούτῳ μόνῃ διαλλάττειν 11
τοῦ μὴ μιᾶς πόλεως διάθεσιν ἔχειν σχεδὸν τὴν
15 σύμπασαν Πελοπόννησον, τῷ μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν περί-
βολον ὑπάρχειν τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν αὐτήν, τᾶλλα δ'

εἶναι καὶ κοινῇ καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἐκάστοις ταῦτὰ καὶ παραπλήσια.

- 38 Πρῶτον δὲ, πῶς ἐπεκράτησε καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ τὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ὄνομα κατὰ πάντων Πελοποννησιῶν, οὐκ ἄχρηστον μαθεῖν. οὔτε γὰρ χώρας καὶ πόλεων 5 πλήθει διαφέρουσιν οἱ πατριον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔχοντες τὴν προσηγορίαν ταύτην, οὔτε πλούτοις οὔτε ταῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀρεταῖς. τό τε γὰρ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἔθνος, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν Λακώνων, πλήθει μὲν ἀνδρῶν καὶ χώρας οὐδὲ παρὰ μικρὸν ὑπερέχει 10 καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας πρωτείων οὐδενὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἰοί τ' εἶσιν οὐδέποτε παρα- 4 χωρεῖν οἱ προειρημένοι. πῶς οὖν καὶ διὰ τί νῦν εὐδοκοῦσιν οὗτοί τε καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλήθος τῶν Πελοποννησιῶν ἅμα τὴν πολιτείαν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν 15 καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν μετεिल्φότες; δῆλον ὡς τύχην μὲν λέγειν οὐδαμῶς ἂν εἴη πρέπον (φαῦλον γάρ), αἰτίαν δὲ μᾶλλον ζητεῖν· χωρὶς γὰρ ταύτης οὔτε τῶν κατὰ λόγον οὔτε τῶν παρὰ λόγον εἶναι 6 δοκούντων οὐδὲν οἶόν τε συντελεσθῆναι. ἔστι δ' 20 οὖν, ὡς ἐμὴ δόξα, τοιαύτη τις. ἰσηγορίας καὶ παρρησίας καὶ καθόλου δημοκρατίας ἀληθινῆς σύστημα καὶ προαίρεσιν εἰλικρινεστέραν οὐκ ἂν εὔροι τις τῆς παρὰ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ὑπαρχούσης. 7 αὕτη τινὰς μὲν ἐβελοντὴν αἰρετιστὰς εὔρε Πελο- 25 ποννησιῶν, πολλοὺς δὲ πειθοῖ καὶ λόγῳ προσηγάγετο, τινὰς δὲ βιασαμένη σὺν καιρῷ παραχρῆμα πάλιν εὐδοκεῖν ἐποίησεν αὐτῇ τοὺς ἀναγκασθέντας· 8 οὐδέσι γὰρ οὐδὲν ὑπολειπομένη πλεονέκτημα τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἴσα δὲ πάντα ποιούσα τοῖς ἀεὶ προσ- 30

λαμβάνομένοις, ταχέως καθικνεῖτο τῆς προκειμένης
ἐπιβολῆς, δύο συνεργοῖς χρωμένη τοῖς ἰσχυροτά-
τοις, ἰσότητι καὶ φιλανθρωπία. διὸ ταύτην 9
ἀρχηγὸν καὶ αἷτιον ἡγητέον τοῦ συμφρονήσαντας
5 Πελοποννησίους τὴν νῦν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτοῖς εὐδαι-
μονίαν καταστήσασθαι.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς προαιρέσεως καὶ τὸ τῆς 10
πολιτείας ἰδίωμα τὸ νῦν εἰρημένον καὶ <sup>whose high re-
pute in early times
was due</sup> πρότερον ὑπῆρχε παρὰ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς.
10 δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο καὶ δι' ἑτέρων μὲν πλειόνων, πρὸς 11
δὲ τὸ παρὸν ἀρκέσει πίστεως χάριν ἐν ἧ καὶ δεύ-
τερον ληφθὲν μαρτύριον. καθ' οὓς γὰρ καιροὺς ἐν 39
τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν τόποις, κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην
Ἑλλάδα τότε προσαγορευομένην, ἐνεπρήσθη τὰ
15 συνέδρια τῶν Πυθαγορείων, μετὰ ταῦτα γενομένου 2
κινήματος ὁλοσχεροῦς περὶ τὰς πολιτείας, ὅπερ
εἰκός, ὥς ἂν τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν ἐξ ἐκάστης
πόλεως οὕτω παραλόγως διαφθαρέντων, συνέβη 3
τὰς κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς τόπους Ἑλληνικὰς πόλεις
20 ἀναπλησθῆναι φόνου καὶ στάσεως καὶ παντοδαπῆς
ταραχῆς· ἐν οἷς καιροῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πλείστων μερῶν 4
τῆς Ἑλλάδος πρεσβευόντων ἐπὶ τὰς διαλύσεις,
Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ τῇ τούτων πίστει συνεχρήσαντο πρὸς
τὴν τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἐξαγωγήν. οὐ μόνον δὲ 5
35 κατὰ τούτους τοὺς καιροὺς ἀπεδέξαντο τὴν αἴρεσιν
τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τινας χρόνους ὁλο-
σχερῶς ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸ μιμηταὶ γενέσθαι τῆς
πολιτείας αὐτῶν· παρακαλέσαντες γὰρ σφᾶς καὶ 6
συμφρονήσαντες Κροτωνιάται Συβαρίται Καν-
30 λωνιάται πρῶτον μὲν ἀπέδειξαν Διὸς ὁμαρίου

- κοινὸν ἱερὸν καὶ τόπον ἐν ᾧ τὰς τε συνόδους καὶ τὰ διαβούλια συνετέλουν, δεύτερον τοὺς ἐθισμοὺς καὶ νόμους ἐκλαβόντες τοὺς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπεβά-
 λοντο χρῆσθαι καὶ διοικεῖν κατὰ τούτους τὴν
 πολιτείαν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Διονυσίου Συρακοσίου 5
 7 δυναστείας, ἔτι δὲ τῆς τῶν περιοικούντων βαρ-
 βάρων ἐπικρατείας ἐμποδισθέντες οὐχ ἔκουσίως
 8 ἀλλὰ κατ' ἀνάγκην αὐτῶν ἀπέστησαν. μετὰ δὲ
 ταῦτα Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν παραδόξως πταισάντων
 περὶ τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχην, Θηβαίων δ' ἀνελ- 10
 πίστως ἀντιποιησαμένων τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγε-
 μονίας, ἣν ἀκρισία περὶ πάντας μὲν τοὺς Ἕλληνας,
 μάλιστα δὲ περὶ τοὺς προειρημένους ὡς ἂν τῶν
 μὲν μὴ συγχωρούντων ἡττηθῆσαι, τῶν δὲ μὴ
 9 πιστευόντων ὅτι νενικήκασιν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ γε 15
 περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων ἐπέτρεψαν Θηβαῖοι
 καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μόνοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀχαιοῖς,
 10 ^{not to its power but its principles ;} οὐ πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν ἀποβλέψαντες
 (σχεδὸν γὰρ ἐλαχίστην τότε δὴ τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων εἶχον), τὸ δὲ πλεῖον εἰς τὴν πίστιν καὶ 20
 τὴν ὅλην καλοκαγαθίαν· ὁμολογουμένως γὰρ
 δὴ τότε ταύτην περὶ αὐτῶν πάντες εἶχον τὴν
 δόξαν.
- 11 Τότε μὲν οὖν ψιλῶς αὐτὰ τὰ κατὰ τὴν
 προαίρεσιν ὑπῆρχε παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἀποτέλεσμα δὲ 25
 ἡ πρᾶξις ἀξιόλογος πρὸς αὖξησιν τῶν ἰδίων
 ἀνήκουσα πραγμάτων οὐκ ἐγένετο τῷ μὴ δύνασθαι
 12 φῦναι προστάτην ἄξιον τῆς προαιρέσεως, αἰεὶ δὲ
 τὸν ὑποδείξαντα ποτὲ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων
 ἀρχῆς ἐπισκοτεῖσθαι καὶ κωλύεσθαι, ποτὲ δὲ 30

- μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῆς Μακεδόνων. ἐπεὶ δέ ποτε σὺν **40**
 καιρῷ προστάτας ἀξιοχρεως εὔρεν, but it grew rapidly in later days.
 ταχέως τὴν αὐτῆς δύναμιν ἐποίησε
 φανεράν ἐπιτελεσαμένη τὸ κάλλιστον ἔργον, τὴν
 5 Πελοποννησίων ὁμόνοιαν· ἥς ἀρχηγὸν μὲν καὶ 2
 καθηγεμόνα τῆς ὅλης ἐπιβολῆς Ἀρατον νομιστέον
 τὸν Σικυώνιον, ἀγωνιστὴν δὲ καὶ τελεσιουργὸν
 τῆς πράξεως Φιλοποίμενα τὸν Μεγαλοπολίτην,
 βεβαιωτὴν δὲ τοῦ μόνιμον αὐτὴν ἐπὶ ποσὸν γενέ-
 10 σθαι Λυκόρταν καὶ τοὺς ταῦτά τούτῳ προελομένους
 ἄνδρας. τίνα δ' ἦν ἐκάστοις τὰ πραχθέντα καὶ 3
 πῶς καὶ κατὰ ποίους καιροὺς, πειρασόμεθα δηλοῦν,
 αἰεὶ κατὰ τὸ πρέπον τῇ γραφῇ ποιούμενοι τὴν
 ἐπίστασιν. τῶν μέντοι γε Ἀράτῳ διωκημένων 4
 15 καὶ νῦν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν ἐπικεφαλαιούμενοι
 μνησθησόμεθα διὰ τὸ καὶ λίαν ἀληθινούς καὶ
 σαφεῖς ἐκείνους περὶ τῶν ἰδίων συντεταχέναι
 πράξεων ὑπομνηματισμούς· τῶν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις 5
 ἀκριβεστέραν καὶ μετὰ διαστολῆς ποιησόμεθα τὴν
 20 ἐξήγησιν. ὑπολαμβάνω δὲ ῥάστην ἐμοί τ' ἂν
 γενέσθαι τὴν διήγησιν καὶ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν
 εὐπαρακολούθητον τὴν μάθησιν, εἰ ποιησαίμεθα
 τὴν ἐπίστασιν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν καιρῶν ἐν οἷς κατὰ
 πόλιν διαλυθέντος τοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνους ὑπὸ
 25 τῶν ἐκ Μακεδονίας βασιλέων ἀρχὴ πάλιν ἐγένετο
 καὶ σύννευσις τῶν πόλεων πρὸς ἀλλήλας, ἀφ' 6
 ἥς αὐξανόμενον κατὰ τὸ συνεχές τὸ ἔθνος εἰς ταύτην
 ἦλθε τὴν συντέλειαν ἐν ἣ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἦν, ὑπὲρ ἥς
 κατὰ μέρος ἀρτίως εἶπον.
 30 Ὀλυμπιάς μὲν ἦν εἰκοστὴ καὶ τετάρτη πρὸς **41**

1 ταῖς ἑκατόν, ὅτε Πατρεῖς ἤρξαντο συμφρονεῖν καὶ
 Δυμαῖοι, καιροὶ δὲ καθ' οὓς Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου
 καὶ Λυσίμαχος, ἔτι δὲ Σέλευκος καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ
 κεραυνὸς μετήλλαξαν τὸν βίον· πάντες γὰρ οὗτοι
 περὶ τὴν προειρημένην ὀλυμπιάδα τὸ ζῆν ἐξέλιπον. 5
 3 τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἀνώτερον τούτων χρόνους τοιαύτη τις
 4 ἦν ἡ περὶ τὸ προειρημένον ἔθνος διάθεσις. ἀπὸ
 γὰρ Τισαμενοῦ βασιλευθέντες, ὃς ἦν Ὀρέστου
 μὲν υἱός, κατὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν κάθοδον
 ἐκπεσὼν τῆς Σπάρτης κατέσχε τοὺς περὶ Ἀχαΐαν 10
 5 τόπους, ἀπὸ τούτου κατὰ τὸ συνεχές καὶ κατὰ τὸ
 γένος ἕως Ὠγύγου βασιλευθέντες, μετὰ ταῦτα
 δυσареστήσαντες τοῖς τοῦ προειρημένου παισὶν
 ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ νομίμως ἀλλὰ δεσποτικῶς αὐτῶν ἄρχειν,
 6 μετέστησαν εἰς δημοκρατίαν τὴν πολιτείαν. λοιπὸν 15
 ἤδη τοὺς ἐξῆς χρόνους μέχρι τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ
 Φιλίππου δυναστείας ἄλλοτε μὲν ἄλλως ἐχώρει
 τὰ πράγματ' αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὰς περιστάσεις, τό γε
 μὴν κοινὸν πολίτευμα, καθάπερ εἰρήκαμεν, ἐν
 7 δημοκρατίᾳ συνέχειν ἐπειρῶντο. τοῦτο δ' ἦν ἐκ 20
 δώδεκα πόλεων, αἷς ἔτι καὶ νῦν συμβαίνει διαμένειν,
 πλὴν Ὠλένου καὶ Ἑλίκης τῆς πρὸ τῶν Λευκτρικῶν
 8 ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάττης καταποθείσης· αὗται δ' εἰσὶ
 Πάτραι Δύμη Φαραὶ Τριταῖα Λεόντιον Αἴγιον
 9 Αἴγειρα Πελλήνη Βοῦρα Καρύνεια. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς 25
 Broken up by ὑστέρους μὲν τῶν κατ' Ἀλέξανδρον
 Macedonian rulers καὶ προτέρους δὲ τῆς ἄρτι ῥηθείσης
 ὀλυμπιάδος εἰς τοιαύτην διαφορὰν καὶ καχεξίαν
 ἐνέπεσον, καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τῶν ἐκ Μακεδονίας
 βασιλέων, ἐν ᾗ συνέβη πάσας τὰς πόλεις χωρισ- 30

θέϊσας ἀφ' αὐτῶν ἐναντίως τὸ συμφέρον ἄγειν
 ἀλλήλαις. ἐξ οὗ συνέπεσε τὰς μὲν ἐμφρούρους 10
 αὐτῶν γενέσθαι διὰ τε Δημητρίου καὶ Κασσάνδρου
 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα δι' Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ Γονατᾶ, τὰς δὲ
 5 καὶ τυραννεῖσθαι· πλείστους γὰρ δὴ μονάρχους
 οὗτος ἐμφυτεῦσαι δοκεῖ τοῖς Ἕλλησι. περὶ δὲ τὴν 11
 εἰκοστὴν καὶ τετάρτην ὀλυμπιάδα πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατόν,
 καθάπερ ἐπάνω προείπον, αὐθις ἤρξαντο μετανοή-
 σαντες συμφρονεῖν· ταῦτα δ' ἦν κατὰ τὴν Πύρρου
 10 διάβασιν εἰς Ἰταλίαν. καὶ πρῶτοι μὲν ^{it began its re-union in 281 B.C.} 12
 συνέστησαν Δυμαῖοι Πατρεῖς Τριταεῖς
 Φαραεῖς· διόπερ οὐδὲ στήλην ὑπάρχειν συμβαίνει
 τῶν πόλεων τούτων περὶ τῆς συμπολιτείας· μετὰ 13
 δὲ ταῦτα μάλιστα πῶς ἔτει πέμπτῳ τὴν φρουρὰν
 15 ἐκβαλόντες Αἰγίει μετέσχον τῆς συμπολιτείας, ἐξῆς
 δὲ τούτοις Βούριοι τὸν τύραννον ἀποκτείναντες. ἅμα 14
 δὲ τούτοις Καρυνεῖς ἀποκατέστησαν· συνιδὼν γὰρ
 Ἰσέας ὁ τῆς Καρυνείας τότε τυραννεύων ἐκπεπτω-
 κυῖαν μὲν ἐξ Αἰγίου τὴν φρουρὰν ἀπολωλότα δὲ
 20 τὸν ἐν τῇ Βούρᾳ μονάρχον διὰ Μάργου καὶ τῶν
 Ἀχαιῶν, ἑαυτὸν δὲ πανταχόθεν ὀρώων ὅσον οὐκ
 ἤδη πολεμηθησόμενον, ἀποθέμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ 15
 λαβὼν τὰ πιστὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς
 ἀσφαλείας προσέθηκε τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τὸ τῶν
 25 Ἀχαιῶν σύστημα.

Τίνος οὖν χάριν ἐπὶ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους 42
 ἀνέδραμον; ἵνα πρῶτον μὲν γένηται συμφανὲς
 πῶς καὶ κατὰ ποίους καιροὺς καὶ τίνες πρῶτοι τῶν
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ἀχαιῶν αὐθις ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ἐπιβολὴν
 30 τῆς νῦν συστάσεως· δεύτερον δ' ἵνα καὶ τὰ τῆς 2

προαιρέσεως μὴ μόνον διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀποφάσεως

^{in a free and un-} ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων
^{selfish spirit.}

3 πίστεως τυγχάνη, διότι μία τις αἰὲ τῶν

Ἀχαιῶν αἴρεσις ὑπῆρχε, καθ' ἣν προτείνοντες

μὲν τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἰσηγορίαν καὶ παρρησίαν, 5

πολεμοῦντες δὲ καὶ καταγωνιζόμενοι συνεχῶς τοὺς

ἢ δι' αὐτῶν ἢ διὰ τῶν βασιλέων τὰς σφετέρας

πατρίδας καταδουλουμένους, τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ καὶ

ταύτῃ τῇ προθέσει τοῦτο τοῦργον ἐπετέλεσαν, τὰ

4 μὲν δι' αὐτῶν τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν συμμάχων. καὶ 10

γὰρ τὰ δι' ἐκείνων συνεργήματα γεγονότα πρὸς

τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς χρόνοις ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν

5 Ἀχαιῶν προαίρεσιν ἀνοιστέον. πολλοῖς γὰρ

κοινωνήσαντες πραγμάτων, πλείστων δὲ καὶ καλ-

λίστων Ῥωμαίοις, οὐδέποτε τὸ παράπαν ἐπεθύμη- 15

σαν ἐκ τῶν κατορθωμάτων οὐδενὸς ἰδία λυσιτελοῦς,

6 ἀλλ' ἀντὶ πάσης τῆς ἑαυτῶν φιλοτιμίας, ἣν παρεί-

χοντο τοῖς συμμάχοις, ἀντικατηλλάττοντο τὴν

ἐκάστων ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν κοινὴν ὁμόνοιαν

7 Πελοποννησίων. σαφέστερον δ' ὑπὲρ τούτων 20

ἔσται διαλαμβάνειν ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν περὶ τὰς πράξεις

ἐνεργημάτων.

43 Εἴκοσι μὲν οὖν ἔτη τὰ πρῶτα καὶ πέντε

συνεπολιτεύσαντο μεθ' ἑαυτῶν αἱ προειρημέναι

πόλεις γραμματέα κοινὸν ἐκ περιόδου προχειριζό- 25

2 μεναι καὶ δύο στρατηγούς· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν

ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἓνα καθιστάνειν καὶ τούτῳ πιστεύειν

ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων, καὶ πρῶτος ἔτυχε τῆς τιμῆς ταύ-

3 της Μάργος ὁ Καρυνεύς. τετάρτῳ δ' ὕστερον

ἔτει τοῦ προειρημένου στρατηγοῦντος Ἄρατος ὁ 30

Σικυώνιος, ἔτη μὲν ἔχων εἴκοσι, τυραννουμένην δ'
 ἐλευθερώσας τὴν πατρίδα διὰ τῆς ^{Its progress was} ἀρετῆς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τόλμης, προσέ- ^{due largely to}
 νειμε πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πολιτείαν, ἀρχήθεν
 5 εὐθύς ἐραστής γενόμενος τῆς προαιρέσεως αὐτῶν.
 ὀγδόῳ δὲ πάλιν ἔτει στρατηγὸς αἰρεθεὶς τὸ δεύτε- 4
 ρον, καὶ πραξικοπήσας τὸν Ἀκροκρίνθον Ἀντιγό-
 νου κυριεύοντος, καὶ γενόμενος ἐγκρατὴς μεγάλου
 μὲν ἀπέλυσε φόβου τοὺς τὴν Πελοπόννησον κατ-
 10 οικοῦντας, ἐλευθερώσας δὲ Κορινθίους προσηγά-
 γετο πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πολιτείαν. ἐπὶ δὲ 5
 τῆς αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τὴν τῶν Μεγαρέων πόλιν
 διαπραξάμενος προσένειμε τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς. ταῦτά 6
 τ' ἐγίνετο τῷ πρότερον ἔτει τῆς Καρχηδονίων
 15 ἥττης, ἐν ᾗ καθόλου Σικελίας ἐκχωρήσαντες πρῶ-
 τον ὑπέμειναν τότε φόρους ἐνεγκεῖν Ῥωμαίοις.
 μεγάλην δὲ προκοπὴν ποιήσας τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἐν 7
 ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ λοιπὸν ἤδη διετέλει προστατῶν μὲν
 τοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνους, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἐπιβολὰς
 20 καὶ πράξεις πρὸς ἓν τέλος ἀναφέρων· τοῦτο δ' ἦν 8
 τὸ Μακεδόνας μὲν ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, τὰς
 δὲ μοναρχίας καταλῦσαι, βεβαιῶσαι δ' ἐκάστοις
 τὴν κοινὴν καὶ πάτριον ἐλευθερίαν. μέχρι μὲν 9
 οὖν ἦν Ἀντίγονος ὁ Γονατᾶς, πρὸς τε τὴν ἐκεί-
 25 νου πολυπραγμοσύνην καὶ πρὸς τὴν Αἰτωλῶν
 πλεονεξίαν ἀντιταττόμενος διετέλει, πραγματικῶς 10
 ἕκαστα χειρίζων, καίπερ εἰς τοῦτο προβάντων
 ἀμφοτέρων ἀδικίας καὶ τόλμης ὥστε ποιήσασθαι
 συνθήκας πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπὲρ διαιρέσεως τοῦ τῶν
 30 Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνους. Ἀντιγόνοιο δὲ μεταλλάξαντος, καὶ 44

- συνθεμένων τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ συμμαχίαν πρὸς
 Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ μετασχόντων εὐγενῶς σφίσι τοῦ
 πρὸς Δημήτριον πολέμου, τὰ μὲν τῆς ἀλλοτριότητος
 καὶ δυσμενείας ἦρθη κατὰ τὸ παρόν, ὑπεγένετο δὲ
 2 κοινωνικὴ καὶ φιλική τις αὐτοῖς διάθεσις. Δημη- 5
 τρίου δὲ βασιλεύσαντος δέκα μόνον ἔτη καὶ μεταλ-
 λάξαντος τὸν βίον περὶ τὴν πρώτην διάβασιν εἰς
 τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα Ῥωμαίων, ἐγένετό τις εὐροια πραγ-
 μάτων πρὸς τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπιβολὴν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν.
 3 οἱ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ μοναρχοὶ δυσελπιστή- 10
 and tyrants ab- σαυτες ἐπὶ τῷ μετηλλαχέναι μὲν τὸν
 dicated in its fa- Διμήτριον, ὃς ἦν αὐτοῖς οἰονεὶ χορηγὸς
 vour, καὶ μισθοδότης, ἐπικεῖσθαι δὲ τὸν Ἄρατον οἰόμε-
 νον δεῖν σφᾶς ἀποτίθесθαι τὰς τυραννίδας, καὶ τοῖς
 μὲν πεισθεῖσι μεγάλας δωρεὰς καὶ τιμὰς προτείνον- 15
 τος, τοῖς δὲ μὴ προσέχουσιν ἔτι μείζους ἐπανατει-
 νομένου φόβους καὶ κινδύνους διὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν,
 4 ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸ πεισθέντες ἀποθέσθαι μὲν τὰς
 τυραννίδας, ἐλευθερώσαι δὲ τὰς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδας,
 5 μετασχεῖν δὲ τῆς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πολιτείας. Λυδιά- 20
 δας μὲν οὖν ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης ἔτι ζῶντος Δημητρίου
 κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ προαίρεσιν, πάνυ πραγματικῶς
 καὶ φρονίμως προιδόμενος τὸ μέλλον, ἀπετέθειτα
 τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ μετεσχέκει τῆς ἐθνικῆς συμ-
 6 πολιτείας· Ἀριστόμαχος δ' ὁ τῶν Ἀργείων τύ- 25
 ραννος καὶ Ξένων ὁ τῶν Ἑρμιονέων καὶ Κλεώνυ-
 μος ὁ τῶν Φλιασίων τότε ἀποθέμενοι τὰς μοναρχίας
 ἐκοινώνησαν τῆς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν δημοκρατίας.
 45 Ὀλοσχερεστέρας δὲ γενομένης αὐξήσεως διὰ
 ταῦτα καὶ προκοπῆς περὶ τὸ ἔθνος, Αἰτωλοὶ διὰ 30

τὴν ἔμφυτον ἀδικίαν καὶ πλεονεξίαν φθονήσαντες,
 τὸ δὲ πλεῖον ἐλπίσαντες καταδιελέσ-
 θαι τὰς πόλεις, καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον ^{The Aetolians}
 τὰς μὲν Ἀκαρνάνων διενείμαντο πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον,
 5 τὰς δὲ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπεβάλουντο πρὸς Ἀντίγονον 2
 τὸν Γονατᾶν, καὶ τότε παραπλησίαις ἐλπίσιν
 ἐπαρθέντες ἀπετόλμησαν Ἀντιγόνῳ τε τῷ κατ'
 ἐκείνους τοὺς καιροὺς προεστῶτι Μακεδόνων,
 ἐπιτροπεύοντι δὲ Φιλίππου παιδὸς ὄντος, καὶ
 10 Κλεομένει τῷ βασιλεῖ Λακεδαιμονίων κοινωνεῖν
 καὶ συμπλέκειν ἀμφοτέροις ἅμα τὰς χεῖρας. ὁρῶν- 3
 τες γὰρ τὸν Ἀντίγονον κυριεύοντα μὲν τῶν κατὰ
 Μακεδονίαν ἀσφαλῶς, ὁμολογούμενον δὲ καὶ πρό-
 δηλον ἐχθρὸν ὄντα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν διὰ τὸ τὸν
 15 Ἀκροκόρινθον πραξικοπεῖν, ὑπέλαβον, εἰ τοὺς 4
 Λακεδαιμονίους προσλαβόντες ἔτι κοινωνοὺς σφίσι
 τῆς ἐπιβολῆς προεμβιβάσαιεν εἰς τὴν πρὸς τὸ
 ἔθνος ἀπέχθειαν, ῥαδίως ἂν καταγωνίσασθαι τοὺς
 Ἀχαιοὺς ἐν καιρῷ συνεπιθέμενοι καὶ πανταχόθεν
 20 περιστήσαντες αὐτοῖς τὸν πόλεμον. ὃ δὲ καὶ 5
 ταχέως ἂν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ λόγον ἐπετέλεσαν, εἰ μὴ
 τὸ κυριώτατον παρείδον τῆς προθέσεως, οὐ συλ-
 λογισάμενοι διότι ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς Ἄρατον ἔξουσιν
 ἀνταγωνιστήν, ἄνδρα δυνάμενον πάσης εὐστοχείᾳ
 25 περιστάσεως. τοιγαροῦν ὁρμήσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ πο- 6
 λυπραγμονεῖν καὶ χειρῶν ἄρχειν ἀδίκων οὐχ οἶον
 ἦνυσάν τι τῶν ἐπινοηθέντων, ἀλλὰ τούναντίον
 καὶ τὸν Ἄρατον τότε προεστῶτα καὶ τὸ ἔθνος
 ἐσωματοποίησαν, πραγματικῶς ἀντιπερισπάσαν-
 30 τος ἐκείνου καὶ λυμνηαμένου τὰς ἐπιβολὰς αὐτῶν.

7 ὡς δ' ἐχειρίσθη τὰ ὅλα, δῆλον ἔσται διὰ τῶν λέγεσθαι μελλόντων.

- 46 Θεωρῶν γὰρ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ὁ προειρημένος ἀνὴρ τὸν μὲν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς αἰσχυνομένους ἀναλαβεῖν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ διὰ τὸ καὶ 5 λῖαν εἶναι προσφάτους τὰς ἐκ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν εὐεργεσίας περὶ τὸν Δημητριάκον πόλεμον εἰς 2 αὐτούς, συμβουλευομένους δὲ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ φθονοῦντας τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὥστε Κλέομένους πεπραξικοπηκότος αὐτούς καὶ πα- 10 ρρηρημένου Τέγεαν Μαντίνειαν Ὀρχομενόν, τὰς Αἰτωλοῖς οὐ μόνον συμμαχίδας ὑπαρχούσας ἀλλὰ and looked to Cleomenes of Sparta to oppose it. καὶ συμπολιτευομένας τότε πόλεις, οὐχ οἶον ἀγανακτοῦντας ἐπὶ τούτοις 3 ἀλλὰ καὶ βεβαιοῦντας αὐτῷ τὴν παράληψιν, καὶ 15 τοὺς πρότερον κατὰ τῶν μηδὲν ἀδικούντων πᾶσαν ἱκανὴν ποιουμένους πρόφασιν εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν διὰ τὴν πλεονεξίαν τότε συνορῶν ἐκουσίως παρασπονδουμένους καὶ τὰς μεγίστας ἀπολλύντας πόλεις ἐβελοντήν, ἐφ' ᾧ μόνον ἰδεῖν ἀξιόχρεων 20 γεγόμενον ἀνταγωνιστὴν Κλεομένη τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, 4 ἔγνω δεῖν εἰς ταῦτα βλέπων οὗτός τε καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως οἱ προεστῶτες τοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πολι- τεύματος πολέμου μὲν πρὸς μηδένα κατάρχειν, ἐνίστασθαι δὲ ταῖς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπιβολαῖς. 25 5 τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἐπὶ τούτων ἦσαν τῶν διαλήψεων· θεωροῦντες δὲ κατὰ τοὺς ἐξῆς χρόνους τὸν Κλεομένη θρασέως ἐποικοδομοῦντα μὲν τὸ καλούμενον Ἀθήναιον ἐν τῇ τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτῶν χώρα, πρόδηλον δὲ καὶ πικρὸν ἀναδεικνύντα σφίσι 30

πολέμιον ἑαυτόν, τότε δὴ συναθροίσαντες τοὺς 6
Ἀχαιοὺς ἔκριναν μετὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀναλαμβάνειν
φανερῶς τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπέχθειαν.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Κλεομενικὸς προσαγορευθεὶς πό- 7
5 λεμος τοιαύτην ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ κατὰ τούτους
τοὺς καιροὺς· οἱ δ' Ἀχαιοὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διὰ τῆς 47
ἰδίας δυνάμεως ὥρμησαν ἀντοφθαλμεῖν τοῖς Λακε-
δαιμονίοις, ἅμα μὲν ὑπολαμβάνοντες κάλλιστον
εἶναι τὸ μὴ δι' ἐτέρων σφίσι πορίζεσθαι τὴν σωτη-
10 ρίαν ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς δι' αὐτῶν σῶζειν τὰς πόλεις καὶ
τὴν χώραν, ἅμα δὲ βουλόμενοι καὶ τὴν πρὸς Πτολε- 2
μαῖον τηρεῖν φιλίαν διὰ τὰς προγεγενημένας εὐερ-
γείας καὶ μὴ φαίνεσθαι πρὸς ἐτέρους ἐκτείνοντες
τὰς χεῖρας. ἤδη δ' ἐπὶ ποσὸν τοῦ πολέμου προ- 3
15 βαίνοντος, καὶ τοῦ Κλεομένου τοῦ τε πατρίον
πολίτευμα καταλύσαντος καὶ τὴν ἔννομον βασι-
λείαν εἰς τυραννίδα μεταστήσαντος, χρωμένου δὲ
καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ πρακτικῶς καὶ παραβόλως, προ- 4
ορώμενος Ἄρατος τὸ μέλλον καὶ δεδιὼς τὴν τε
20 τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἀπόνοιαν καὶ τόλμαν, Aratus turned
then to Antigonus
of Macedonia,
ἔκρινε πρὸ πολλοῦ λυμαίνεσθαι τὴν
ἐπιβολὴν αὐτῶν. κατανοῶν δὲ τὸν Ἀντίγονον 5
καὶ πρᾶξιν ἔχοντα καὶ σύνεσιν καὶ πίστεως ἀντι-
ποιούμενον, τοὺς δὲ βασιλεῖς σαφῶς εἰδὼς φύσει
25 μὲν οὐδένα νομίζοντας οὔτ' ἐχθρὸν οὔτε πολέμιον,
ταῖς δὲ τοῦ συμφέροντος ψήφοις αἰεὶ μετροῦντας
τὰς ἐχθρας καὶ τὰς φιλίας, ἐπεβάλετο λαλεῖν 6
πρὸς τὸν εἰρημένον βασιλέα καὶ συμπλέκειν τὰς
χεῖρας, ὑποδεικνύων αὐτῷ τὸ συμβησόμενον ἐκ
30 τῶν πραγμάτων. προδήλως μὲν οὖν αὐτὸ πράττειν 7

ἀσύμφορον ἡγεῖτο διὰ πλείους αἰτίας· τὸν τε γὰρ
 Κλεομένη καὶ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς παρα-
 8 σκευάζειν ἤμελλε πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολήν, τοὺς τε
 πολλοὺς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν διατρέψειν καταφεύγων ἐπὶ
 τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ δοκῶν ὀλοσχερῶς ἀπεγνωκέναι 5
 τὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐλπίδας, ὅπερ ἦκιστα φαίνεσθαι
 9 πράττων ἐβούλετο. διόπερ ἔχων τοιαύτην πρό-
 10 θεσιν ἀδήλως αὐτὰ διανοεῖτο χειρίζειν· ἐξ οὗ
 πολλὰ παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην ἡναγκάζετο καὶ
 λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτός, δι' ὧν ἤμελλε 10
 τὴν ἐναντίαν ἔμφασιν ὑποδεικνύων ταύτην ἐπι-
 11 κρύψεσθαι τὴν οἰκονομίαν. ὧν χάριν ἔνια τούτων
 οἷδ' ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι κατέταξεν.

48 Εἰδὼς δὲ τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας κακοπαθοῦντας
 μὲν τῷ πολέμῳ διὰ τὸ παρακειμένους τῇ Λακε- 15
 δαίμονι προπολεμεῖν τῶν ἄλλων, οὐ τυγχάνοντας
 δὲ τῆς καθηκούσης ἐπικουρίας ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν
 διὰ τὸ κακείνους δυσχρηστεῖσθαι θλιβομένους ὑπὸ
 2 τῆς περιστάσεως, σαφῶς δὲ γινώσκων οἰκείως
 διακειμένους αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν Μακεδόνων οἰκίαν 20
 ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἀμύντου Φίλιππον εὐεργεσιῶν,
 3 διανοεῖτο διότι ταχέως ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλεομένου
 πιεζόμενοι καταφύγοιεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον καὶ
 4 τὰς Μακεδόνων ἐλπίδας. κοινολογηθεὶς οὖν δι'
 ἀπορρήτων περὶ τῆς ὅλης ἐπιβολῆς Νικοφάνει 25
 καὶ Κερκιδᾷ τοῖς Μεγαλοπολίταις, οἵτινες ἦσαν
 αὐτοῦ πατρικοὶ ξένοι καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολήν
 5 εὐφυεῖς, ῥαδίως διὰ τούτων ὁρμὴν παρέστησε τοῖς
 Μεγαλοπολίταις εἰς τὸ πρεσβεύειν πρὸς τοὺς
 Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ παρακαλεῖν πέμπειν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντί- 30

γονον ὑπὲρ βοηθείας. οἱ μὲν οὖν Μεγαλοπολίται 6
 κατέστησαν αὐτοὺς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Νικοφάνη καὶ
 τὸν Κερκιδᾶν πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς τε τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς
 κακείθεν εὐθέως πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίγονον, ἃν αὐτοῖς
 5 συγκατάθεται τὸ ἔθνος· οἱ δ' Ἀχαιοὶ συνεχώρησαν 7
 πρεσβεῦειν τοῖς Μεγαλοπολίταις. σπουδῇ δὲ 8
 συμμίζαντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Νικοφάνη making overtures
through envoys of
Megalopolis
 τῷ βασιλεῖ διελέγοντο περὶ μὲν τῆς
 ἑαυτῶν πατρίδος αὐτὰ τὰναγκαῖα διὰ βραχέων καὶ
 10 κεφαλαιωδῶς, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ περὶ τῶν ὅλων κατὰ
 τὰς ἐντολὰς τὰς Ἀράτου καὶ τὰς ὑποθέσεις.
 αὐταὶ δ' ἦσαν ὑποδεικνύειν τὴν Αἰτωλῶν καὶ 49
 Κλεομένους κοινοπραγίαν, τί δύναται καὶ ποῖ
 τείνει, καὶ δηλοῦν ὅτι πρῶτοις μὲν αὐτοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς
 15 εὐλαβητέον, ἐξῆς δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον Ἀντιγόνῳ. τοῦτο 2
 μὲν γάρ, ὥς Ἀχαιοὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν πόλεμον οὐκ ἂν
 ὑπενέγκαιεν, εὐθεώρητον εἶναι πᾶσι, τοῦτο δ', ὥς
 Αἰτωλοὶ καὶ Κλεομένης κρατήσαντες τούτων οὐκ
 εὐδοκήσουσιν οὐδὲ μὴ μείνωσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπο-
 20 κειμένων, ἔτι τοῦ πρόσθεν ῥᾶον εἶναι τῷ νουν
 ἔχοντι συνιδεῖν. τὴν τε γὰρ Αἰτωλῶν πλεονεξίαν 3
 οὐχ οἶον τοῖς Πελοποννησίων ὅροις εὐδοκήσαι
 ποτ' ἂν περιληφθεῖσαν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῖς τῆς Ἑλ-
 λάδος· τὴν τε Κλεομένους φιλοδοξίαν καὶ τὴν 4
 25 ὅλην ἐπιβολὴν κατὰ μὲν τὸ παρὸν αὐτῆς ἐφίεσθαι
 τῆς Πελοποννησίων ἀρχῆς, τυχόντα δὲ ταύτης
 τὸν προειρημένον κατὰ πόδας ἀνθέξεσθαι τῆς τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίας, ἧς οὐχ οἶόν τε καθικέσθαι μὴ 5
 οὐ πρόσθεν καταλύσαντα τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχήν.
 30 σκοπεῖν οὖν αὐτὸν ἡξίου, προορώμενον τὸ μέλλον, 6

πότερον συμφέρει τοῖς σφετέροις πράγμασι μετ'
 Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Βοιωτῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πρὸς
 Κλεομένη πολεμεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγε-
 μονίας, ἣ προέμενον τὸ μέγιστον διακινδυνεύειν
 ἐν Θετταλίᾳ πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ Βοιωτοὺς, 5
 ἔτι δ' Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους, ὑπὲρ τῆς
 7 Μακεδόνων ἀρχῆς. ἐὰν μὲν οὖν Αἰτωλοί, τὴν
 ἐκ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς γεγεννημένην εὐνοίαν
 ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Δημήτριον καιροῖς ἐντρεπόμενοι, τὴν
 ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν ὑποκρίνονται καθάπερ καὶ νῦν, 10
 πολεμήσειν αὐτοὺς ἔφασαν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς πρὸς
 τὸν Κλεομένη, καὶ μὲν ἡ τύχη συνεπιλαμβάνηται,
 8 μὴ δεῖσθαι χρείας τῶν βοηθησόντων· ἂν δ' ἀντι-
 πίπτῃ τὰ τῆς τύχης, Αἰτωλοὶ δὲ συνεπιτίθωνται,
 προσέχειν αὐτὸν παρεκάλουν τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἵνα 15
 μὴ πρόηται τοὺς καιροὺς, ἔτι δὲ δυναμένοις σώ-
 9 ζεσθαι Πελοποννησίοις ἐπαρκέσῃ. περὶ δὲ πίσ-
 τεως καὶ χάριτος ἀποδόσεως ῥαθυμεῖν αὐτὸν
 ᾧοντο δεῖν· τῆς γὰρ χρείας ἐπιτελουμένης αὐτὸν
 εὐρήσειν τὸν Ἄρατον εὐδοκουμένας ἀμφοτέροις 20
 10 ὑπισχνοῦντο πίστει. ὁμοίως δ' ἔφασαν καὶ τὸν
 καιρὸν τῆς βοηθείας αὐτὸν ὑποδείξειν.
 50 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀντίγονος ἀκούσας ταῦτα, καὶ
 δόξας ἀληθινῶς καὶ πραγματικῶς
 ὑποδεικνύναι τὸν Ἄρατον, προσεῖχε 25
 2 τοῖς ἐξῆς πραττομένοις ἐπιμελῶς, ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ
 τοῖς Μεγαλοπολίταις ἐπαγγελλόμενος βοηθήσειν,
 3 ἐὰν καὶ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς τοῦτο βουλομένοις ᾗ. τῶν
 δὲ περὶ τὸν Νικοφάνη καὶ Κερκιδᾶν ἐπανελθόντων
 εἰς οἶκον, καὶ τὰς τε παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπι- 30

which were well
received.

στολὰς ἀποδόντων καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν εὐνοίαν αὐτοῦ
καὶ προθυμίαν διασαφούντων, μετεωρισθέντες οἱ 4
Μεγαλοπολίται προθύμως ἔσχον ἵεναι πρὸς τὴν
σύνοδον τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἐπισπά-
5 σασθαι τὸν Ἀντίγονον καὶ τὰ πράγματα κατὰ
σπουδὴν ἐγχειρίζειν αὐτῷ. ὁ δ' Ἄρατος δια- 5
κούσας κατ' ἰδίαν τῶν περὶ τὸν Νικοφάνη τὴν τοῦ
βασιλέως αἵρεσιν, ἣν ἔχοι πρὸς τε τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς
καὶ πρὸς αὐτόν, περιχαρὴς ἦν τῷ μὴ διὰ κενῆς
10 πεποιῆσθαι τὴν ἐπίνοιαν μηδ' εὐρῆσθαι κατὰ τὴν
τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἐλπίδα τὸν Ἀντίγονον εἰς τέλος
ἀπηλλοτριωμένον ἑαυτοῦ. πάνυ δὲ πρὸς λόγον 6
ἠγείτο γίνεσθαι καὶ τὸ τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας προ-
θύμους εἶναι διὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν φέρειν ἐπὶ τὸν
15 Ἀντίγονον τὰ πράγματα. μάλιστα μὲν γάρ, ὥς 7
ἐπάνω προεῖπον, ἔσπευδε μὴ προσδεθῆναι τῆς
βοηθείας· εἰ δ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐπὶ τοῦτο δέοι κατα-
φεύγειν, οὐ μόνον ἠβούλετο δι' αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι τὴν
κληῆσιν, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν Ἀχαιῶν.
20 ἠγωνία γάρ, εἰ παραγενόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ 8
κρατήσας τῷ πολέμῳ τοῦ Κλεομένους καὶ τῶν
Λακεδαιμονίων ἀλλοιότερόν τι βουλεύσοιτο περὶ
τῆς κοινῆς πολιτείας, μὴ ποθ' ὁμολογουμένως τῶν
συμβαίνοντων αὐτὸς ἀναλάβῃ τὴν αἰτίαν, δόξαντος 9
25 δικαίως τοῦτο πράττειν διὰ τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ προ-
γεγενημένην ἀδικίαν περὶ τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον εἰς
τὴν Μακεδόνων οἰκίαν. διόπερ ἅμα τῷ παρελ- 10
θόντας τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας εἰς τὸ κοινὸν βου-
λευτήριον τά τε γράμματα τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐπι-
30 δεικνύναι καὶ διασαφεῖν τὴν ὅλην εὐνοίαν τοῦ

- βασιλέως, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀξιούν ἐπισπάσασθαι
 τὸν Ἀντίγονον τὴν ταχίστην, εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὰ
 11 πλῆθος ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὁρμῆς, προσελθὼν Ἄρατος
 καὶ τὴν τε τοῦ βασιλέως προθυμίαν ἀποδεξάμενος
 καὶ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν διάληψιν ἐπαινέσας παρε- 5
 He wished indeed
 to dispense with
 help; κάλει διὰ πλειόνων μάλιστα μὲν πει-
 ρᾶσθαι δι' αὐτῶν σφῆζειν καὶ τὰς
 πόλεις καὶ τὴν χώραν· οὐδὲν γὰρ εἶναι τούτου
 12 κάλλιον οὐδὲ συμφωρότερον· ἐὰν δ' ἄρα πρὸς
 τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἀντιβαίῃ τὰ τῆς τύχης, πρότερον 10
 ἔφη δεῖν ἐξελέγξαντας πάσας τὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς
 ἐλπίδας, τότε καταφεύγειν ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν φίλων
 51 βοθητίας. ἐπισημηναμένου δὲ τοῦ πλήθους ἔδοξε
 μένειν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποκειμένων καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἐπι-
 2 τελεῖν τὸν ἐνεστώτα πόλεμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ Πτολε- 15
 μαῖος ἀπογνοὺς μὲν τὸ ἔθνος Κλεομένει χορηγεῖν
 ἐπεβάλετο, βουλόμενος αὐτὸν ἐπαλείφειν ἐπὶ τὸν
 Ἀντίγονον διὰ τὸ πλείους ἐλπίδας ἔχειν ἐν τοῖς
 Λακεδαιμονίοις ἥπερ ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς τοῦ δύνασ-
 θαι διακατέχειν τὰς τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ βασιλέων 20
 3 ἐπιβολάς, οἱ δ' Ἀχαιοὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡλαττώ-
 θησαν περὶ τὸ Λύκαιον συμπλακέντες κατὰ
 πορείαν τῷ Κλεομένει, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ἐκ παρα-
 but repeated loss-
 es drove him to
 call in Antigonus, τάξεως ἡττήθησαν ἐν τοῖς Λαδοκείοις 25
 καλουμένοις τῆς Μεγαλοπολίτιδος,
 ὅτε καὶ Λυδιάδας ἔπεσε, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ὁλοσχερῶς
 ἔπταισαν ἐν τῇ Δυμαίᾳ· περὶ τὸ καλούμενον
 4 Ἐκατόμβαιον πανδημεὶ διακινδυνεύοντες, τότε ἤδη
 τῶν πραγμάτων οὐκέτι διδόντων ἀναστροφὴν
 ἠνάγκαζε τὰ περιεστώτα καταφεύγειν ὁμοθυμαδὸν 30

ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον. ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ πρεσβευτὴν τὸν 5
 υἱὸν ἑξαποστείλας Ἄρατος πρὸς Ἀντίγονον ἐβε-
 βαιώσατο τὰ περὶ τῆς βοηθείας. παρείχε δ'
 αὐτοῖς ἀπορίαν καὶ δυσχρηστίαν μεγίστην τὸ
 5 μῆτε τὸν βασιλέα δοκεῖν ἂν βοηθῆσαι χωρὶς τοῦ
 κομίσασθαι τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον καὶ λαβεῖν ὄρμη-
 τήριον πρὸς τὸν ἐνεστῶτα πόλεμον τὴν τῶν
 Κορινθίων πόλιν, μῆτε τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἂν τολμῆσαι
 Κορινθίους ἄκοντας. ἐγχειρίσαι Μακεδόσι. διὸ 7
 10 καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ὑπέρθεσιν ἔσχε τὸ διαβούλιον
 χάριν τῆς περὶ τῶν πίστεων ἐπισκέψεως. ὁ δὲ 52
 Κλεομένης καταπληξάμενος τοῖς προειρημένοις
 εὐτυχήμασι λοιπὸν ἀδεῶς ἐπεπορεύετο τὰς πόλεις,
 ἃς μὲν πείθων αἷς δὲ τὸν φόβον ἀνατεινόμενος.
 15 προσλαβὼν δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ Καφύας Πελλή- 2
 νην Φενεὸν Ἄργος Φλιοῦντα Κλεωνὰς Ἐπίδαυρον
 Ἑρμιόνα Τρόλζηνα, τελευταῖον Κόρινθον, αὐτὸς
 μὲν προσεστρατοπέδευσε τῇ τῶν Σικυωνίων πόλει,
 τοὺς δ' Ἀχαιοὺς ἀπέλυσε τοῦ μεγίστου προβλή-
 20 ματος· τῶν γὰρ Κορινθίων τῷ μὲν Ἀράτῳ στρα- 3
 τηγοῦντι καὶ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς παραγγειλάντων ἐκ
 τῆς πόλεως ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Κλεομένη
 διαπεμπομένων καὶ καλούντων, παρεδόθη τοῖς
 Ἀχαιοῖς ἀφορμὴ καὶ πρόφασις εὐλογος, ἥς ἐπιλα- 4
 25 βόμενος Ἄρατος καὶ προτείνας Ἀντιγόνῳ τὸν Ἀκρο-
 κόρινθον, κατεχόντων Ἀχαιῶν τότε τὸν τόπον τοῦ-
 του, ἔλυσε μὲν τὸ γεγονὸς ἔγκλημα πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν,
 ἱκανὴν δὲ πίστιν παρέσχετο τῆς πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα
 κοινωνίας, τὸ δὲ συνέχον, ὀρμητήριον παρεσκεύασεν
 30 Ἀντιγόνῳ πρὸς τὸν κατὰ Λακεδαιμονίων πόλεμον.

- 5 Ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης ἐπιγνούς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς συν-
 τιθεμένους τὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίγονον, ἀναζεύξας
 ἀπὸ τοῦ Σικυῶνος κατεστρατοπέδευσε περὶ τὸν
 Ἴσθμόν, διαλαβὼν χάρακι καὶ τάφρῳ τὸν μεταξὺ
 τόπον τοῦ τε Ἀκροκορίνθου καὶ τῶν Ὀνείων 5
 καλουμένων ὁρῶν, πᾶσαν ἤδη βεβαίως περιειλη-
 6 φῶς ταῖς ἐλπίσι τὴν Πελοποννησίων ἀρχήν. Ἀν-
 τίγονος δὲ πάλαι μὲν ἦν ἐν παρασκευῇ, караδοκῶν
 7 τὸ μέλλον, κατὰ τὰς ὑποθέσεις τὰς Ἀράτου· τότε
 δὲ συλλογιζόμενος ἐκ τῶν προσπιπτόντων ὅσον 10
 οὐπω παρῆναι τὸν Κλεομένην μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως
 εἰς Θετταλίαν, διαπεμψάμενος πρὸς τε τὸν Ἀρα-
 τον καὶ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁμολογημένων,
 ἦκεν ἔχων τὰς δυνάμεις διὰ τῆς Εὐβοίας ἐπὶ τὸν
 8 Ἴσθμόν. οἱ γὰρ Αἰτωλοὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ 15
 τότε βουλόμενοι κωλύσαι τὸν Ἀντίγονον τῆς
 βοηθείας, ἀπέειπον αὐτῷ πορεύεσθαι μετὰ δυνά-
 μεως ἐντὸς Πυλῶν· εἰ δὲ μή, διότι κωλύσουσι
 μεθ' ὅπλων αὐτοῦ τὴν δίοδον.
 9 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀντίγονος καὶ Κλεομένης ἀντεσ- 20
 τρατοπέδευον ἀλλήλοις, ὁ μὲν εἰσελθεῖν σπουδάζων
 εἰς Πελοπόννησον, ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης κωλύσαι τῆς
 53 εἰσόδου τὸν Ἀντίγονον· οἱ δ' Ἀχαιοί, καίπερ οὐ
 who forced a μετρίως ἠλαττωμένοι τοῖς ὅλοις, ὅμως
 passage through
 the Isthmus, οὐκ ἀφίσταντο τῆς προθέσεως οὐδ' 25
 2 ἐγκατέλειπον τὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐλπίδας, ἀλλ' ἅμα τῷ
 τὸν Ἀριστοτέλῃ τὸν Ἀργεῖον ἐπαναστῆναι τοῖς
 κλεομενισταῖς βοηθήσαντες καὶ παρεισπεσόντες
 μετὰ Τιμοξένου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κατέλαβον τὴν τῶν
 3 Ἀργείων πόλιν. ὃ δὲ καὶ νομιστέον αἰτιώτατον 30

- γεγονέναι πραγμάτων κατορθώσεως· τὸ γὰρ ἐπι-
 λαβόμενον τῆς ὁρμῆς τοῦ Κλεομένους καὶ προητ-
 τήσαν τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν δυνάμεων τοῦτο ἦν, ὡς ἐξ
 αὐτῶν φανερόν ἐγένετο τῶν πραγμάτων. καὶ γὰρ 4
 5 τόπους εὐφυστέρους προκατέχων καὶ χορηγίαις
 δαψιλεστέραις Ἀντιγόνου χρώμενος, καὶ τόλμη
 καὶ φιλοτιμία μείζονι παρωρμημένος, ὅμως ἅμα 5
 τῷ προσπεσεῖν αὐτῷ διότι κατειλήφθαι συμβαίνει
 τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων πόλιν ὑπὸ τῶν while Cleomenes
fell back because
 10 Ἀχαιῶν, εὐθὺς ἀνάσπαστος, ἀπολι- Argos rose a-
gainst him in his
rear. B. C. 223.
 πῶν τὰ προδεδηλωμένα προτερήματα,
 φυγῇ παραπλησίαν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν,
 δείσας μὴ πανταχόθεν αὐτὸν περιστῶσιν οἱ πολέ-
 μιοι. παραπεσὼν δ' εἰς Ἄργος καὶ κατὰ ποσὸν 6
 15 ἀντιποιησάμενος τῆς πόλεως, μετὰ ταῦτα γενναίως
 μὲν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν φιλοτίμως δὲ τῶν Ἀργείων ἐκ
 μεταμελείας αὐτὸν ἀμυναμένων ἀποπεσὼν καὶ
 ταύτης τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, καὶ ποιησάμενος τὴν πορείαν
 διὰ Μαντινείας οὕτως ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην.
 20 ὁ δ' Ἀντίγονος ἀσφαλῶς εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον 54
 εἰσελθὼν παρέλαβε τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον, οὐδένα δὲ
 χρόνον μέλλας εἶχετο τῶν προκειμένων καὶ παρῆν
 εἰς Ἄργος. ἐπαινέσας δὲ τοὺς Ἀργεῖους καὶ κατα- 2
 στησάμενος τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν αὐθις ἐκ ποδὸς
 25 ἐκίνει, ποιούμενος τὴν πορείαν ὡς ἐπ' Ἀρκαδίας.
 ἐκβαλὼν δὲ τὰς φρουρὰς ἐκ τῶν ἐποικοδομηθέντων 3
 χωρίων ὑπὸ Κλεομένους κατὰ τε τὴν Αἰγύτιν καὶ
 Βελμινᾶτιν χώραν, καὶ παραδοὺς τὰ φρούρια
 Μεγαλοπολίταις, ἦκε πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν σύνο-
 30 δον εἰς Αἴγιον. ἀπολογισάμενος δὲ περὶ τῶν καθ' 4

αὐτὸν καὶ χρηματίσας περὶ τῶν μελλόντων, ἔτι δὲ
 5 κατασταθεὶς ἡγεμὼν ἀπάντων τῶν συμμάχων, μετὰ
 ταῦτα χρόνον μὲν τινα παραχειμάζων διέτριβε
 περὶ Σικυῶνα καὶ Κόρινθον, τῆς δ' ἑαρινῆς ὥρας
 6 ἐνισταμένης ἀναλαβὼν τὰς δυνάμεις προῆγε, καὶ 5
 διανύσας τριταῖος πρὸς τὴν τῶν Τεγεατῶν πόλιν,
 ἀπηντηκότων καὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐνταῦθα, περιστρα-
 τοπεδεύσας ἤρξατο πολιορκεῖν αὐτήν.
 7 τῶν δὲ Μακεδόνων ἐνεργῶς χρωμένων
 τῇ τε λοιπῇ πολιορκίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ὀρύγ- 10
 μασι, ταχέως ἀπελπίσαντες οἱ Τεγεᾶται τὴν σωτη-
 8 ρίαν παρέδοσαν αὐτούς. ὁ δ' Ἀντίγονος ἀσφαλι-
 σάμενος τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν εἶχετο κατὰ τὸ συνεχές
 τῶν ἐξῆς, καὶ προῆγε κατὰ σπουδὴν εἰς τὴν Λα-
 9 κωνικὴν. ἐγγίσας δὲ τῷ Κλεομένει προκαθημένῳ 15
 τῆς ἑαυτοῦ χώρας κατεπεύραξε καὶ συνίστατό
 10 τινὰς ἀκροβολισμούς. προσπεσόντος δὲ διὰ τῶν
 κατασκόπων αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ στρατιώτας
 παραβεβηθηκέναι πρὸς τὸν Κλεομένην, παραντίκα
 11 ποιησάμενος ἀναζυγὴν ἠπείγετο, καὶ τὸν μὲν Ὀρχο- 20
 μενὸν ἐξ ἐφόδου κατὰ κράτος εἶλε, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
 περιστρατοπεδεύσας τὴν τῶν Μαντινέων ἐπολιόρ-
 12 κει πόλιν. ταχὺ δὲ καὶ ταύτην καταπληξαμένων
 τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ λαβόντων ὑποχείριον, ἀναζεύ-
 13 ξας προῆγε τὴν ἐφ' Ἡραίας καὶ Τελφούσης. πα- 25
 ραλαβὼν δὲ καὶ ταύτας τὰς πόλεις, ἐβελοντὴν
 προσχωρησάντων αὐτῷ τῶν κατοικούντων, οὕτως
 ἤδη συνάπτοντος τοῦ χειμῶνος παρῆν εἰς Αἴγιον
 14 πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν σύνοδον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν Μα-
 κεδόνας ἐπ' οἶκου διαφῆκε πάντας εἰς τὴν χειμα- 30

Next year Anti-
 gonus carried all
 before him in the
 centre of the Pe-
 loponnese,

σίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς διελέγετο καὶ συνδιε-
νοεῖτο περὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων.

Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους συνθεωρῶν ὁ 55
Κλεομένης τὰς μὲν δυνάμεις διαφει- but Cleomenes
stormed Megalo-
polis by night.
5 μένας, τὸν δὲ Ἀντίγονον μετὰ τῶν
μισθοφόρων ἐν Αἰγίῳ διατρίβοντα καὶ τριῶν
ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀφεστώτα τῆς Μεγάλης πόλεως, τὴν 2
δὲ πόλιν ταύτην εἰδὼς δυσφύλακτον οὖσαν διὰ τὸ
μέγεθος καὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν, τότε δὲ καὶ ῥαθύμως
10 τηρουμένην διὰ τὴν Ἀντιγόνου παρουσίαν, τὸ δὲ
μέγιστον, ἀπολωλότας τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἐν ταῖς
ἡλικίαις ἐν τε τῇ περὶ τὸ Λύκαιον καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα
τῇ περὶ Λαδόκεια μάχῃ, λαβὼν συνεργοὺς τινας 3
τῶν ἐκ Μεσσήνης φυγάδων, οἱ διατρίβοντες ἐτύγ-
15 χανον ἐν τῇ Μεγάλῃ πόλει, παρειαῖον διὰ τού-
των λάθρα νυκτὸς τῶν ἐντὸς τειχῶν. τῆς δ' ἡμέ- 4
ρας ἐπιγενομένης παρ' ὀλίγον ἦλθε τοῦ μὴ μόνον
ἐκπεσεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὅλοις κινδυνεῦσαι διὰ τὴν
εὐψυχίαν τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτῶν· ὁ δὲ καὶ τρισὶ 5
20 μῆσι πρότερον αὐτῷ συνέβη παθεῖν παρειαπρόντι
κατὰ τὸν Κωλαῖον προσαγορευόμενον τόπον τῆς
πόλεως. τότε δὲ τῷ πλήθει τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῷ 6
προκαταλαμβάνεσθαι τοὺς εὐκαίρους τόπους κα-
θίκετο τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, καὶ πέρας ἐκβαλὼν τοὺς
25 Μεγαλοπολίτας κατέσχε τὴν πόλιν. γενόμενος δ' 7
ἐγκρατὴς οὕτως αὐτὴν πικρῶς διέφθειρε καὶ δυσ-
μενῶς ὥστε μὴδ' ἐλπίζειν μηδένα διότι δύναται ἂν
συννοικισθῆναι πάλιν. τοῦτο δὲ ποιῆσαι μοι δοκεῖ 8
διὰ τὸ κατὰ τὰς τῶν καιρῶν περιστάσεις παρὰ
30 μόνοις Μεγαλοπολίταις καὶ Στυμφαλίοις μηδέποτε

δυνηθῆναι μήτε αἰρετιστὴν καὶ κοινωνὸν τῶν ἰδίων
 9 ἐλπίδων μήτε προδότην κατασκευάσασθαι. τὸ
 μὲν γὰρ Κλειτορίων φιλελεύθερον καὶ γενναῖον εἰς
 ἀνὴρ κατήσχυε διὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κακίαν, Θεάρκης
 ὃν εἰκότως ἐξαρνοῦνται Κλειτόριοι μὴ φῦναι παρὰ 5
 σφίσι, γένος δὲ ὑποβολιμαῖον ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ τῶν
 ἐπηλύδων τινὸς στρατιωτῶν.

56 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς Ἀράτῳ
 γεγραφότων παρ' ἐνίοις ἀποδοχῆς ἀξιούται Φύλαρ-
 χος, ἐν πολλοῖς ἀντιδοξῶν καὶ τάναντία γράφων 10
 2 αὐτῷ, χρήσιμον ἂν εἴη, μᾶλλον δ' ἀναγκαῖον ἡμῖν
 Ἀράτῳ προηρημένοις κατακολουθεῖν περὶ τῶν
 Κλεομενικῶν, μὴ παραλιπεῖν ἄσκεπτον τοῦτο τὸ
 μέρος, ἵνα μὴ τὸ ψεῦδος ἐν τοῖς συγγράμμασιν
 ἰσοδυναμοῦν ἀπολείπωμεν πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν. 15
 3 καθόλου μὲν οὖν ὁ συγγραφεὺς οὗτος πολλὰ παρ'
 ὅλην τὴν πραγματείαν εἰκῇ καὶ ὥς ἔτυχεν εἴρηκεν.
 4 πλὴν περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἴσως οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον
 ἐπιτιμᾶν κατὰ τὸ παρὸν οὐδ' ἐξακριβοῦν, ὅσα δὲ
 συνεπιβάλλει τοῖς ὑφ' ἡμῶν γραφομένοις καιροῖς 20
 (ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Κλεομενικὸν πόλεμον),
 ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀναγκαῖον ἐστὶν ἡμῖν διευκρινεῖν.
 5 ἔσται δὲ πάντως ἀρκοῦντα ταῦτα πρὸς τὸ καὶ τὴν
 ὅλην αὐτοῦ προαίρεσιν καὶ δύναμιν ἐν τῇ πραγ-
 6 ματείᾳ καταμαθεῖν. βουλόμενος δὲ διασαφεῖν τὴν 25
 ὁμότητα τὴν Ἀντιγόνου καὶ Μακεδό-
 νων, ἅμα δὲ τούτοις τὴν Ἀράτου καὶ
 τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, φησὶ τοὺς Μαντινέας
 γενομένους ὑποχειρίους μεγάλοις περιπεσεῖν ἀτυ-
 χήμασι, καὶ τὴν ἀρχαιοτάτην καὶ μεγίστην πόλιν 30

Phylarchus exag-
 gerates the hor-
 rors of the sack
 of Mantinea

τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν τηλικαύταις παλαῖσαι
 συμφοραῖς ὥστε πάντας εἰς ἐπίστασιν καὶ δάκρυα
 τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἀγαγεῖν. σπουδάζων δ' εἰς ἔλεον 7
 ἐκκαλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας καὶ συμπαθεῖς
 5 ποιεῖν τοῖς λεγομένοις, εἰσάγει περιπλοκάς γυναι-
 κῶν καὶ κόμας διερριμμένας καὶ μαστῶν ἐκβολάς,
 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις δάκρυα καὶ θρήνους ἀνδρῶν καὶ
 γυναικῶν ἀναμῖξ τέκνοις καὶ γονεῦσι γηραιοῖς
 ἀπαγομένων. ποιεῖ δὲ τοῦτο παρ' ὅλην τὴν ἰσ- 8
 10 τορίαν, πειρώμενος ἐκάστοις ἀεὶ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν
 τιθέναι τὰ δεινὰ. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀγεννὲς καὶ γυναι- 9
 κῶδες τῆς αἰρέσεως αὐτοῦ παρείσθω, τὸ δὲ τῆς
 ἱστορίας οἰκεῖον ἅμα καὶ χρήσιμον ἐξεταζέσθω.
 δεῖ τοιγαροῦν οὐκ ἐπιπλήττειν τὸν συγγραφέα 10
 15 τερατευόμενον διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας τοὺς ἐντυγχάνον-
 τας, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐνδεχομένους λόγους ζητεῖν καὶ τὰ
 παρεπόμενα τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις ἐξαριθμεῖσθαι κα-
 θάπερ οἱ τραγωδιογράφοι, τῶν δὲ πραχθέντων
 καὶ ῥηθέντων κατ' ἀλήθειαν αὐτῶν μνημονεύειν
 20 πᾶμπαν, ἂν πάνυ μέτρια τυγχάνωσιν ὄντα. τὸ 11
 γὰρ τέλος ἱστορίας καὶ τραγωδίας οὐ ταῦτόν ἀλλὰ
 τοῦναντίον· ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ δεῖ διὰ τῶν πιθανωτάτων
 λόγων ἐκπλήξαι καὶ ψυχαγωγῆσαι κατὰ τὸ παρὸν
 τοὺς ἀκούοντας, ἐνθάδε δὲ διὰ τῶν ἀληθινῶν ἔργων
 25 καὶ λόγων εἰς πάντα τὸν χρόνον διδάξαι καὶ
 πείσαι τοὺς φιλομαθοῦντας, ἐπειδὴ περ ἐν ἐκείνοις 12
 μὲν ἡγεῖται τὸ πιθανόν, καὶ ἢ ψεῦδος, διὰ τὴν
 ἀπάτην τῶν θεωμένων, ἐν δὲ τούτοις τὰληθὲς διὰ
 τὴν ὠφέλειαν τῶν φιλομαθούντων. χωρὶς τε 13
 30 τούτων τὰς πλείστας ἡμῖν ἐξηγεῖται τῶν περιπε-

- τειῶν οὐχ ὑποτιθεῖς αἰτίαν καὶ τρόπον τοῖς γινο-
 μένοις, ὧν χωρὶς οὐτ' ἐλεεῖν εὐλόγως οὐτ' ὀργίζεσ-
 θαι καθηκόντως δυνατόν ἐπ' οὐδενὶ τῶν συμβαι-
 14 νόντων, ἐπεὶ τίς ἀνθρώπων οὐ δεινὸν ἡγεῖται
 τύπτεσθαι τοὺς ἐλευθέρους; ἀλλ' ὅμως, εἰ μὲν 5
 ἄρχων ἀδίκων χειρῶν πάθη τις τοῦτο, δικαίως κρίνε-
 ται πεπονθέναι, εἰ δ' ἐπὶ διορθώσει καὶ μαθήσει
 ταῦτ' οὗτο γίνηται, προσέτι καὶ τιμῆς καὶ χάρι-
 15 τος οἱ τύπτοντες τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἀξιοῦνται. καὶ
 μὴν τό γε τοὺς πολίτας ἀποκτείνουσι μέγιστον 10
 ἀσέβημα τίθεται καὶ μεγίστων ἀξίων προστίμων.
 καίτοι γε προφανῶς ὁ μὲν τὸν κλέπτην ἢ μοιχὸν
 ἀποκτείνας ἀθῶός ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ τὸν προδότην ἢ
 τύραννον τιμῶν καὶ προεδρείας τυγχάνει παρὰ
 16 πᾶσιν. οὕτως ἐν παντὶ τὸ τέλος κεῖται τῆς 15
 διαλήψεως ὑπὲρ τούτων οὐκ ἐν τοῖς τελουμένοις,
 ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς αἰτίαις καὶ προαιρέσεσι τῶν πρατ-
 τόντων καὶ ταῖς τούτων διαφοραῖς.
- 57 Μαντινεῖς τοίνυν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐγκαταλιπόν-
 which well de- τες τὴν μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πολιτείαν 20
 served its fate ἔβελοντὴν Αἰτωλοῖς ἐνεχείρισαν αὐ-
 τοὺς καὶ τὴν πατρίδα, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κλεομένει
 2 γεγονότες δ' ἐπὶ τοιαύτης προαιρέσεως καὶ μετέ-
 χοντες τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείας ἔτει τετάρτῳ.
 πρότερον τῆς Ἀντιγόνου παρουσίας ἐάλωσαν κατὰ 25
 κράτος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, Ἀράτου πραξικοπήσαν-
 3 τος αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν. ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ τοσοῦτον
 ἀπέσχον τοῦ παθεῖν τι δεινὸν διὰ τὴν προειρη-
 μένην ἁμαρτίαν ὥς καὶ περιβόητον συνέβη γενέσ-
 θαι τὸ πραχθὲν διὰ τὴν ὀξύτητα τῆς κατὰ τὴν 30

προαίρεσιν ἀμφοτέρων μεταβολῆς. ἅμα γὰρ τῷ 4
 κατασχεῖν τὴν πόλιν Ἄρατος παραυτίκα μὲν τοῖς
 ὑφ' αὐτὸν ταττομένοις παρήγγελλε μηδένα μηδε-
 νὸς ἅπτεσθαι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων, ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις 5
 5 τῶς Μαντινέας συναθροίσας παρεκάλεσε θαρρεῖν
 καὶ μένειν ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων· ὑπάρξειν γὰρ αὐτοῖς
 τὴν ἀσφάλειαν πολιτευομένοις μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν.
 τοῖς δὲ Μαντινεῦσιν ἀνυπονοήτου καὶ παραδόξου 6
 φανείσης τῆς ἐλπίδος, παραυτίκα πάντες ἐπὶ τῆς
 10 ἐναντίας ἐγένοντο γνώμης, καὶ πρὸς οὓς μικρῷ 7
 πρότερον μαχόμενοι πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀναγκαίων
 ἐπέιδον ἀπολλυμένους, οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ αὐτῶν
 βιαίοις τραύμασι περιπεσόντας, τούτους εἰς τὰς
 ἰδίας οἰκίας εἰσαγαγόμενοι καὶ ποιησάμενοι σφίσι
 15 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀναγκαίοις ὁμεστίους οὐδὲν
 ἀπέλειπον τῆς μετ' ἀλλήλων φιλοφροσύνης. καὶ 8
 τοῦτ' εἰκότως ἐποιοῦν· οὐ γὰρ οἶδ' εἴ τινες ἀνθρώ-
 πων εὐγνωμονεστέροις ἐνέτυχον πολεμίοις, οὐδ' εἴ
 τινες ἀβλαβέστερον ἐπάλαισαν τοῖς μεγίστοις
 20 δοκοῦσιν εἶναι συμπτώμασι Μαντινέων διὰ τὴν
 Ἄρατος καὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς φιλαν-
 θρωπίαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα προορώμενοι τὰς ἐν 58
 αὐτοῖς στάσεις καὶ τὰς ὑπ' Αἰτωλῶν καὶ Λακεδαι-
 μονίων ἐπιβουλὰς, πρεσβεύσαντες πρὸς τοὺς
 25 Ἀχαιοὺς ἠξίωσαν δοῦναι παραφυλακὴν αὐτοῖς.
 αἱ δὲ πεισθέντες ἀπεκλήρωσαν ἐξ αὐτῶν τρια- 2
 κοσίους ἄνδρας, ὧν οἱ λαχόντες ὥρμησαν ἀπο-
 λιπόντες τὰς ἰδίας πατρίδας καὶ τοὺς βίους,
 καὶ διέτριβον ἐν Μαντινείᾳ παραφυλάττοντες τὴν
 30 ἐκείνων ἐλευθερίαν ἅμα καὶ σωτηρίαν. σὺν δὲ 3

τούτοις καὶ μισθοφόρους διακοσίους ἐξέπεμψαν,
 οἱ μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν συνδιετήρουν τὴν ὑποκει-
 4 μένην αὐτοῖς κατάστασιν. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ
 στασιάσαντες πρὸς σφᾶς οἱ Μαντινεῖς καὶ Λακε-
 for its ingratitude and perfidy to the
 Achaeans. δαιμονίους ἐπισπασάμενοι τὴν τε 5
 πόλιν ἐνεχείρισαν καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν
 Ἀχαιῶν διατρίβοντας παρ' αὐτοῖς κατέσφαξαν.
 οὐ μείζον παρασπόνδῆμα καὶ δεινότερον οὐδ' εἰπεῖν
 5 εὐμαρές. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἔδοξε σφίσι καθόλου τὴν
 πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος χάριν καὶ φιλίαν ἀθετεῖν, τῶν γε 10
 προειρημένων ἀνδρῶν ἐχρῆν δὴ πού φεισαμένους
 6 ἑᾶσαι πάντας ὑποσπόνδους ἀπελθεῖν· τοῦτο
 γὰρ καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἔθος ἐστὶ συγχωρεῖσθαι
 7 κατὰ τοὺς κοινούς τῶν ἀνθρώπων νόμους. οἱ
 δ' ἵνα Κλεομένει καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἱκανὴν 15
 παράσχωνται πίστιν πρὸς τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἐπι-
 βολήν, τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων δίκαια παραβάντες
 τὸ μέγιστον ἀσέβημα κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἐπετέλεσαν.
 8 τὸ γὰρ τούτων αὐτόχειρας γενέσθαι καὶ τιμωροὺς
 οἵτινες πρότερον μὲν κατὰ κράτος λαβόντες 20
 αὐτοὺς ἀθώους ἀφῆκαν, τότε δὲ τὴν ἐκείνων
 ἐλευθερίαν καὶ σωτηρίαν ἐφύλαττον, πηλίκης
 9 ὀργῆς ἐστὶν ἄξιον; τί δ' ἂν παθόντες οὗτοι δίκην
 δόξαιεν ἀρμόζουσαν δεδωκέναι; τυχὸν ἴσως εἴποι
 τις ἂν, πραθέντες μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν, ἐπεὶ 25
 10 κατεπολεμήθησαν. ἀλλὰ τοῦτό γε καὶ τοῖς μὴθὲν
 ἀσεβὲς ἐπιτελεσαμένοις κατὰ τοὺς τοῦ πολέμου
 νόμους ὑπόκειται παθεῖν. οὐκοῦν ὁλοσχερεστέρας
 τινὸς καὶ μείζονος τυχεῖν ἦσαν ἄξιοι τιμωρίας,
 11 ὥστ' εἴπερ ἔπαθον ἂ Φύλαρχός φησιν, οὐκ ἔλεον 30

εἰκὸς ἦν συνεξακολουθεῖν αὐτοῖς παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλή-
 νων, ἔπαινον δὲ καὶ συγκατάθεσιν μᾶλλον τοῖς
 πρᾶττουσι καὶ μεταπορευομένοις τὴν ἀσέβειαν
 αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδενὸς περαιτέρω συνεξακο- 12
 5 λουθήσαντος Μαντινεῦσι κατὰ τὴν περιπέτειαν
 πλὴν τοῦ διαρπαγῆναι τοὺς βίους καὶ πραθῆναι
 τοὺς ἐλευθέρους, ὁ συγγραφεὺς αὐτῆς τῆς τερατείας
 χάριν οὐ μόνον ψεῦδος εἰσήνεγκε τὸ ὅλον, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος ἀπίθανον. καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν 13
 10 τῆς ἀγνοίας οὐδὲ τὸ παρακείμενον ἠδυνήθη συνε-
 πιστῆσαι, πῶς οἱ αὐτοὶ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς
 κυριεύσαντες Τεγεατῶν κατὰ κράτος οὐδὲν τῶν
 ὁμοίων ἔπραξαν. καίτοι γε εἰ μὲν ἢ τῶν πραττόν- 14
 των ὠμότης ἦν αἰτία, καὶ τούτους εἰκὸς ἦν πεπον-
 15 θέναι ταῦτά τοις ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν ὑποπεπτωκόσι
 καιρόν· εἰ δὲ περὶ μόνους γέγονε Μαντινεῖς ἢ 15
 διαφορά, φανερόν ὅτι καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ὀργῆς
 ἀνάγκη διαφέρουσιν γεγονέναι περὶ τούτους.

Πάλιν Ἀριστόμαχον τὸν Ἀργεῖόν φησιν, 59
 20 ἄνδρα τῆς ἐπιφανεστάτης οἰκίας ὑπάρ- He makes much
of the piteous lot
of Aristomachus,
 χοντα καὶ τετυραννηκότα μὲν Ἀργεῖων
 πεφυκότα δ' ἐκ τυράννων, ὑποχείριον Ἀντιγόνῳ
 καὶ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς γενόμενον εἰς Κεγχρεὰς ἀπαχ-
 θῆναι καὶ στρεβλούμενον ἀποθανεῖν, ἀδικώτατα
 25 καὶ δεινότατα παθόντα πάντων ἀνθρώπων. τηρῶν 2
 δὲ καὶ περὶ ταύτην τὴν πράξιν ὁ συγγραφεὺς τὸ
 καθ' αὐτὸν ἰδίωμα, φωνάς τινας πλάττει διὰ τῆς
 νυκτὸς αὐτοῦ στρεβλουμένου προσπιπτούσας τοῖς
 σύνεγγυς κατοικοῦσιν, ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἐκπληττομέ-
 30 νους τὴν ἀσέβειαν, τοὺς δ' ἀπιστοῦντας, τοὺς δ'

ἀγανακτοῦντας ἐπὶ τοῖς γινομένοις προστρέχειν
 3 πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν φησίν. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς τοιαύτης
 4 τερατείας παρείσθω· δεδήλωται γὰρ ἀρκούντως·
 ἐγὼ δ' Ἀριστόμαχον, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν εἰς τοὺς
 Ἀχαιοὺς ἕτερον ἤμαρτεν, κατὰ γε τὴν τοῦ βίου 5
 προαίρεσιν καὶ τὴν εἰς πατρίδα παρανομίαν τῆς
 5 μεγίστης ἄξιον κρίνω τιμωρίας. καίπερ ὁ συγγρα-
 φεὺς βουλόμενος αὔξειν αὐτοῦ τὴν δόξαν καὶ
 παραστήσασθαι τοὺς ἀκούοντας εἰς τὸ μᾶλλον
 αὐτῷ συναγανακτεῖν ἐφ' οἷς ἔπαθεν, οὐ μόνον αὐτόν 10
 φησι γεγονέναι τύραννον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τυράννων
 6 πεφυκέναι. ταύτης δὲ μείζω κατηγορίαν ἢ πικρο-
 τέραν οὐδ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ῥαδίως δύναται· οὐδεὶς· αὐτὸ
 γὰρ τοῦνομα περιέχει τὴν ἀσεβειστάτην ἔμφασιν,
 καὶ πάσας περιείληφε τὰς ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀδικίας 15
 7 καὶ παρανομίας. Ἀριστόμαχος δ' εἰ τὰς δεινοτά-
 τας ὑπέμεινε τιμωρίας, ὥς οὗτός φησιν, ὅμως οὐχ
 8 ἱκανὴν ἔδωκ' ἂν δίκην μιᾶς ἡμέρας, ἐν ᾗ παρεισ-
 πεσύντος εἰς τὴν πόλιν Ἀράτου μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν
 καὶ μεγάλους ἀγῶνας καὶ κινδύνους ὑπομείναντος 20
 ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀργείων ἐλευθερίας, τέλος δ' ἐκπεσόντος
 διὰ τὸ μηδένα συγκινηθῆναι τῶν ἔσωθεν αὐτῷ
 ταξαμένων διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τυράννου φόβον,
 9 Ἀριστόμαχος ἀφορμῇ ταυτῇ καὶ προφάσει χρησά-
 μενος, ὥς τινων συνειδόντων τὰ περὶ τὴν εἴσοδον 25
 τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ὀγδοήκοντα τοὺς πρώτους τῶν πολι-
 τῶν οὐδὲν ἀδικήσαντας στρεβλώσας ἐναντίον τῶν
 10 ἀναγκαίων κατέσφαξεν. * * *
 62 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τούτοις ἐξῆς φησιν ἀπὸ τῶν
 ἐκ τῆς Μεγάλης πόλεως λαφύρων ἑξακισχίλια 30

τάλαντα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις πεσεῖν, ὧν τὰ δισχίλια
 Κλεομένει δοθῆναι κατὰ τοὺς ἔθισμούς. ^{and estimates its}
 ἐν δὲ τούτοις πρῶτον μὲν τίς οὐκ ^{spoils absurdly}
 ἂν θαυμάσειε τὴν ἀπειρίαν καὶ τὴν ἄγνοιαν τῆς ^{high,} 2
 κοινῆς ἐννοίας ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πραγμά-
 των χορηγίας καὶ δυνάμεως; ἣν μάλιστα δεῖ 3
 παρὰ τοῖς ἱστοριογράφοις ὑπάρχειν. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐ
 λέγω κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς ὑπὸ τε τῶν
 ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ βασιλέων, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῆς
 10 συνεχείας τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους πολέμων ἄρδην
 κατέφθαρτο τὰ Πελοποννησίων, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς καθ' 4
 ἡμᾶς καιροῖς, ἐν οἷς πάντες ἐν καὶ ταῦτ' ἔχοντες
 μεγίστην καρποῦσθαι δοκοῦσιν εὐδαιμονίαν, ὅμως
 ἐκ Πελοποννήσου πάσης, ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐπίπλων
 15 χωρὶς σωμάτων, οὐχ οἷον τε συναχθῆναι τοσοῦτο
 πλήθος χρημάτων. καὶ διότι τοῦτο νῦν οὐκ εἰκῇ, 5
 λόγῳ δέ τινι μᾶλλον ἀποφαινόμεθα, δῆλον ἐκ τού-
 των. τίς γὰρ ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων οὐχ ἱστόρηκε διότι 6
 καθ' οὓς καιροὺς μετὰ Θηβαίων εἰς τὸν πρὸς
 20 Λακεδαιμονίους ἐνέβαινον πόλεμον, καὶ μνηστῆρας
 μὲν ἐξέπεμπον στρατιώτας ἑκατὸν δ' ἐπλήρουν
 τριήρεις, ὅτι τότε κρίναντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἀξίας ποιεῖσ- 7
 θαι τὰς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον εἰσφοράς ἐτιμήσαντο τὴν
 τε χώραν τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἅπασαν καὶ τὰς οἰκίας,
 25 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν οὐσίαν· ἀλλ' ὅμως τὸ
 σύμπαν τίμημα τῆς ἀξίας ἐνέλιπε τῶν ἑξακισ-
 χιλίων διακοσίοις καὶ πεντήκοντα ταλάντοις. ἐξ 8
 ὧν οὐκ ἀπεοικὸς ἂν φανείη τὸ περὶ Πελοπον-
 νησίων ἄρτι ῥηθὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ. κατὰ δ' ἐκείνους 9
 30 τοὺς καιροὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς Μεγάλης πόλεως

ὑπερβολικῶς ἀποφαινόμενος οὐκ ἂν τις εἰπεῖν
 10 τολμήσειε πλείω γενέσθαι τριακοσίων, ἐπειδὴ περ
 ὁμολογούμενον ἐστὶ διότι καὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων καὶ
 τῶν δουλικῶν σωμάτων τὰ πλείστα συνέβη δια-
 φυγεῖν εἰς τὴν Μεσσήνην. μέγιστον δὲ τῶν 5
 11 προειρημένων τεκμήριον· οὐδενὸς γὰρ ὄντες δεύ-
 τεροι τῶν Ἀρκάδων Μαντινεῖς οὔτε κατὰ τὴν
 δύναμιν οὔτε κατὰ τὴν περιουσίαν, ὥς αὐτὸς οὗτός
 φησιν, ἐκ πολιορκίας δὲ καὶ παραδόσεως ἀλόντες
 ὥστε μήτε διαφυγεῖν μηδένα μήτε διακλαπήναι 10
 12 ῥαδίως μηδέν, ὅμως τὸ πᾶν λάφυρον ἐποίησαν
 μετὰ τῶν σωμάτων κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς
 τάλαντα τριακόσια.

63 Τὸ δὲ συνεχὲς τοῦτ' ὅτι τίς οὐκ ἂν ἔτι μᾶλλον
 θαυμάσειε; ταῦτα γὰρ ἀποφαινόμε- 15
 νος λέγει πρὸ τῆς παρατάξεως δέκα
 ἡμέραις μάλιστα τὸν παρὰ Πτολε-
 μαίου πρεσβευτὴν ἐλθεῖν, ἀγγέλλοντα πρὸς τὸν
 Κλεομένη διότι Πτολεμαῖος τὸ μὲν χορηγεῖν ἀπο-
 λέγει, διαλύεσθαι δὲ παρακαλεῖ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντί- 20
 2 γονον. τὸν δ' ἀκούσαντά φησι κρίναι διότι δεῖ
 τὴν ταχίστην ἐκκυβεῦν τοῖς ὅλοις, πρὸ τοῦ
 συνεῖναι τὰ προσπεπτωκότα τὰς δυνάμεις, διὰ τὸ
 μηδεμίαν ὑπάρχειν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις πράγμασιν
 3 ἐλπίδα τοῦ δύνασθαι μισθοδοτεῖν. ἀλλ' εἶπερ 25
 ἑξακισχιλίων ἐγκρατὴς ἐγεγόνει τάλαντων κατὰ
 τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς, τὸν Πτολεμαῖον αὐτὸν ἡδύ-
 4 νατο ταῖς χορηγίαις ὑπερθέσθαι. πρὸς δὲ τὸν
 Ἀντίγονον, εἰ μόνον τριακοσίων ὑπῆρχε κύριος,
 καὶ λίαν ἱκανὸς ἦν ἀσφαλῶς ὑπομένων τρίβειν τὸν 30

which, if real,
 would have given
 ample resources
 to Cleomenes.

πόλεμον. τὸ δ' ἅμα μὲν πάσας ἀποφαίνειν τῷ 5
 Κλεομένει τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐν Πτολεμαίῳ διὰ τὰς
 χορηγίας, ἅμα δὲ τοσούτων χρημάτων αὐτὸν φάναι
 κύριον γεγονέναι κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς, πῶς οὐ
 5 τῆς μεγίστης ἀλογίας, ἔτι δ' ἀσκεψίας ἐστὶ σημεῖον;

Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἕτερα τῷ συγγραφεῖ τοιαῦτα καὶ 6
 κατὰ τοὺς ὑποκειμένους καιροὺς καὶ παρ' ὅλην τὴν
 πραγματείαν κατατέτακται· περὶ ὧν ἀρκεῖν ὑπο-
 λαμβάνω κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρόθεσιν καὶ τὰ νῦν
 10 εἰρημένα.

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς Μεγάλης πόλεως ἄλωσιν 64
 Ἀντιγόνου παραχειμάζοντος ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀργείων
 πόλει, συναγαγὼν Κλεομένης ἅμα τῷ τὴν ἐαρινὴν
 ὥραν ἐνίστασθαι καὶ παρακαλέσας τὰ πρέποντα
 15 τοῖς καιροῖς, ἐξαγαγὼν τὴν στρατιὰν ἐνέβαλεν εἰς
 τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων χώραν, ὥς μὲν τοῖς πολλοῖς 2
 ἐδόκει, παραβόλως καὶ τολμηρῶς διὰ τὴν ὑχυρό-
 τητα τῶν κατὰ τὰς εἰσόδους τόπων, ὥς δὲ τοῖς
 ὀρθῶς λογιζομένοις, ἀσφαλῶς καὶ νουνεχῶς. ὁρῶν 3
 20 γὰρ τὸν Ἀντίγονον διαφεικότα τὰς δυνάμεις,
 ἤδει σαφῶς ὥς πρῶτον μὲν τὴν εἰσ-
 βολὴν ἀκινδύνως ποιήσεται, δεύτερον Antigonus at Ar-
 gos declines battle
 till his army is
 collected,
 τῆς χώρας καταφθειρομένης ἕως τῶν
 τειχῶν ἀνάγκη τοὺς Ἀργεῖους, θεωροῦντας τὸ
 25 γινόμενον, ἀσχάλλειν καὶ καταμέμφεσθαι τὸν
 Ἀντίγονον. εἰ μὲν οὖν συμβαίῃ μὴ δυνάμενον 4
 αὐτὸν ὑποφέρειν τὸν ἐπιρραπισμὸν τῶν ὄχλων
 ἐξελθεῖν καὶ διακινδυνεύσαι τοῖς παρούσιν, πρό-
 δηλον ἐκ τῶν κατὰ λόγον ἦν αὐτῷ διότι νικήσει
 30 ῥαδίως. εἰ δ' ἐμμένοντας τοῖς λογισμοῖς ἀφησυν- 5

χάζοι, καταπληξάμενος τοὺς ὑπεναντίους καὶ ταῖς
 ἰδίαις δυνάμεσι θάρσος ἐνεργασάμενος ἀσφαλῶς
 ὑπέλαβε ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν εἰς τὴν
 6 οἰκείαν. ὃ καὶ συνέβη γενέσθαι· τῆς γὰρ χώρας
 δηουμένης οἱ μὲν ὄχλοι συστρεφόμενοι τὸν Ἀντί- 5
 γονον ἐλοιδύρουν, ὃ δὲ καὶ λίαν ἡγεμονικῶς καὶ
 βασιλικῶς οὐδὲν περὶ πλείονος ποιούμενος τοῦ
 κατὰ λόγον χρήσασθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν ἦγε τὴν
 7 ἡσυχίαν. ὃ δὲ Κλεομένης κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς
 πρόθεσιν, καταφθείρας μὲν τὴν χώραν, κατα- 10
 πληξάμενος δὲ τοὺς ὑπεναντίους, εὐθαρσεῖς δὲ πε-
 ποιηκῶς τὰς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεις πρὸς τὸν ἐπιφερό-
 μενον κίνδυνον, ἀσφαλῶς εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπανήλ-
 θεν.

65 Τοῦ δὲ θέρους ἐνισταμένου, καὶ συνελλθόντων 15
 τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐκ
 then marches to Sellasia B. C. 221, τῆς χειμασίας, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν στρα-
 τιὰν Ἀντίγονος προῆγε μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων εἰς
 2 τὴν Λακωνικὴν, ἔχων Μακεδόνας μὲν τοὺς εἰς τὴν
 φάλαγγα μυρίους, πελταστὰς δὲ τρισχιλίους, ἵπ- 20
 πεῖς δὲ τριακοσίους, Ἀγριᾶνας δὲ σὺν τούτοις
 χιλίους καὶ Γαλάτας ἄλλους τοσοῦτους, μισθοφό-
 ρους δὲ τοὺς πάντας πεζοὺς μὲν τρισχιλίους ἵπ-
 3 πεῖς δὲ τριακοσίους, Ἀχαιῶν δ' ἐπιλέκτους πεζοὺς
 μὲν τρισχιλίους ἵππεῖς δὲ τριακοσίους, καὶ Μεγαλο- 25
 πολίτας χιλίους εἰς τὸν Μακεδονικὸν τρόπον
 καθωπλισμένους, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Κερκιδᾶς Μεγαλοπο-
 4 λίτης, τῶν δὲ συμμάχων Βοιωτῶν μὲν πεζοὺς
 δισχιλίους ἵππεῖς δὲ διακοσίους, Ἑπειρωτῶν
 πεζοὺς χιλίους ἵππεῖς πεντήκοντα, Ἀκαρνάνων 30

ἄλλους τοσούτους, Ἰλλυριῶν χιλίους ἑξακοσίους,
 ἐφ' ὧν ἦν Δημήτριος ὁ Φάριος, ὥστ' εἶναι πᾶσαν 5
 τὴν δύναμιν πεζοὺς μὲν εἰς δισμυρίους ὀκτακισ-
 χιλίους, ἵππεῖς δὲ χιλίους καὶ διακοσίους. ὁ δὲ 6
 5 Κλεομένης προσδοκῶν τὴν ἔφοδον τὰς μὲν ἄλλας
 τὰς εἰς τὴν χώραν εἰσβολὰς ἡσφάλισατο φυλακαῖς
 καὶ τάφροις καὶ δένδρων ἐκκοπαῖς, αὐτὸς δὲ κατὰ 7
 τὴν Σελλασίαν καλουμένην μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως
 ἑστρατοπέδευε, τῆς πάσης ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ
 10 στρατιᾶς εἰς δύο μυριάδας, στοχαζόμενος ἐκ τῶν
 κατὰ λόγον ταύτῃ ποιήσεσθαι τοὺς ὑπεναντίους
 τὴν εἰσβολήν· ὃ καὶ συνεκύρησε. δύο δὲ λόφων 8
 ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς εἰσόδου κειμένων, ὧν τὸν μὲν Εὐαν
 τὸν δ' ἕτερον Ὀλυμπον καλεῖσθαι συμβαίνει, τῆς 9
 15 δ' ὁδοῦ μεταξὺ τούτων παρὰ τὸν Οἰνούντα ποτα-
 μὸν φερούσης εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην, ὁ μὲν Κλεομένης,
 τῶν προειρημένων λόφων συνάμφω τάφρον καὶ
 χάρακα προβαλόμενος, ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν Εὐαν ἔταξε
 τοὺς περιοίκους καὶ συμμάχους, ἐφ' ὧν ἐπέστησε
 20 τὸν ἀδελφὸν Εὐκλείδαν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν Ὀλυμπον
 κατεῖχε μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων,
 ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐπιπέδοις παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐφ' ἑκάτερα 10
 τῆς ὁδοῦ τοὺς ἵππεῖς μετὰ μέρους τινὸς τῶν μισ-
 θοφόρων παρενέβαλεν. Ἀντίγονος δὲ παραγε- 11
 25 νόμενος, καὶ συνθεωρήσας τὴν τε τῶν where Cleomenes
is entrenched.
 τόπων ὀχυρότητα καὶ τὸν Κλεομένην
 πᾶσι τοῖς οἰκείοις μέρεσι τῆς δυνάμεως οὕτως
 εὐστόχως προκατειληφότα τὰς εὐκαιρίας ὥστε
 παραπλήσιον εἶναι τὸ σύμπαν σχῆμα τῆς στρα-
 30 τοπεδείας τῆς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὀπλομάχων προβολῆς·

12 οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀπέλειπε τῶν πρὸς ἐπίθεσιν ἅμα καὶ
 φυλακὴν, ἀλλ' ἦν ὁμοῦ παράταξις ἐνεργὸς καὶ
 13 παρεμβολὴ δυσπρόσοδος. διὸ καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐξ
 ἐφόδου καταπειράζειν καὶ συμπλέκεσθαι προχεί-
 66 ρως ἀπέγνω, στρατοπεδεύσας δ' ἐν βραχεὶ δια- 5
 στήματι καὶ λαβὼν πρόβλημα τὸν Γοργύλον
 καλούμενον ποταμόν, τινὰς μὲν ἡμέρας ἐπιμένων
 συνεθεώρει τὰς τε τῶν τόπων ιδιότητας καὶ τὰς
 2 τῶν δυνάμεων διαφοράς, ἅμα δὲ καὶ προδεικνύων
 τινὰς ἐπιβολὰς πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐξεκαλεῖτο τὰς 10
 3 τῶν ὑπεναντίων ἐπινοίας. οὐ δυνάμενος δὲ λαβεῖν
 οὐδὲν ἀργὸν οὐδ' ἔξοπλον διὰ τὸ πρὸς πᾶν ἐτοίμως
 4 ἀντικινεῖσθαι τὸν Κλεομένη, τῆς μὲν τοιαύτης
 ἐπινοίας ἀπέστη, τέλος δ' ἐξ ὁμολόγου διὰ μάχης
 ἀμφοτέροι προέθεντο κρίνειν τὰς πράξεις. πάνυ 15
 γὰρ εὐφυεῖς καὶ παραπλησίους ἡγεμόνας ἡ τύχη
 5 συνέβαλε τούτους τοὺς ἄνδρας. πρὸς μὲν οὖν
 τοὺς κατὰ τὸν Εὐὰν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀντέταξε τῶν τε
 Μακεδόνων τοὺς χαλκάσπιδας καὶ τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς,
 κατὰ σπεύρας ἐναλλάξ τεταγμένους, Ἀλέξανδρον 20
 τὸν Ἀκμήτου καὶ Δημήτριον τὸν Φάριον ἐπιστή-
 6 σας· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τοὺς Ἀκαρνᾶνας καὶ Κρήτας
 ἐπέβαλε. τούτων δὲ κατόπιν ἦσαν δισχίλιοι τῶν
 7 Ἀχαιῶν, ἐφεδρείας λαμβάνοντες τάξιν. τοὺς δ'
 ἵππεῖς περὶ τὸν Οἰνοῦντα ποταμὸν ἀντέθηκε τῷ 25
 τῶν πολεμίων ἱππικῷ, συστήσας αὐτοῖς Ἀλέξ-
 ανδρον ἡγεμόνα καὶ συμπαραθεὶς πεζοὺς τῶν
 Ἀχαϊκῶν χιλίους καὶ Μεγαλοπολίτας τοὺς ἴσους.
 8 αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἔχων καὶ τοὺς Μακε-
 δόνας κατὰ τὸν Ὀλυμπον πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν 30

Κλεομένη διέγνω ποιείσθαι τὴν μάχην. προ- 9
 τάξας οὖν τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἐπέστησε διφαλαγ-
 γίαν ἐπάλληλον τῶν Μακεδόνων· ἐποίει δὲ τοῦτο
 διὰ τὴν στενότητα τῶν τόπων· σύνθημα δ' ἦν 10
 5 τοῖς μὲν Ἰλλυριοῖς τότε ποιείσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς
 πρὸς τὸν λόφον προσβολῆς, ὅταν ἴδωσιν ἀρθείσαν
 ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ὀλυμπον τόπων σινδόνα
 (προσηρτημένοι γὰρ ἦσαν οὗτοι νυκτὸς ἐν τῷ
 Γοργύλῳ ποταμῷ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ λόφου ρίζῃ),
 10 τοῖς δὲ Μεγαλοπολίταις καὶ τοῖς ἰππεύσι παρα- 11
 πλησίως, ἐπειδὰν φοινικὶς ἐξαρθῇ παρὰ τοῦ βασι-
 λέως.

Ἐπειδὴ δ' ὁ μὲν καιρὸς ἦκε τῆς χρείας, τὸ δὲ 67
 σύνθημα τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς ἀπεδόθη, πα- When they join
 15 ρήγγειλαν δὲ ποιεῖν τὸ δέον οἷς ἦν battle,
 ἐπιμελές, πάντες εὐθέως ἀναδείξαντες αὐτοὺς
 κατήρχοντο τῆς πρὸς τὸν βουνὸν προσβολῆς. οἱ 2
 δὲ μετὰ τῶν Κλεομένους ἰππέων ἐξ ἀρχῆς ταχ-
 θέντες εὖζωνοι, θεωροῦντες τὰς σπείρας τῶν
 20 Ἀχαιῶν ἐρήμους ἐκ τῶν κατόπιν οὔσας, κατ'
 οὐρὰν προσπίπτοντες εἰς ὀλοσχερῇ κίνδυνον ἤγον
 τοὺς πρὸς τὸν λόφον βιαζομένους, ὥς ἂν τῶν μὲν 3
 περὶ τὸν Εὐκλείδαν ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου κατὰ πρόσωπον
 αὐτοῖς ἐφεστώτων, τῶν δὲ μισθοφόρων κατόπιν
 25 ἐπικειμένων καὶ προσφερόντων τὰς χεῖρας ἐρρω-
 μένως. ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ συννοήσας τὸ γινόμενον, ἅμα 4
 δὲ προορώμενος τὸ μέλλον Φιλοποίμην ὁ Μεγα-
 λοπολίτης τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑποδεικνύειν ἐπεβάλ-
 λετο τοῖς προεστώσι τὸ συμβησόμενον, οὐδενὸς 5
 30 δὲ προσέχοντος αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ μῆτ' ἐφ' ἡγεμονίας

τετάχθαι μηδεπώποτε κομιδῇ τε νέον ὑπάρχειν αὐτόν, παρακαλέσας τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ πολίτας ἐνέβαλε

- 6 <sup>a charge of Phil-
opsemen,</sup> τοῖς πολεμίοις τολμηρῶς. οὐ γενο-
μένου ταχέως οἱ προσκείμενοι μισ-
θοφόροι κατ' οὐραν τοῖς προσβαίνουσιν, ἀκού- 5
σαντες τῆς κραυγῆς καὶ συνιδόντες τὴν τῶν
ἰππέων συμπλοκὴν, ἀφέμενοι τῶν προκειμένων
ἀνέτρεχον εἰς τὰς ἐξ ἀρχῆς τάξεις καὶ προσε-
7 βοήθουν τοῖς παρ' αὐτῶν ἰππεύσι. τούτου δὲ
συμβάντος ἀπερίσπαστον γενόμενον τό τε τῶν 10
Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ Μακεδόνων καὶ τῶν ἅμα τούτοις
προσβαινόντων πλήθος ἐκθύμως ὥρμησε καὶ τε-
8 θαρρηκότες ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπεναντίους. ἐξ οὗ καὶ
μετὰ ταῦτα φανερόν ἐγενήθη διότι τοῦ κατὰ τὸν
Εὐκλείδαν προτερήματος αἷτιος ἐγίνετο Φιλοποί- 15
68 μην· ὅθεν καὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονόν φασι μετὰ ταῦτα
καταπειράζοντα πυνθάνεσθαι τοῦ ταχθέντος ἐπὶ
τῶν ἰππέων Ἀλεξάνδρου διὰ τί πρὸ τοῦ παρα-
δοθῆναι τὸ σύνθημα τοῦ κινδύνου κατάρξαιτο,
2 τοῦ δ' ἀρνούμενου, φάσκοντος δὲ μεираκίον τι 20
Μεγαλοπολιτικὸν προεγχειρῆσαι παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
γνώμην, εἰπεῖν διότι τὸ μὲν μεираκίον ἡγεμόνος
ἔργον ἀγαθοῦ ποιῆσαι, συνθεασάμενον τὸν καιρὸν,
ἐκεῖνος δ' ἡγεμὼν ὑπάρχων μεираκίου τοῦ τυχόντος.
3 οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οἷ γε περὶ τὸν Εὐκλείδαν ὁρῶντες 25
<sup>and the neglect of
Euclidas to take
advantage of the
higher ground,</sup> προσβαινούσας τὰς σπείρας, ἀφέμενοι
τοῦ χρῆσθαι ταῖς τῶν τύπων εὐκαι-
4 ρίαις (τοῦτο δ' ἦν ἐκ πολλοῦ συναν-
τῶντας καὶ προσπίπτοντας τοῖς πολεμίοις τὰ μὲν
ἐκείνων στίφη συνταράττειν καὶ διαλύειν, αὐτοὺς 30

δ' ὑποχωρεῖν ἐπὶ πόδα καὶ μεθίστασθαι πρὸς
 τοὺς ὑπερδεξίους αἰὲ τόπους ἀσφαλῶς· οὕτω γὰρ 5
 ἂν προλυμηνάμενοι καὶ σιγχεάντες τὸ τοῦ καθο-
 πλισμοῦ καὶ τῆς συντάξεως ἰδίωμα τῶν ὑπεναν-
 5 τίων ῥαδίως αὐτοὺς ἐτρέψαντο διὰ τὴν τῶν τόπων
 εὐφυΐαν) τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν ἐποίησαν, καθάπερ δὲ 6
 ἐξ ἐτοίμου σφίσι τῆς νίκης ὑπαρχούσης τούναντίον
 ἔπραξαν· κατὰ γὰρ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς στάσιν ἔμενον 7
 ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων, ὡς ἀνωτάτω σπεύδοντες λαβεῖν
 10 τοὺς ὑπεναντίους εἰς τὸ τὴν φυγὴν ἐπὶ πολὺ
 καταφερῇ καὶ χρημνῶδη γενέσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις.
 συνέβη δ', ὅπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, τούναντίον· οὐ γὰρ 8
 ἀπολιπόντες αὐτοῖς ἀναχώρησιν, προσδεξάμενοι
 δ' ἀκεραίους ἅμα καὶ συνεστώσας τὰς σπείρας, εἰς
 15 τοῦτο δυσχρηστίας ἦλθον ὥστε δι' αὐτῆς τῆς τοῦ
 λόφου κορυφῆς διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς βιαζομέ-
 νους· λοιπὸν ὅσον ἐκ ποδὸς ἐπιέσθησαν τῷ βάρει 9
 τοῦ καθοπλισμοῦ καὶ τῆς συντάξεως, εὐθέως οἱ
 μὲν Ἴλλυριοὶ τὴν κατάστασιν ἐλάμβανον, οἱ δὲ
 10 περὶ τὸν Εὐκλείδαν τὴν ὑπὸ πόδα διὰ τὸ μὴ
 καταλείπεσθαι τόπον εἰς ἀναχώρησιν καὶ μετά-
 στασιν ἑαυτοῖς· ἐξ οὗ ταχέως συνέβη τραπέντας 10
 αὐτοὺς ὀλεθρίῳ χρήσασθαι φυγῇ, <sup>broke the left
wing of Cleome-
nes;</sup>
 15 πολὺ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τῶν τόπων. ἅμα δὲ τούτοις 69
 ὁ περὶ τοὺς ἵππεῖς συνετελείτο κίνδυνος, ἐκπρεπῇ
 ποιουμένων τὴν χρεῖαν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἵππέων
 ἀπάντων, μάλιστα δὲ Φιλοποίμενος, διὰ τὸ περὶ
 τῆς αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίας συνεστάναι τὸν ὅλον ἀγῶνα·
 30 καθ' ὃν καιρὸν τῷ προειρημένῳ συνέβη τὸν μὲν 2

ἵππον πεσεῖν πληγέντα καιρίως, αὐτὸν δὲ πεζο-
 μαχοῦντα περιπεσεῖν τραύματι βιαίῳ δι' ἄμφοιν
 3 τοῖν μηροῖν. οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς κατὰ τὸν Ὀλυμπον
 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐποιοῦντο διὰ τῶν εὐζώνων καὶ
 μισθοφόρων τὴν συμπλοκὴν, παρ' ἑκατέροις σχε- 5
 4 δὸν ὑπαρχόντων τούτων εἰς πεντακισχιλίους· ὧν
 ποτὲ μὲν κατὰ μέρη ποτὲ δ' ὅλοσχερῶς συμπιπ-
 τόντων διαφέρουσιν συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι τὴν ἐξ
 ἄμφοιν χρεῖαν, ὁμοῦ τῶν τε βασιλέων καὶ τῶν
 στρατοπέδων ἐν συνόψει ποιουμένων τὴν μάχην. 10
 5 ἡμιλλῶντο δὲ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα καὶ
 6 κατὰ τάγμα ταῖς εὐψυχίαις. ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης
 ὁρῶν τοὺς μὲν περὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν πεφευγότας
 τοὺς δ' ἐν τοῖς ἐπιπέδοις ἵππεῖς ὅσον οὐπω κλί-
 νοντας, καταπλαγῆς ὧν μὴ πανταχόθεν προσ- 15
 δέξεται τοὺς πολεμίους, ἠναγκάζετο διασπῶν τὰ
 προτειχίσματα πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν ἐξάγειν μετ-
 ωπηδὸν κατὰ μίαν πλευρὰν τῆς στρατοπεδείας.
 7 ἀνακληθέντων δὲ τῶν παρ' ἑκατέροις εὐζώνων ἐκ
 τοῦ μεταξὺ τόπου διὰ τῆς σάλπιγγος, συναλα- 20
 λάξασαι καὶ μεταβαλοῦσαι τὰς σαρίσας συνέβαλον
 8 αἱ φάλαγγες ἀλλήλαις. ἀγῶνις δὲ γενομένου
 κραταιοῦ, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν ἐπὶ πόδα
 ποιουμένων τὴν ἀναχώρησιν καὶ πιε-
 ζομένων ἐπὶ πολὺ τῶν Μακεδόνων 25
 ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν Λακώνων εὐψυχίας, ποτὲ δὲ τῶν
 Λακεδαιμονίων ἐξωθουμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ βάρους τῆς
 9 τῶν Μακεδόνων τάξεως, τέλος οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀντί-
 γορον συμφράξαντες τὰς σαρίσας καὶ χρησάμενοι
 τῷ τῆς ἐπαλλήλου φάλαγγος ιδιώματι, βίᾳ προσ- 30

the weight of the
 Macedonian pha-
 lanx shattered his
 right.

- πεσόντες ἐξέωσαν ἐκ τῶν ὀχυρωμάτων τοὺς
 Λακεδαιμονίους. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄλλο πλήθος ἔφευγε 10
 προτροπάδην φονευόμενον, ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης ἰππεῖς
 τινὰς ἔχων περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀπεχώρησε He retired to
Sparta and thence
to Egypt.
 5 μετὰ τούτων ἀσφαλῶς εἰς τὴν Σπάρ-
 την. ἐπιγενομένης δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς καταβὰς εἰς 11
 Γύθειον, ἡτοιμασμένων αὐτῷ τῶν πρὸς τὸν πλοῦν
 ἐκ πλείονος χρόνου πρὸς τὸ συμβαῖνον, ἀπῆρε
 μετὰ τῶν φίλων εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν.
- 10 Ἀντίγονος δ' ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος ἐξ ἐφόδου 70
 τῆς Σπάρτης τὰ τε λοιπὰ μεγαλο- Antigonos re-
stored the old
order at Sparta.
 ψύχως καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἐχρήσατο
 τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, τό τε πολίτευμα τὸ πατριον
 αὐτοῖς καταστήσας ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ἀνέζευξε
 15 μετὰ τῶν δυνάμεων ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, προσαγγελ-
 θέντος αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς εἰσβεβληκότας εἰς
 Μακεδονίαν πορθεῖν τὴν χώραν. οὕτως αἰεί ποθ' 2
 ἡ τύχη τὰ μέγιστα τῶν πραγμάτων παρὰ λόγον
 εἶωθε κρίνειν· καὶ γὰρ τότε Κλεομένης, εἴτε τὰ 3
 20 κατὰ τὸν κίνδυνον παρείλκυσε τελέως ὀλίγας
 ἡμέρας, εἴτ' ἀναχωρήσας ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης εἰς τὴν
 πόλιν ἐπὶ βραχὺ τῶν καιρῶν ἀντεποιήσατο, δια-
 κατέσχευεν ἂν τὴν ἀρχήν. οὐ μὲν ἄλλ' ὅ γ' Ἀντί- 4
 γονος παραγενόμενος εἰς Τεγέαν, καὶ τούτοις
 25 ἀποδοὺς τὴν πατριον πολιτείαν, δευτεραῖος ἐν-
 τεύθειν εἰς Ἄργος ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἦλθε τὴν τῶν Νεμέων
 πανήγυριν, ἐν ᾗ τυχὼν πάντων τῶν πρὸς ἀθάνατον 5
 δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν ἀνηκόντων ὑπὸ τε τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν
 Ἀχαιῶν καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ἐκάστης τῶν
 30 πόλεων ὥρμησε κατὰ σπουδὴν εἰς and then returned
to Macedonia.

6 Μακεδονίαν. καταλαβὼν δὲ τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς ἐν
 τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ συμβαλὼν ἐκ παρατάξεως τῇ μὲν
 μάχῃ κατώρθωσε, τῇ δὲ παρακλήσει καὶ κραυγῇ
 τῇ κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν κίνδυνον ἐκθύμως χρησάμενος,
 εἰς αἵματος ἀναγωγὴν καὶ τινα τοιαύτην διάθεσιν 5
 ἐμπεσὼν μετ' οὐ πολὺ νόσφ' τὸν βίον μετήλλαξε,
 7 καλὰς ἐλπίδας ὑποδείξας ἐν αὐτῷ πᾶσι τοῖς
 Ἕλλησιν οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὑπαίθροις
 χρεῖαν, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον κατὰ τὴν ὅλην αἴρεσιν καὶ
 8 καλοκαγαθίαν. τὴν δὲ Μακεδόνων βασιλείαν ἀπέ- 10
 λιπε Φιλίππῳ τῷ Δημητρίου.

* * * * *

BOOK IV. cc. III. to XXXVII.

3 Αἰτωλοὶ πάλαι μὲν δυσχερῶς ἔφερον τὴν εἰρή-
 νην καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ὑπαρχόν-
 των δαπάνας ὡς ἂν εἰθισμένοι μὲν ζῆν
 ἀπὸ τῶν πέλας, δεόμενοι δὲ πολλῆς 15
 χορηγίας διὰ τὴν ἔμφυτον ἀλαζονείαν, ἣ δουλεύον-
 τες αἰεὶ πλεονεκτικὸν καὶ θηριώδη ζῶσι βίον, οὐδὲν
 οἰκεῖον, πάντα δ' ἡγούμενοι πολέμια· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ
 τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον, ἕως Ἀντίγονος ἔζη, δεδιότες
 3 Μακεδόνας ἡγόν ἡσυχίαν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκείνος μετ- 20

B. C. 221. The
 Aetolians, impa-
 tient of the re-
 straints of peace,

ἤλλαξε τὸν βίον παῖδα καταλιπὼν Φίλιππον,
 καταφρονήσαντες ἐζήτουν ἀφορμὰς καὶ προφάσεις
 τῆς εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἐπιπλοκῆς, ἀγόμενοι κατὰ
 τὸ παλαιὸν ἔθος ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκ ταύτης ἀρπαγὰς, ἅμα
 5 δὲ καὶ νομίζοντες ἀξιόχρεως εἶναι σφᾶς πρὸς τὸ
 πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς. ὄντες δ' ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς 4
 προθέσεως, βραχέα ταῦτομάτου σφίσι συνεργή-
 σαντος ἔλαβον ἀφορμὰς πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολὴν τοι-
 αύτας. Δωρίμαχος ὁ Τριχωνεὺς ἦν μὲν υἱὸς 5
 10 Νικοστράτου τοῦ παρασπονδήσαντος τὴν τῶν
 Παμβοιωτίων πανήγυριν, νέος δ' ὦν καὶ πλήρης
 Αἰτωλικῆς ὀρμῆς καὶ πλεονεξίας ἐξαπεστάλη κατὰ
 κοινὸν εἰς τὴν τῶν Φιγαλέων πόλιν, ἣτις ἔστι μὲν
 ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, κεῖται δὲ πρὸς τοῖς τῶν Μεσση- 6
 15 νίων ὄροις, ἐτύγχανε δὲ τότε συμπολιτευομένη
 τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς, λόγῳ μὲν παραφυλάξων τὴν τε 7
 χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν τῶν Φιγαλέων, ἔργῳ δὲ κα-
 τασκόπου τάξιν ἔχων τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πρραγ-
 μάτων. συνδραμόντων δὲ πειρατῶν καὶ παραγε- 8
 20 νομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Φιγάλειαν, <sup>took to plunder-
ing near Phigalea,</sup>
 οὐκ ἔχων τούτοις ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαίου
 συμπαρασκευάζειν ὠφελείας διὰ τὸ μένειν ἔτι
 τότε τὴν κοινὴν εἰρήνην τοῖς Ἑλλησι τὴν ὑπ'
 Ἀντιγόνου συντελεσθεῖσαν, τέλος ἀπορούμενος 9
 25 ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς πειραταῖς ληΐζεσθαι τὰ τῶν Μεσ-
 σηνίων θρέμματα, φίλων ὄντων καὶ συμμάχων. τὸ 10
 μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἠδίκουν τὰ περὶ τὰς ἐσχατίας
 ποίμνια, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα προβαινούσης τῆς ἀπονοίας
 ἐνεχείρησαν καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν οἰκίας ἐκκόπ-
 30 τειν, ἀνυπονοήτως τὰς νύκτας ἐπιφαινόμενοι. τῶν 11

δὲ Μεσσηνίων ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀγανακτούντων καὶ
 διαπρεσβενομένων πρὸς τὸν Δωρίμαχον τὰς μὲν
 ἀρχὰς παρήκουε, βουλόμενος τὰ μὲν ὠφελεῖν τοὺς
 ὑπ' αὐτὸν ταπτομένους, τὰ δ' αὐτὸς ὠφελεῖσθαι
 12 μερίτης γινόμενος τῶν λαμβανομένων· πλεονα- 5
 ζούσης δὲ τῆς παρουσίας τῶν πρεσβειῶν διὰ τὴν
 συνέχειαν τῶν ἀδικημάτων, αὐτὸς ἤξειν ἐπὶ τὴν
 Μεσσήνην ἔφη δικαιολογησόμενος πρὸς τοὺς ἐγκα-
 13 λούντας τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς. ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρεγένετο,
 προσπορευομένων αὐτῷ τῶν ἡδικημένων τοὺς μὲν 10
 διέσυρε χλευάζων, τῶν δὲ κατανίστατο, τοὺς δ'
 4 ἐξέπληττε λοιδορῶν. ἔτι δ' αὐτοῦ παρεπιδη-
 μούντος ἐν τῇ Μεσσήνῃ, συνεγγίσαντες τῇ πόλει
 νυκτὸς οἱ πειραταὶ καὶ προσβαλόντες κλίμακας
 ἐξέκοψαν τὸ Χυρῶνος καλούμενον ἐπαύλιον, καὶ 15
 τοὺς μὲν ἀμυνομένους ἀπέσφαξαν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς
 τῶν οἰκετῶν δῆσαντες καὶ τὰ κτήνη μετ' αὐτῶν
 2 ἀπήγαγον. οἱ δὲ τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἔφοροι πάλαι
 μὲν ἐπὶ τε τοῖς γινομένοις καὶ τῇ παρεπιδημίᾳ τοῦ
 Δωριμάχου διαλγούντες, τότε δὲ καὶ προσενυβρί- 20
 ζεσθαι δόξαντες, ἀνεκαλοῦντ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὰς συναρ-
 3 χίας. ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ Σκύρων, ὃς ἦν μὲν ἔφορος τότε τῶν
 Μεσσηνίων εὐδοκίμει δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἄλλον βίον
 παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις, συνεβούλευε μὴ προῖεσθαι
 τὸν Δωρίμαχον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, εἰ μὴ τὰ μὲν 25
 ἀπολωλότα πάντα τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἀποκαταστήσῃ,
 περὶ δὲ τῶν τεθνεώτων δωσιδίκους παράσχη τοὺς
 4 ἡδικηκότας. πάντων δ' ἐπισημηναμένων ὡς δίκαια
 λέγοντος τοῦ Σκύρωνος, διοργισθεὶς ὁ
 Δωρίμαχος εὐήθεις αὐτοὺς ἔφη τελέως 30

and resented the
 protests of Mes-
 sene.

ὑπάρχειν, εἰ Δωρίμαχον οἶονται νῦν προπηλακί-
 ζειν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν· καὶ καθόλου
 δεινὸν ἤγειτο τὸ γινόμενον, καὶ κοινῆς αὐτοῦς
 ἐπιστροφῆς ἔφη τεύξεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο πείσεσθαι
 5 δικαίως. ἦν δέ τις κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς καιροὺς 5
 ἄνθρωπος ἀσυρῆς ἐν τῇ Μεσσήνῃ, τῶν ἐξηρμένων
 τὸν ἄνδρα κατὰ πάντα τρόπον, ὄνομα Βαβύρτας,
 ᾧ τις εἰ περιέθηκε τὴν καυσίαν καὶ χλαμύδα τοῦ
 Δωριμάχου, μὴ οἶόν τ' εἶναι διαγινώσκειν· ἐπὶ 6
 10 τοσοῦτον ἐξωμοίωτο κατὰ τε τὴν φωνὴν καὶ
 τὰλλα μέρη τοῦ σώματος τῷ προειρημένῳ. καὶ
 τοῦτ' οὐκ ἐλάνθανε τὸν Δωρίμαχον. ὁμιλοῦντος 7
 οὖν ἀναπατικῶς τότε καὶ μάλα ὑπερηφάνως τοῖς
 Μεσσηνίοις, περιοργισθεὶς ὁ Σκύρων “νομίζεις γὰρ
 15 ἡμῖν” ἔφη “σοῦ μέλειν ἢ τῆς σῆς ἀνατάσεως,
 Βαβύρτα;” ῥηθέντος δὲ τούτου παραυτίκα μὲν 8
 εἷξας ὁ Δωρίμαχος τῇ περιστάσει συνεχώρησε
 πάντων ἐπιστροφὴν ποιήσεσθαι τῶν γεγονότων
 ἀδικημάτων τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις, ἐπανελθὼν δ' εἰς τὴν 9
 20 Αἰτωλίαν οὕτω πικρῶς ἤνεγκε καὶ βαρέως τὸ
 ῥηθὲν ὥς οὐδεμίαν ἄλλην ἔχων εὐλογον πρόφασιν
 δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἐξέκαυσε τὸν
 πόλεμον.

Στρατηγὸς μὲν οὖν ὑπῆρχε τῶν Αἰτωλῶν 5
 25 Ἀρίστων· οὗτος δὲ διὰ τινὰς σωμα- Dorimachus their
 τικὰς ἀσθενείας ἀδύνατος ὦν πρὸς leader had high
 πολεμικὴν χρεῖαν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ συγγενὴς ὑπάρχων
 Δωριμάχου καὶ Σκόπα, τρόπον τινὰ παρακεχωρή-
 κει τούτῳ τῆς ὅλης ἀρχῆς. ὁ δὲ Δωρίμαχος 2
 30 κατὰ κοινὸν μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμα παρακαλεῖν τοὺς

Αἰτωλοὺς εἰς τὸν κατὰ τῶν Μεσσηνίων πόλεμον
 διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἔχειν ἀξίαν λόγου πρόφασιν,
 ἀλλ' ὁμολογουμένως ἐκ παρανομίας καὶ σκώμ-
 3 ματος γεγονέναι τὴν ὁρμὴν· ἀφέμενος δὲ τῆς
 ἐπινοίας ταύτης ἰδίᾳ προετρέπετο τὸν Σκόπαν 5
 κοινωνῆσαι τῆς ἐπιβολῆς αὐτῷ τῆς κατὰ τῶν
 Μεσσηνίων, ὑποδεικνύων μὲν τὴν ἀπὸ Μακεδόνων
 ἀσφάλειαν διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν τοῦ προεστῶτος (οὐ
 γὰρ εἶχε πλείον ἐτῶν τότε Φίλιππος ἑπτακαίδεκα),
 4 παρατιθεὶς δὲ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀλλοτριότητα 10
 πρὸς τοὺς Μεσσηνίους, ἀναμιμνήσκων δὲ τῆς
 Ἑλλείων πρὸς σφᾶς εὐνοίας καὶ συμμαχίας, ἐξ ἧν
 ἀσφαλῆ τὴν εἰσβολὴν τὴν εἰς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν
 5 ἐσομένην αὐτοῖς ἀπέφαινε· τὸ δὲ συνέχον τῆς
 Αἰτωλικῆς προτροπῆς, ὑπὸ τὴν ὄψιν ἐτίθει τὰς 15
 ἐσομένας ὠφελείας ἐκ τῆς τῶν Μεσσηνίων χώρας,
 οὔσης ἀπρονοήτου καὶ διαμεμενηκυίας ἀκεραίου
 μόνης τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ κατὰ τὸν Κλεομενικὸν
 6 πόλεμον. ἐπὶ δὲ πᾶσι τούτοις συνίστανε τὴν
 ἐξακολουθήσουσαν εὐνοίαν σφίσι παρὰ τοῦ τῶν 20
 7 Αἰτωλῶν πλήθους. Ἀχαιοὺς δ', ἂν μὲν κωλύσωσι
 τὴν δίοδον, οὐκ ἔρεῖν ἐγκλήματα τοῖς ἀμυνομένοις,
 ἐὰν δ' ἀγάγωσι τὴν ἡσυχίαν, οὐκ ἐμποδιεῖν αὐτοῖς
 8 πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολήν. πρὸς δὲ Μεσσηνίους προ-
 φάσεως οὐκ ἀπορήσειν ἔφη· πάλαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς 25
 ἀδικεῖν, Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ Μακεδόσιν ἐπηγγεμένους
 9 κοινωνῆσαι τῆς συμμαχίας. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν καὶ
 παραπλήσια τούτοις ἕτερα πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπό-
 θεσιν, τοιαύτην ὁρμὴν παρέστηκεν τῷ Σκόπῳ καὶ
 τοῖς τούτου φίλοις ὥστε οὔτε κοινὴν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν 30

προσδεξάμενοι σύνοδον οὔτε τοῖς ἀποκλήτοις συμ-
 μεταδόντες, οὔδ' ἄλλο τῶν καθηκόντων οὔδ' ἐν
 πράξαντες, κατὰ δὲ τὰς αὐτῶν ὁρμὰς καὶ κρίσεις 10
 διαλαβόντες ἤμα Μεσσηνίοις Ἑπειρώταις Ἀχαιοῖς
 5 Ἀκαρναῖσι Μακεδόσι πόλεμον ἐξήνεγκαν.

Καὶ κατὰ μὲν θάλατταν παραχρῆμα πειρατὰς 6
 ἐξέπεμψαν, οἳ παρατυχόντες πλοῖω
 βασιλικῷ τῶν ἐκ Μακεδονίας περὶ So with official
connivance a fili-
bustering expedi-
tion
 Κύθηρα τοῦτό τε εἰς Αἰτωλίαν κατα-
 10 γαγόντες αὐτανδρον, τοὺς τε ναυκλήρους καὶ τοὺς
 ἐπιβάτας, σὺν δὲ τούτοις τὴν ναῦν ἀπέδοντο. τῆς 2
 δ' Ἑπείρου τὴν παραλίαν ἐπόρθουν, συγχρώμενοι
 πρὸς τὴν ἀδικίαν ταῖς τῶν Κεφαλλήνων ναυσίν.
 ἐπεβάλλοντο δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας Θύριον κατα-
 15 λαβέσθαι. ἤμα δὲ τούτοις λάθρα διὰ Πελοποννή- 3
 σου τινὰς πέμψαντες ἐν μέσῃ τῇ τῶν Μεγαλοπολι-
 τῶν χώρα κατέσχον τὸ καλούμενον ὀχύρωμα
 Κλάριον, ᾧ λαφυροπωλεῖω χρησάμενοι διῆγον ἐν
 τούτῳ πρὸς τὰς ἀρπαγὰς. οὐ μὴν ἄλλὰ τοῦτο 4
 20 μὲν Τιμόξενος ὁ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν στρατηγός, παραλα-
 βὼν Ταυρίωνα τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ βασι-
 λικῶν πραγμάτων ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου καταλελειμμέ-
 νον, ἐξεπολιόρκησε τελέως ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις· ὁ 5
 γὰρ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος Κόρινθον μὲν εἶχε κατὰ
 25 τὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν συγχώρημα διὰ τοὺς Κλεομενικοὺς
 καιρούς, Ὀρχομενὸν δὲ κατὰ κράτος ἐλὼν οὐκ
 ἀποκατέστησε τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἀλλὰ σφετερισάμενος
 κατεῖχε, βουλόμενος, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, μὴ μόνον τῆς 6
 εἰσόδου κυριεύειν τῆς εἰς Πελοπόννησον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 30 τὴν μεσόγαιαν αὐτῆς παραφυλάττειν διὰ τῆς ἐν

- 7 Ὀρχομενῷ φρουρᾶς καὶ παρασκευῆς. οἱ δὲ περὶ
τὸν Δωρίμαχον καὶ Σκόπαν παρατηρήσαντες τὸν
καιρὸν, ἐν ᾧ λοιπὸς ἦν Τιμοξένῳ μὲν ὀλίγος ἔτι
χρόνος τῆς ἀρχῆς, Ἄρατος δὲ καθίστατο μὲν εἰς
τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν ἐπίοντα στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ τῶν 5
- 8 Ἀχαιῶν, οὐπω δὲ ἔμελλε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔξειν, συνα-
θροίσαντες πανδημεὶ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ Ῥίον,
marched across καὶ παρασκευασάμενοι πορθμεῖα καὶ
senia B.C. 220. τὰς Κεφαλλήνων ἐτοιμάσαντες ναῦς,
διεβίβασαν τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰς Πελοπόννησον καὶ 10
- 9 προῆγον ἐπὶ τὴν Μεσσηνίαν. ποιούμενοι δὲ τὴν
πορείαν διὰ τῆς Πατρέων καὶ Φαραιέων καὶ Τρι-
ταιέων χώρας ὑπεκρίνοντο μὲν βούλεσθαι μηδὲν
10 ἀδίκημα ποιεῖν εἰς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, οὐ δυναμένου δὲ
τοῦ πλήθους ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς χώρας διὰ τὴν πρὸς 15
τὰς ὠφελείας ἀκрасίαν κακοποιοῦντες αὐτὴν καὶ
λυμαινόμενοι διήεσαν, μέχρι παρεγενήθησαν εἰς
- 11 τὴν Φιγάλειαν. ποιησάμενοι δὲ τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐντεῦ-
θεν αἰφνιδίως καὶ θρασέως ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὴν τῶν
Μεσσηνίων χώραν, οὔτε τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτοῖς 20
ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων πρὸς τοὺς Μεσσηνίους φιλίας
καὶ συμμαχίας οὐδ' ἠντινοῦν ποιησάμενοι πρόνοιαν
οὔτε τῶν κατὰ κοινὸν ὀρισμένων δικαίων παρ'
- 12 ἀνθρώποις, ἅπαντα δ' ἐν ἐλάττονι θέμενοι τῆς
σφετέρας πλεονεξίας ἀδεῶς ἐπόρθουν, οὐ τολμῶν- 25
των ἐπεξιέναι καθόλου τῶν Μεσσηνίων.
- 7 Οἱ δ' Ἀχαιοί, καθηκούσης αὐτοῖς
The news arrives
when Timoxenus
is quitting office
and will not act,
ἐκ τῶν νόμων συνόδου κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν
2 τοῦτον, ἤκον εἰς Αἴγιον. συνελθόν-
τες δ' εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τῶν τε Πατρέων καὶ 30

Φαραίῳ ἀπολογιζομένων τὰ γεγονότα περὶ τὴν
 χώραν αὐτῶν ἀδικήματα κατὰ τὴν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν
 δίοδον, τῶν τε Μεσσηνίων παρόντων κατὰ πρεσ-
 βείαν καὶ δεομένων σφίσι βοηθεῖν ἀδικουμένοις
 5 καὶ παρασπονδουμένοις, διακούσαντες τῶν λεγο- 3
 μένων, καὶ συναγανακτοῦντες μὲν τοῖς Πατρεῦσι καὶ
 Φαραιεῦσι συμπάσχοντες δὲ ταῖς τῶν Μεσσηνίων
 ἀτυχίαις, μάλιστα δὲ νομίζοντες εἶναι δεινὸν εἰ 4
 μήτε συγχωρήσαντος τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς μηδενὸς τὴν
 10 δίοδον, μήτε καθάπαξ ἐπιβαλόμενοι παραιτεῖσθαι,
 κατετόλμησαν ἐπιβῆναι στρατοπέδῳ τῆς Ἀχαιῶν
 παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας, ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις παροξυν- 5
 θέντες ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις καὶ
 συνάγειν τὸν στρατηγὸν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐν τοῖς
 15 ὅπλοις, ὃ δ' ἂν τοῖς συνελθοῦσι βουλευομένοις
 δόξη, τοῦτ' εἶναι κύριον. ὁ μὲν οὖν Τιμόξενος ὁ 6
 τότε ἔτι ὑπάρχων στρατηγός, ὅσον οὐπω ληγούσης
 τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἅμα δὲ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἀπιστῶν διὰ
 τὸ ῥαθύμως αὐτοὺς ἐσχηκέναι κατὰ τὸ παρὺν
 20 περὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις γυμνασίαν, ἀνεδύετο τὴν
 ἔξοδον καὶ καθόλου τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν ὄχλων·
 μετὰ γὰρ τὴν Κλεομένους τοῦ Σπαρτιατῶν βα- 7
 σιλέως ἔκπτωσιν κάμνοντες μὲν τοῖς προγεγονόσι
 πολέμοις, πιστεύοντες δὲ τῇ παρούσῃ κατα-
 25 στάσει πάντες ὀλιγώρησαν Πελοποννήσιοι τῆς
 περὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ παρασκευῆς· ὁ δ' Ἄρατος 8
 σχετλιάζων καὶ παροξυνόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ τόλμῃ
 τῶν Αἰτωλῶν θυμικώτερον ἐχρῆτο τοῖς πράγ-
 μασιν, ἅτε καὶ προὔπαρχούσης αὐτοῖς ἀλλοτριό-
 30 τητος ἐκ τῶν ἐπάνω χρόνων. διὸ καὶ συνάγειν 9

ἔσπευδε τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ συμ-
 10 βαλεῖν πρόθυμος ἦν τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς. τέλος δὲ
 πένθ' ἡμέραις πρότερον τοῦ καθήκοντος αὐτῷ
 χρόνου παραλαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ Τιμοξένου τὴν δη-
 μοσίαν σφραγίδα πρὸς τε τὰς πόλεις ἔγραφε καὶ 5
 συνήγε τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἡλικίαις μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων
 11 εἰς τὴν Μεγάλην πόλιν. ὑπὲρ οὗ δοκεῖ μοι
 πρέπον εἶναι βραχέα προειπεῖν διὰ τὴν ἰδιότητα
 τῆς φύσεως.

8 Ἄρατος γὰρ ἦν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τέλειος ἀνὴρ εἰς 10
 2 but Aratus, usu- τὸν πραγματικὸν τρόπον· καὶ γὰρ
 ally incompetent
 in the field, εἰπεῖν καὶ διανοηθῆναι καὶ στέξαι τὸ
 κριθὲν δυνατός, καὶ μὴν ἐνεγκεῖν τὰς πολιτικὰς
 διαφορὰς πρῶως καὶ φίλους ἐνδῆσασθαι καὶ
 3 συμμάχους προσλαβεῖν οὐδενὸς δεύτερος, ἔτι δὲ 15
 πράξεις ἀπάτας ἐπιβουλὰς συστήσασθαι κατὰ
 τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ταύτας ἐπὶ τέλος ἀγαγεῖν διὰ
 τῆς αὐτοῦ κακοπαθείας καὶ τόλμης δεινότατος.
 4 ἐναργῆ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων μαρτύρια καὶ πλείω μὲν
 ἐκφανῇ ὅτι τοῖς ἱστορηκόσι κατὰ μέρος περί τε 20
 τῆς Σικυῶνος καὶ Μαντινείας καταλήψεως καὶ
 περὶ τῆς Αἰτωλῶν ἐκ τῆς Πελληνέων πόλεως
 ἐκβολῆς, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, περὶ τῆς ἐπ' Ἀκρο-
 5 κόρινθον πράξεως. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς οὗτος ὅτε τῶν
 ὑπαίθρων ἀντιποιήσασθαι βουλευθείη, νωθρὸς μὲν 25
 ἐν ταῖς ἐπινοίαις, ἄτολμος δ' ἐν ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς, ἐν
 6 ὄψει δ' οὐ μένων τὸ δεινόν. διὸ καὶ τροπαίων ἐπ'
 αὐτὸν βλεπόντων ἐπλήρωσε τὴν Πελοπόννησον,
 καὶ τῇδέ πη τοῖς πολεμίοις αἰεί ποτ' ἦν εὐχεί-
 ρωτος. * * *

Ἄθροισθέντων δὲ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἡλικίαις μετὰ τῶν 9
 ὄπλων εἰς τὴν Μεγάλην πόλιν κατὰ assembles in
haste an army
 δόγμα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν (ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων
 παρεξέβημεν), καὶ τῶν Μεσσηνίων αὐθις ἐπιπορευ- 2
 5 θέντων ἐπὶ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ δεομένων μὴ περιδεῖν
 σφᾶς οὔτω προφανῶς παρασπονδουμένους, βουλο-
 μένων δὲ καὶ τῆς κοινῆς συμμαχίας μετασχεῖν καὶ
 σπενδόντων ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιγραφῆναι, περὶ 3
 μὲν τῆς συμμαχίας οἱ προεστῶτες τῶν Ἀχαιῶν
 10 ἀπέλεγον, οὐ φάσκοντες δυνατὸν εἶναι χωρὶς Φιλίπ-
 που καὶ τῶν συμμάχων οὐδένα προσλαβεῖν (ἔτι 4
 γὰρ ἔνορκος ἔμενε πᾶσιν ἡ γεγενημένη συμμαχία
 δι' Ἀντιγόνου κατὰ τοὺς Κλεομενικοὺς καιροὺς
 Ἀχαιοῖς Ἡπειρώταις Φωκεῦσι Μακεδόσι Βοιω-
 15 τοῖς Ἀκαρνᾶσι Θετταλοῖς), ἐξελεύσεσθαι δὲ καὶ 5
 βοηθήσειν αὐτοῖς ἔφασαν, ἐὰν ὄμηρα δῶσιν οἱ
 παραγεγονότες τοὺς ἑαυτῶν υἱεῖς εἰς τὴν τῶν Λακε-
 δαιμονίων πόλιν χάριν τοῦ μὴ διαλυθήσεσθαι πρὸς
 Αἰτωλοὺς χωρὶς τῆς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν βουλήσεως.
 20 ἐστρατοπέδευον δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, κατὰ τὴν 6
 συμμαχίαν ἐξεληλυθότες, ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν Μεγαλο-
 πολιτῶν ὄροις, ἐφέδρων καὶ θεωρῶν μᾶλλον ἢ
 συμμάχων ἔχοντες τάξιν. Ἄρατος δὲ τὸν τρόπον 7
 τοῦτον τὰ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους διαπράξας ἔπεμπε πρὸς
 25 τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς, διασαφῶν τὰ δεδογμένα to bar their way
back.
 καὶ παρακελευόμενος ἐπανάγειν ἐκ τῆς
 τῶν Μεσσηνίων χώρας καὶ τῆς Ἀχαιᾶς μὴ ψαύειν
 εἰ δὲ μή, διότι χρήσεται τοῖς ἐπιβαίνουσιν ὡς
 πολεμίοις. Σκόπας δὲ καὶ Δωρίμαχος ἀκούσαντες 8
 30 τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ γνόντες ἠθροισμένους τοὺς Ἀχαι-

- οὺς, ἡγοῦντο συμφέρειν σφίσι τότε τίθεσθαι τοῖς
 9 παραγγελλομένοις. παραυτίκα μὲν οὖν ἑξαπ-
 ἔστελλον γραμματοφόρους εἰς τε Κυλλήνην καὶ
 πρὸς Ἀρίστωνα τὸν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν στρατηγόν,
 ἀξιοῦντες κατὰ σπουδὴν αὐτοῖς ἀποστέλλειν τὰ 5
 πορθμεῖα τῆς Ἡλείας εἰς τὴν Φειάδα καλουμένην
 10 νῆσον· αὐτοὶ δὲ μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας ἀνέξευξαν
 γέμοντες τῆς λείας, καὶ προῆγον ὡς
 ἐπὶ τὴν Ἡλείαν. αἰεὶ γάρ ποτε τῆς
 τῶν Ἡλείων ἀντείχοντο φιλίας Αἰτωλοὶ χάριν 10
 τοῦ διὰ τούτων ἐπιπλοκάς λαμβάνειν πρὸς τὰς
 ἀρπαγὰς τὰς ἐκ Πελοποννήσου καὶ ληστείας.
 10 Ὁ δ' Ἄρατος ἐπιμείνας δύο ἡμέρας, καὶ πισ-
 and Aratus dis- τεύσας εὐήθως ὅτι ποιήσονται τὴν
 bands most of his army, ἐπάνοδον καθάπερ ὑπεδείκνυσαν, τοὺς 15
 μὲν λοιποὺς Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους
 2 διαφῆκε πάντας εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, τρισχιλίους δ'
 ἔχων πεζοὺς καὶ τριακοσίους ἵππεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἅμα
 τῷ Ταυρίωνι στρατιώτας προῆγε τὴν ἐπὶ Πάτρας,
 3 ἀντιπαράγειν τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς προαιρούμενος. οἱ 20
 δὲ περὶ τὸν Δωρίμαχον πυνθανόμενοι τοὺς περὶ
 τὸν Ἄρατον ἀντιπαράγειν αὐτοῖς καὶ συμμένειν,
 τὰ μὲν διαγωνιάσαντες μὴ κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὰς ναῦς
 ἔμβασιν ἐπιθῶνται σφίσι περισπωμένοις, τὰ δὲ
 4 σπουδάζοντες συγχέαι τὸν πόλεμον, τὴν μὲν λείαν 25
 ἀπέστειλαν ἐπὶ τὰ πλοῖα, συστήσαντες τοὺς ἱκα-
 νοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτηδεῖους πρὸς τὴν διακομιδὴν,
 προσεντειλάμενοι τοῖς ἐκπεμπομένοις ταῦτα πρὸς
 τὸ Ῥίον ἀπαντᾶν ὡς ἐντεῦθεν ποιησόμενοι τὴν
 5 ἔμβασιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐφῆδρευον τῇ τῆς 30

λείας ἑξαποστολῇ περιέποντες, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
 προῆγον ἐκ μεταβολῆς ὥς ἐπ' Ὀλυμπίας. ἀκού- 6
 οντες δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ταυρίωνα μετὰ τοῦ προειρη-
 μένου πλήθους περὶ τὴν Κλειτορίαν εἶναι, καὶ νο-
 5 μίζοντες οὐδ' ὥς δυνήσεσθαι τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ῥίου
 διάβασιν ἄνευ κινδύνου ποιήσασθαι καὶ συμπλο-
 κῆς, ἔκριναν συμφέρειν τοῖς σφετέροις πράγμασιν 7
 ὥς τάχιστα συμμῖξαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἄρατον ἀκμὴν
 ὀλίγοις οὔσι καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀνυπονοήτοις, ὑπο- 8
 10 λαβύντες, ἂν μὲν τρέψωνται τούτους, προκατασύ-
 ραντες τὴν χώραν ἀσφαλῇ ποιήσεσθαι τὴν ἀπὸ
 τοῦ Ῥίου διάβασιν, ἐν ᾧ μέλλει καὶ βουλεύεται
 συναθροίζεσθαι πάλιν τὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πλήθος, ἂν 9
 δὲ καταπλαγέντες φυγομαχώσι καὶ μὴ βούλονται
 15 συμβάλλειν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄρατον, ἄνευ κινδύνου
 ποιήσεσθαι τὴν ἀπόλυσιν, ὅποταν αὐτοῖς δοκῇ
 συμφέρειν. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν τοιούτοις χρησάμενοι 10
 λογισμοῖς προῆγον, καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσαν περὶ
 Μεθύδριον τῆς Μεγαλοπολίτιδος· οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀχαι- 11
 20 ῶν ἡγεμόνες, συνέντες τὴν παρουσίαν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν,
 οὕτως κακῶς ἐχρήσαντο τοῖς πράγμασιν ὥσθ'
 ὑπερβολὴν ἀνοίας μὴ καταλιπεῖν. ἀναστρέψαντες 2
 γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Κλειτορίας κατεστρατοπέδευσαν περὶ
 Καφύας, τῶν δ' Αἰτωλῶν ποιουμένων τὴν πορείαν 3
 25 ἀπὸ Μεθυδρίου παρὰ τὴν τῶν Ὀρχομενίων πόλιν
 ἐξάγοντες τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐν τῷ τῶν Καφυέων πεδίῳ
 παρενέβαλον, πρόβλημα ποιούμενοι τὸν δι' αὐτοῦ
 ῥέοντα ποταμόν. οἱ δ' Αἰτωλοὶ καὶ διὰ τὰς 4
 μεταξὺ δυσχωρίας (ἦσαν γὰρ ἔτι πρὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ
 30 τάφροι καὶ πλείους δύσβατοι) καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπίφασιν.

- τῆς ἐτοιμότητος τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον
 τοῦ μὲν ἐγχειρεῖν τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις κατὰ τὴν ἐξ
 5 ἀρχῆς πρόθεσιν ἀπεδειλίασαν, μετὰ δὲ πολλῆς
 εὐταξίας ἐποιοῦντο τὴν πορείαν ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς ὑπερ-
 βολὰς ἐπὶ τὸν Ὀλύγυρτον, ἀσμενίζοντες εἰ μὴ 5
 6 τις αὐτοῖς ἐγχειροίη καὶ βιάζοιτο κινδυνεύειν. οἱ
 δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἄρατον, τῆς μὲν πρωτοπορείας τῶν
 Αἰτωλῶν ἥδη προσβαινούσης πρὸς τὰς ὑπερβολὰς,
 τῶν δ' ἰππέων οὐραγούντων διὰ τοῦ πεδίου καὶ
 and then with the remnant rashly attacks them on the march, συνεγγιζόντων τῷ προσαγορευομένῳ 10
 Πρόποδι τῆς παρωρείας, ἐξαποστέλ-
 λουσι τοὺς ἰππεῖς καὶ τοὺς εὐζώνους,
 Ἐπίστρατον ἐπιστήσαντες τὸν Ἀκαρνᾶνα, καὶ
 συντάξαντες ἐξάπτεσθαι τῆς οὐραγίας καὶ κατα-
 7 πειράζειν τῶν πολεμίων. καίτοι γε εἰ μὲν ἦν κιν- 15
 δυνευτέον, οὐ πρὸς τὴν οὐραγίαν ἐχρῆν συμπλέκε-
 σθαι διηνυκότων ἥδη τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς ὁμαλοὺς
 τόπους, πρὸς δὲ τὴν πρωτοπορείαν εὐθέως ἐμ-
 8 βαλόντων εἰς τὸ πῆδιον· οὕτως γὰρ ἂν τὸν ἀγῶνα
 συνέβη γενέσθαι τὸν ὅλον ἐν τοῖς ἐπιπέδοις καὶ 20
 πεδινοῖς τόποις, οὐ τοὺς μὲν Αἰτωλοὺς δυσχρηστο-
 τάτους εἶναι συνέβαινε διὰ τε τὸν καθοπλισμὸν
 καὶ τὴν ὅλην σύνταξιν, τοὺς δ' Ἀχαιοὺς εὐχρηστο-
 τάτους καὶ δυναμικωτάτους διὰ τὰναντία τῶν
 9 προειρημένων. νῦν δ' ἀφέμενοι τῶν οἰκείων τόπων 25
 καὶ καιρῶν εἰς τὰ τῶν πολεμίων προτερήματα
 συγκατέβησαν. τοιγαροῦν ἀκόλουθον τὸ τέλος
 12 ἐξέβη τοῦ κινδύνου ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς. ἐξαπτομένων
 γὰρ τῶν εὐζώνων τηροῦντες οἱ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἰπ-
 πεῖς τὴν τάξιν ἀπεχώρουν εἰς τὴν παρῳρείαν, 30

σπεύδοντες συνάψαι τοῖς παρ' αὐτῶν πεζοῖς. οἱ 2
 δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἄρατον οὔτε κατιδόντες καλῶς τὸ
 γινόμενον οὔτ' ἐκλογισάμενοι δεόντως τὸ μετὰ
 ταῦτα συμβησόμενον, ἅμα τῷ τοὺς ἵππεῖς ἰδεῖν
 5 ὑποχωροῦντας ἐλπίσαντες αὐτοὺς φεύγειν, τοὺς μὲν 3
 ἀπὸ τῶν κεράτων θωρακίτας ἐξαπέστειλαν, παραγ-
 γείλαντες βοηθεῖν καὶ συνάπτειν τοῖς παρ' αὐτῶν
 εὐζῶνοις, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐπὶ κέρας κλίναντες τὴν δύναμιν
 ἦγον μετὰ δρόμου καὶ σπουδῆς. οἱ δὲ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν 4
 10 ἵππεῖς διανύσαντες τὸ πεδίον, ἅμα τῷ συνάψαι
 τοῖς πεζοῖς αὐτοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ τὴν παρῳρείαν ὑποστεί-
 λαντες ἔμενον, τοὺς δὲ πεζοὺς ἥθροιζον πρὸς τὰ 5
 πλάγια καὶ παρεκάλουν, ἐτοίμως πρὸς τὴν κραυγῇ
 ἀνατρεχόντων καὶ παραβοηθούντων αἰετῶν ἐκ τῆς
 15 πορείας. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀξιομάχους ὑπέλαβον εἶναι σφῶς 6
 αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος, συστραφέντες ἐνέβαλον
 τοῖς προμαχομένοις τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἵππέων καὶ
 ψιλῶν· ὄντες δὲ πλείους καὶ ποιούμενοι τὴν ἔφο-
 δον ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου πολλὴν μὲν χρόνον ἐκινδύνευσαν,
 20 τέλος δ' ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς συγκαθεστῶτας. ἐν δὲ 7
 τῷ τούτους ἐγκλίναντας φεύγειν οἱ παραβοηθοῦν-
 τες θωρακῖται κατὰ πορείαν ἀτάκτως and is routed ig-
nominiously.
 ἐπιπαραγενόμενοι καὶ σποράδην, οἱ
 μὲν ἀποροῦντες ἐπὶ τοῖς γινομένοις, οἱ δὲ συμπί-
 25 πτοντες ἀντίοις τοῖς φεύγουσι κατὰ τὴν ἀποχώρη-
 σιν, ἀναστρέφειν ἠναγκάζοντο καὶ τὸ παραπλήσιον
 ποιεῖν· ἐξ οὗ συνέβαινε τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς συγκατα- 8
 στάσεως ἡττηθέντας μὴ πλείους εἶναι πεντακο-
 σίων, τοὺς δὲ φεύγοντας πλείους δισχιλίων. τοῦ 9
 30 δὲ πράγματος αὐτοῦ διδάσκοντος τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς

- ὁ δὲ ποιεῖν, εἶποντο κατόπιν ἐπιπολαστικῶς καὶ
 10 κατακόρως χρώμενοι τῇ κραυγῇ. ποιουμένων δὲ
 τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τὴν ἀποχώρησιν πρὸς τὰ βαρέα τῶν
 ὅπλων ὡς μενόντων ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀσφαλείαις ἐπὶ τῆς
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς τύξεως, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εὐσχήμων ἐγένεθ' 5
 11 ἡ φυγὴ καὶ σωτήριος· συνθεασάμενοι δὲ καὶ τού-
 τους λελοιπότας τὰς τῶν τόπων ἀσφαλείας καὶ
 μακροὺς ὄντας ἐν πορείᾳ καὶ διαλελυμένους, οἱ μὲν
 αὐτῶν εὐθέως διαρρέοντες ἀτάκτως ἐποιήσαντο τὴν
 12 ἀποχώρησιν ἐπὶ τὰς παρακειμένας πόλεις, οἱ δὲ 10
 συμπίπτοντες ἀντίοις τοῖς ἐπιφερομένοις φαλαγγί-
 ταις οὐ προσεδέοντο τῶν πολεμίων, αὐτοὶ δὲ σφᾶς
 αὐτοὺς ἐκπλήττοντες ἠνάγκαζον φεύγειν προτρο-
 13 πάδην. ἐχρῶντο δὲ τῇ φυγῇ κατὰ τὴν ἀποχώ-
 ρησιν, ὡς προείπομεν, ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις· ὃ τε γὰρ 15
 Ὀρχομενὸς αἶ τε Καφύαι σύνεγγυς οὖσαι πολλοὺς
 ὦνσαν. μὴ γὰρ τούτου συμβάντος ἅπαντες ἂν
 ἐκινδύνευσαν διαφθαρῆναι παραλόγως.
- 14 Ὁ μὲν οὖν περὶ Καφύας γενόμενος κίνδυνος
 13 τούτον ἀπέβη τὸν τρόπον· οἱ δὲ Μεγαλοπολίται 20
 συνέντες τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς περὶ τὸ Μεθύδριον ἐστρα-
 τοπεδευκότας, ἦκον ἀπὸ σάλπιγγος πανδημεὶ βοη-
 2 θοῦντες τῇ κατὰ πόδας ἡμέρᾳ τῆς μάχης, καὶ μεθ'
 ὧν ζώντων ἤλπισαν κινδυνεύσειν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπ-
 3 ἐναντίους, τούτους ἠναγκάζοντο θάπτειν ὑπὸ τῶν 25
 ἐχθρῶν τετελευτηκότας. ὀρύξαντες δὲ τάφρον ἐν
 τῷ τῶν Καφυέων πεδίῳ, καὶ συναθροίσαντες τοὺς
 νεκροὺς, ἐκήδευσαν μετὰ πάσης φιλοτιμίας τοὺς
 4 ἡτυχηκότας. οἱ δ' Αἰτωλοὶ παρα-
 10 δόξως δι' αὐτῶν τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν 30

4 The Aetolians re-
turn in triumph.

ψιλῶν ποιήσαντες τὸ προτέρημα, λοιπὸν ἤδη μετ' ἀσφαλείας διὰ μέσης Πελοποννήσου διήεσαν. ἐν 5
 ᾧ καιρῷ καταπειράσαντες μὲν τῆς Πελληνέων πόλεως, κατασύραντες δὲ τὴν Σικυωνίαν χώραν, 5
 τέλος κατὰ τὸν ἰσθμὸν ἐποίησαντο τὴν ἀπόλυσιν.

Τὴν μὲν οὖν αἰτίαν καὶ τὴν ἀφορμὴν ὁ συμ- 6
 μαχικὸς πόλεμος ἔσχεν ἐκ τούτων, τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν ἐκ τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα γενομένου δόγματος ἀπάντων τῶν συμμάχων, ὃ συνελθόντες εἰς τὴν τῶν Κοριν- 7
 10 θίων πόλιν ἐπεκύρωσαν, διαπρυτανεύσαντος τὸ διαβούλιον Φιλίππου τοῦ βασιλέως. τὸ δὲ τῶν 14
 Ἀχαιῶν πλῆθος μετὰ τινας ἡμέρας ἀθροισθὲν εἰς τὴν καθήκουσαν σύνοδον, πικρῶς διέκειτο καὶ κοινῇ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν πρὸς τὸν Ἄρατον ὡς τοῦτον ὁμολο-
 15 γουμένως αἴτιον γεγονότα τοῦ προειρημένου συμ-
 πτώματος. διὸ καὶ τῶν ἀντιπολιτευομένων κατ- 2
 ηγορούντων αὐτοῦ καὶ φερόντων ἀπολογισμοὺς ἐναργεῖς, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἠγανάκτει καὶ παρωξύνετο τὸ πλῆθος. * * * οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἅμα τῷ 7
 20 προελθόντα τὸν Ἄρατον ἀναμνήσαι The Federal assembly condones the folly of Aratus;
 μὲν τῶν προπεπολιτευμένων καὶ πε-
 πραγμένων πρότερον αὐτῷ, φέρειν δ' ἀπολογισμοὺς περὶ τῶν ἐγκαλουμένων ὡς οὐ γέγονεν αἴτιος τῶν συμβεβηκότων, αἰτεῖσθαι δὲ συγγνώμην εἰ
 25 καί τι παρεώρακε κατὰ τὸν γερόμενον κίνδυνον, οἷεσθαι δὲ δεῖν καὶ καθόλου σκοπεῖσθαι τὰ πράγματα μὴ πικρῶς ἀλλ' ἀνθρωπίνως, οὕτως 8
 ταχέως καὶ μεγαλοψύχως μετεμελήθη τὸ πλῆθος ὥστε καὶ τοῖς συνεπιτιθεμένοις αὐτῷ τῶν
 30 ἀντιπολιτευομένων ἐπὶ πολὺ δυσареστήσαι καὶ

περὶ τῶν ἐξῆς πάντα βουλευέσθαι κατὰ τὴν Ἀράτου γνώμην.

- 9 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν προτέραν ἔπεσεν Ὀλυμπιάδα, τὰ δ' ἐξῆς εἰς τὴν τετταρακοστὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς
 15 ἑκατόν. ἣν δὲ τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ταῦτα' 5
 decides to call on the allies and levy troops. πρεσβεύειν πρὸς Ἡπειρώτας Βοιω-
 τοὺς Φωκέας Ἀκαρνανᾶς Φίλιππον,
 2 καὶ διασαφεῖν τίνα τρόπον Αἰτωλοὶ παρὰ τὰς
 συνθήκας μεθ' ὅπλων ἤδη δις εἰσβεβληκότες εἴησαν
 εἰς τὴν Ἀχαΐαν, καὶ παρακαλεῖν αὐτοὺς βοηθεῖν 10
 κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας, προσδέξασθαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς
 3 Μεσσηνίους εἰς τὴν συμμαχίαν· τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν
 ἐπιλέξαι τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πεζοὺς μὲν πεντακισχιλίους
 ἵππεῖς δὲ πεντακοσίους, καὶ βοηθεῖν τοῖς Μεσ-
 σηνίοις, ἂν ἐπιβαίνωσιν Αἰτωλοὶ τῆς χώρας 15
 4 αὐτῶν· συντάξασθαι δὲ καὶ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους
 καὶ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους ὅσους δεήσοι παρ' ἀμφοῖν
 ὑπάρχειν ἵππεῖς καὶ πεζοὺς πρὸς τὰς κοινὰς χρείας.
 5 δοξάντων δὲ τούτων οἱ μὲν Ἀχαιοὶ φέροντες γεν-
 ναίως τὸ γεγονός οὔτε τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἐγκατέλι- 20
 πον οὔτε τὴν αὐτῶν πρόθεσιν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς
 συμμάχους καθεσταμένοι τὰς πρεσβείας ἐπετέ-
 6 λουν, ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀχαΐας
 ἄνδρας ἐπέλεγε κατὰ τὸ δόγμα, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Λακε-
 δαιμονίους καὶ Μεσσηνίους συνετάττετο πεζοὺς 25
 μὲν παρ' ἑκατέρων ὑπάρχειν δισχιλίους καὶ πεν-
 7 τακοσίους ἵππεῖς δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους,
 ὥστ' εἶναι τὸ πᾶν σύστημα πρὸς τὰς ἐπιγινομένας
 χρείας πεζοὺς μὲν μυρίους ἵππεῖς δὲ χιλίους.
 8 Οἱ δ' Αἰτωλοί, παραγενομένης αὐτοῖς τῆς 30

καθηκούσης ἐκκλησίας, συνελθόντες ἐβουλεύσαντο
 πρὸς τε Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Μεσ- The Aetolians call
it peace while
making war, σσηνίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας εἰρή-
 νην ἄγειν, κακοπραγμονοῦντες καὶ βουλόμενοι
 5 φθείρειν καὶ λυμαίνεσθαι τοὺς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν συμ-
 μάχους· πρὸς αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, ἐὰν μὲν 9
 ἀφιστῶνται τῆς τῶν Μησσηνίων συμμαχίας,
 ἄγειν ἐψηφίσαντο τὴν εἰρήνην, εἰ δὲ μή, πολεμεῖν,
 πρᾶγμα πάντων ἀλογώτατον. ὄντες γὰρ αὐτοὶ 10
 10 σύμμαχοι καὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τῶν Μεσσηνίων,
 εἰ μὲν οὗτοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλίαν ἄγοιεν καὶ
 συμμαχίαν, τὸν πόλεμον τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐπήγγελλον,
 εἰ δὲ ἔχθραν ἔλοιντο πρὸς τοὺς Μεσσηνίους, τὴν 11
 15 λόγον πίπτειν τὴν ἀδικίαν αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ παρηλ-
 λαγμένον αὐτῶν τῶν ἐγχειρημάτων.

Οἱ δ' Ἠπειρώται καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ βασιλεὺς 16
 ἀκούσαντες τῶν πρέσβων τοὺς μὲν Μεσσηνίους εἰς
 τὴν συμμαχίαν προσέλαβον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν 2
 20 Αἰτωλῶν πεπραγμένοις παραντίκα μὲν ἡγανάκτη-
 σαν, οὐ μὲν ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐθαύμασαν διὰ τὸ μηδὲν
 παράδοξον τῶν εἰθισμένων δέ τι πεποιηκέναι τοὺς
 Αἰτωλοὺς. διόπερ οὐδ' ὠργίσθησαν ἐπὶ πλεῖον, 3
 ἀλλ' ἐψηφίσαντο τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγειν πρὸς αὐτούς·
 25 οὕτως ἢ συνεχῆς ἀδικία συγγνώμης τυγχάνει
 μᾶλλον τῆς σπανίου καὶ παραδόξου πονηρίας.
 Αἰτωλοὶ γοῦν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ χρώμενοι καὶ λη- 4
 στεύοντες συνεχῶς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ πολέμους
 ἀνεπαγγέλτους φέροντες πολλοῖς, οὐδ' ἀπολογίας
 30 ἔτι κατηξίουں τοὺς ἐγκαλοῦντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσ-

εχλεύαζον εἴ τις αὐτοὺς εἰς δικαιοδοσίας προ-
καλοῖτο περὶ τῶν γεγονότων ἢ καὶ νῆ Δία τῶν

5 and the Spartans secretly make terms with them, μελλόντων. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προσ-
φάτως μὲν ἡλευθερωμένοι δι' Ἀντιγό-
νου καὶ διὰ τῆς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν φιλοτιμίας, ὀφείλοντες 5
δὲ Μακεδόσι καὶ Φιλίππῳ μηδὲν ὑπεναντίον πράτ-
τειν, διαπεμφσάμενοι λάθρα πρὸς τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς
φιλίαν δι' ἀπορρήτων ἔθεντο καὶ συμμαχίαν.

6 Ἦδη δ' ἐπιλελεγμένων τῶν Ἀχαικῶν νεανίσκων
καὶ συντεταγμένων ὑπὲρ τῆς βοηθείας τῶν Λακε- 10
δαιμονίων καὶ Μεσσηνίων, Σκερδιλαῖδας ὁμοῦ καὶ
as does also Scer- Δημήτριος ὁ Φάριος ἔπλευσαν ἐκ τῆς
dilaidas. Ἰλλυρίδος ἐνενήκοντα λέμβοις ἔξω
τοῦ Λίσσου παρὰ τὰς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους συνθήκας.

7 οἱ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῇ Πύλῳ προσμίξαντες καὶ 15

8 ποιησάμενοι προσβολὰς ἀπέπεσον· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
Δημήτριος μὲν ἔχων τοὺς πεντήκοντα τῶν λέμβων
ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ νήσων, καὶ περιπλέων τινὰς μὲν

9 ἡργυρολόγει τινὰς δ' ἐπόρθει τῶν Κυκλάδων, Σκερ-
διλαῖδας δὲ ποιούμενος τὸν πλοῦν ὥς ἐπ' οἴκου 20

προσείχε πρὸς Ναύπακτον μετὰ τετταράκοντα
λέμβων, πεισθεὶς Ἀμυνᾷ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἀθαμά-

10 νων, ὃς ἐτύγχανε κηδεστὴς ὑπάρχων αὐτοῦ, ποιη-
σάμενος δὲ συνθήκας πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς δι' Ἀγελάου
περὶ τοῦ μερισμοῦ τῶν λαφύρων ὑπέσχετο συνεμ- 25

11 βαλεῖν ὁμόσε τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς εἰς τὴν Ἀχαΐαν. συν-
θέμενοι δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Σκερδιλαῖδαν οἱ περὶ
τὸν Ἀγέλαον καὶ Δωρίμαχον καὶ Σκόπαν, πρατ-
τομένης αὐτοῖς τῆς τῶν Κυναιθέων πόλεως, συνα-
θροίσαντες πανδημεὶ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἐνέβαλον εἰς 30

τὴν Ἀχαΐαν μετὰ τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν. Ἀρίστων δ' ὁ 17
 τῶν Αἰτωλῶν στρατηγός, οὐ προσποιούμενος οὐδὲν
 τῶν γινομένων, ἤγε τὴν ἥσυχίαν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκείας,
 φάσκων οὐ πολεμεῖν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἀλλὰ διατηρεῖν
 5 τὴν εἰρήνην, εὖηθες καὶ παιδικὸν πρᾶγμα ποιῶν·
 δῆλον γὰρ ὡς εὐήθη καὶ μάταιον εἰκὸς The Aetolians 2
seize by treachery
Cynaetha,
 φαίνεσθαι τὸν τοιοῦτον, ὅταν ὑπολαμ-
 βάνῃ τοῖς λόγοις ἐπικρύψασθαι τὰς τῶν πραγμά-
 των ἐναργείας. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Δωρίμαχον διὰ τῆς 3
 10 Ἀχαιάτιδος ποιησάμενοι τὴν πορείαν ἦκον ἄφνω
 πρὸς τὴν Κύναιθαν. συνέβαινε δὲ τοὺς Κυναιθεῖς 4
 ὄντας Ἀρκάδας ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων ἀκαταπαύ-
 στοις καὶ μεγάλαις συνεσχῆσθαι στάσεσι, καὶ
 πολλὰς μὲν κατ' ἀλλήλων πεποιῆσθαι σφαγὰς καὶ
 15 φυγὰς, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀρπαγὰς ὑπαρχόντων, ἔτι δὲ 5
 γῆς ἀναδασμούς, τέλος δ' ἐπικρατῆσαι τοὺς τὰ τῶν
 Ἀχαιῶν αἰρουμένους καὶ κατασχεῖν which had been
long torn by civil
strife.
 τὴν πόλιν, φυλακὴν ἔχοντας τῶν τει-
 χῶν καὶ στρατηγὸν τῆς πόλεως ἐξ Ἀχαΐας. τούτων
 20 δ' οὕτως ἔχόντων, ὀλίγοις ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις τῆς 6
 τῶν Αἰτωλῶν παρουσίας διαπεμπομένων τῶν φυ-
 γάδων πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ δεομένων διαλυ-
 θῆναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ κατάγειν σφᾶς εἰς τὴν
 οἰκείαν, πεισθέντες οἱ κατέχοντες τὴν πόλιν ἐπρέσ- 7
 25 βειον πρὸς τὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνος, βουλόμενοι
 μετὰ τῆς ἐκείνων γνώμης ποιεῖσθαι τὰς διαλύσεις.
 ἐπιχωρησάντων δ' ἐτοίμως διὰ τὸ πεπεῖσθαι σφίσιν 8
 ἀμφοτέρους εὐνοήσειν, ἅτε τῶν μὲν κατεχόντων
 τὴν πόλιν ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἔχόντων πάσας τὰς
 30 ἐλπίδας, τῶν δὲ καταπορευομένων μελλόντων

τυγχάνειν τῆς σῴτηρίας διὰ τὴν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν
 9 συγκατάθεσιν, οὕτως ἀποστείλαντες τὴν παρα-
 φυλακὴν καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως οἱ
 Κυναιθεῖς διελύσαντο καὶ κατήγαγον τοὺς φυγάδας,
 ὄντας σχεδὸν εἰς τριακοσίους, λαβόντες πίστεις 5
 τῶν παρ' ἀνθρώποις νομιζομένων τὰς ἰσχυροτάτας.
 10 οἱ δὲ κατανοστήσαντες οὐχ ὥς αἰτίας ἢ προφάσεως
 ἐπιγενομένης τοῦ δοκεῖν ἄλλης διαφορᾶς ἀρχὴν
 αὐτοῖς τινα γεγενῆσθαι, τὸ δ' ἐναντίον παραχρῆμα
 κατελθόντες εὐθέως ἐπεβούλευον τῇ πατρίδι καὶ 10
 11 τοῖς σώσασι. καὶ μοι δοκοῦσι, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἐπὶ
 τῶν σφαγίων τοὺς ὄρκους καὶ τὰς πίστεις ἐδίδοσαν
 ἀλλήλοις, τότε μάλιστα διανοεῖσθαι περὶ τε τῆς
 εἰς τὸ θεῖον καὶ τοὺς πιστεύσαντας ἀσεβείας.
 12 ἅμα γὰρ τῷ μετασχεῖν τῆς πολιτείας εὐθέως ἐπε- 15
 σπῶντο τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ τούτοις ἔπραττον τὴν
 πόλιν, σπεύδοντες τοὺς σώσαντας ἅμα καὶ τὴν
 18 θρέψασαν ἄρδην ἀπολέσαι. τὴν δὲ πρᾶξιν τοιαῦδέ
 τι νι τόλμῃ καὶ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ συνεστήσαντο.
 2 πολέμαρχοι τῶν κατεληλυθότων τινὲς ἐγεγόνεισαν· 20
 ταύτην δὲ συμβαίνει τὴν ἀρχὴν κλείειν τὰς πύλας
 καὶ τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον κυριεῦειν τῶν κλειδῶν,
 ποιεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν τὴν δίαιταν ἐπὶ
 3 τῶν πυλώνων. οἱ μὲν οὖν Αἰτωλοὶ διεσκευασμένοι
 καὶ τὰς κλίμακας ἐτοίμας ἔχοντες ἐπετήρουν τὸν 25
 4 καιρὸν· οἱ δὲ πολεμαρχοῦντες τῶν φυγάδων, κατα-
 σφάζαντες τοὺς συνάρχοντας ἐπὶ τοῦ πυλῶνος,
 5 ἀνέωξαν τὴν πύλην. οὐ συμβάντος τινὲς μὲν τῶν
 Αἰτωλῶν διὰ ταύτης εἰσέπιπτον, τινὲς δὲ τὰς
 κλίμακας προσερείσαντες ἐβιάσαντο διὰ τούτων 30

καὶ κατελάμβανον τὸ τεῖχος. οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει 6
 πάντες ἐκπλαγεῖς ὄντες ἐπὶ τοῖς συντελουμένοις,
 ἀπόρως καὶ δυσχρήστως εἶχον πρὸς τὸ συμβαῖνον·
 οὔτε γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς διὰ τῆς πύλης εἰσπίπτοντας
 5 υἱοὶ τ' ἦσαν βοηθεῖν ἀπερισπάστως διὰ τοὺς πρὸς
 τὰ τεῖχη προσβάλλοντας, οὐδὲ μὴν τοῖς τείχεσιν
 ἐπαμύνειν διὰ τοὺς τῇ πύλῃ βιαζομένους. οἱ δ' 7
 Αἰτωλοὶ διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας ταχέως ἐγκρατεῖς
 γενόμενοι τῆς πόλεως τῶν ἀδίκων ἔργων ἐν τοῦτ'
 10 ἔπραξαν δικαιοτάτον· πρώτους γὰρ τοὺς εἰσαγα-
 γόντας καὶ προδόντας αὐτοῖς τὴν πό- After plundering
 and torturing the
 inhabitants,
 λιν κατασφάξαντες διήρπασαν τοὺς
 τούτων βίους. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐχρή- 8
 σαντο πᾶσιν. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ἐπισκηνώσαντες
 15 ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἐξετοιχωρύχησαν μὲν τοὺς βίους,
 ἐστρέβλωσαν δὲ πολλοὺς τῶν Κυναϊθέων, οἷς
 ἠπίστησαν ἔχειν κεκρυμμένον διάφορον ἢ κατα-
 σκεύασμα ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν πλείονος ἀξίων.

Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον λωβησάμενοι τοὺς Κυν- 9
 20 αῖβεις ἀνεστρατοπέδευσαν, ἀπολιπόντες φυλακὴν
 τῶν τειχῶν, καὶ προῆγον ὥς ἐπὶ Λούσων· καὶ 10
 παραγενόμενοι πρὸς τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν, ὃ
 κεῖται μὲν μεταξὺ Κλείτορος καὶ Κυναΐθης, ἄσυλον
 δὲ νενόμισται παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ἀνετείνοντο
 25 διαρπάσειν τὰ θρέμματα τῆς θεοῦ καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ
 περὶ τὸν ναόν. οἱ δὲ Λουσιᾶται νουνεχῶς δόντες 11
 τινὰ τῶν κατασκευασμάτων τῆς θεοῦ, παρητήσαντο
 τὴν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἀσέβειαν τοῦ μηδὲν παθεῖν
 ἀνήκεστον. οἱ δὲ δεξάμενοι, παραχρήμα ἀναζεύ- 12
 30 ξαντες, προσεστρατοπέδευσαν τῇ τῶν Κλειτορίων

- 19 πόλει. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους ὁ τῶν
 Ἀχαιῶν στρατηγὸς Ἄρατος ἐξαπέστειλε μὲν πρὸς
 Φίλιππον παρακαλῶν βοηθεῖν, συνήγε δὲ τοὺς
 ἐπιλέκτους, μετεπέμπετο δὲ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων
 καὶ Μεσσηνίων τοὺς διατεταγμένους κατὰ τὰς 5
 2 ὁμολογίας. οἱ δ' Αἰτωλοὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον παρε-
 κάλουν τοὺς Κλειτορίους ἀποστάντας τῶν Ἀχαιῶν
 3 αἰρεῖσθαι τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς συμμαχίαν, τῶν δὲ
 Κλειτορίων ἀπλῶς οὐ προσιεμένων τοὺς λόγους
 they try in vain to προσβολὰς ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ προσερεί- 10
 seize Clitor, δοντες τὰς κλίμακας τοῖς τείχεσι κατε-
 4 πείραζον τῆς πόλεως. ἀμυνομένων δὲ γενναίως
 καὶ τολμηρῶς τῶν ἔνδον εἵξαντες τοῖς πράγμασιν
 ἀνεστρατοπέδευσαν, καὶ προαγαγόντες αὐθις ὥς
 ἐπὶ τὴν Κύναιθαν, ὅμως τὰ θρέμματα τῆς θεοῦ 15
 5 περισύραντες ἀπήγαγον. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον παρε-
 δίδουσαν τοῖς Ἡλείοις τὴν Κύναιθαν· οὐ βουλο-
 μένων δὲ προσδέξασθαι τῶν Ἡλείων ἐπεβάλοντο
 μὲν δι' αὐτῶν κατέχειν τὴν πόλιν, στρατηγὸν
 6 ἐπιστήσαντες Εὐριπίδην, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν 20
 δείσαντες ἐκ τῶν προσαγγελλομένων τὴν ἐκ Μακε-
 δονίας βοήθειαν, ἐμπρήσαντες τὴν πόλιν ἀπηλ-
 λάγησαν, καὶ προῆγον αὐθις ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ Ῥίον, ταύτη
 7 κρίνοντας ποιεῖσθαι τὴν διάβασιν. ὁ δὲ Ταυρίων
 πυνθανόμενος τὴν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν εἰσβολὴν καὶ τὰ 25
 περὶ τὴν Κύναιθαν πεπραγμένα, θεωρῶν δὲ τὸν
 Δημήτριον τὸν Φάριον ἀπὸ τῶν νήσων εἰς τὰς
 Κεγχρεὰς καταπεπλευκότα, παρεκάλει τοῦτον βοη-
 θῆσαι τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ διυσθμίσαντα τοὺς λέμβους
 8 ἐπιτίθεσθαι τῇ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν διαβάσει. ὁ δὲ 30

Δημήτριος λυσιτελῇ μὲν οὐκ εὐσχήμονα δὲ πεποι-
 ημένος τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν νήσων ἐπάνοδον διὰ τὸν τῶν
 Ῥοδίων ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀνάπλουν, ἄσμενος ὑπήκουσε
 τῷ Ταυρίωνι, προσδεξαμένου ἐκείνου τὴν εἰς τὴν
 5 ὑπέρβασιν τῶν λέμβων δαπάνην. οὗτος μὲν οὖν 9
 ὑπερισθμίσας, καὶ δυσὶ καθυστερήσας ἡμέραις τῆς
 τῶν Αἰτωλῶν διαβάσεως, προκατασύρας τινὰς τό-
 πους τῆς παραλίας τῆς τῶν Αἰτωλῶν κατήχθη
 πάλιν εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τὸ μὲν 10
 10 πέμπειν τὰς βοηθείας κατὰ τὴν διάταξιν ἐνεκά-
 κησαν, βραχεῖς δὲ τινὰς παντελῶς ἰππεῖς καὶ
 πεζοὺς, στοχαζόμενοι τοῦ δοκεῖν μόνον, ἐξέπεμψαν.
 Ἄρατος δὲ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἔχων πολιτικώτερον ἢ 11
 στρατηγικώτερον ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων ἐβουλεύσα-
 15 το· μέχρι γὰρ τούττου τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἦγε, προσανέ- 12
 χων καὶ μεμνημένος τῆς προγεγενημένης συμφορᾶς,
 ἕως οὐ πάντα διαπραξάμενοι κατὰ τὰς and return home
through the A-
chaean highlands
unhindered by A-
ratus.
 αὐτῶν προαιρέσεις οἱ περὶ τὸν Σκόπαν
 καὶ Δωρίμαχον ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν
 20 οἰκίαν, καίπερ διὰ τόπων ποιούμενοι τὰς πορείας
 εὐεπιθέτων καὶ στενῶν καὶ μόνου σαλπιγκτοῦ δεο-
 μένων. Κυναιθεῖς δὲ μεγάλοις ἀτυχήμασιν ὑπ' 13
 Αἰτωλῶν καὶ μεγάλαις συμφοραῖς περιπεσόντες
 ὅμως πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἔδοξαν ἡτυχηκέναι δι-
 25 καιώτατα.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ κοινῇ τὸ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἔθνος ἔχει 20
 τινὰ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπ' ἀρετῇ φήμην,
 οὐ μόνον διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἡθεσι καὶ βλοῖς φιλοξενίαν
 καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν, μάλιστα δὲ διὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ θεῖον 2
 30 εὐσέβειαν, ἄξιον βραχὺ διαπορῆσαι περὶ τῆς Κυ-

ναιθέων ἀγριότητος, πῶς ὄντες ὁμολογουμένως
 Ἀρκάδες τοσούτο κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς καιροὺς διή-
 νεγκαν τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ὡμότητι καὶ παρα-
 3 νομίᾳ. δοκοῦσι δέ μοι, διότι τὰ καλῶς ὑπὸ τῶν
 ἀρχαίων ἐπινενοημένα καὶ φυσικῶς συντεθεωρη- 5
 μένα περὶ πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν,
 4 ^{The neglect of music,} ταῦτα δὴ πρῶτοι καὶ μόνοι τῶν Ἀρ-
 κάδων ἐγκατέλιπον. μουσικὴν γάρ,
 τὴν γε ἀληθῶς μουσικὴν, πᾶσι μὲν ἀνθρώποις
 5 ὄφελος ἀσκεῖν, Ἀρκάσι δὲ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον. οὐ γὰρ 10
 ἡγητέον μουσικὴν, ὥς Ἐφορός φησιν ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ
 τῆς ὅλης πραγματείας, οὐδαμῶς ἀρμόζοντα λόγον
 αὐτῷ ῥίψας, ἐπ' ἀπάτῃ καὶ γοητείᾳ παρειαῖσθαι
 6 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· οὐδὲ τοὺς παλαιοὺς Κρητῶν καὶ
 Λακεδαιμονίων αὐλὸν καὶ ῥυθμὸν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον 15
 7 ^{on the civilising power of which old legislators laid such stress,} ἀντὶ σάλπιγγος εἰκῇ νομιστέον εἰσα-
 γαγεῖν, οὐδὲ τοὺς πρῶτους Ἀρκάδων
 εἰς τὴν ὅλην πολιτείαν τὴν μουσικὴν
 παραλαβεῖν ἐπὶ τοσούτον ὥστε μὴ μόνον παισὶν
 οὐσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ νεανίσκοις γενομένοις ἕως τριάκοντ' 20
 ἐτῶν κατ' ἀνάγκην σύντροφον ποιεῖν αὐτήν, τὰλλα
 8 τοῖς βίοις ὄντας αὐστηροτάτους. ταῦτα γὰρ πᾶσιν
 ἐστὶ γινώριμα καὶ συνήθη, διότι σχεδὸν παρὰ μόνοις
 Ἀρκάσι πρῶτον μὲν οἱ παῖδες ἐκ νηπίων ἄδειν
 ἐθίζονται κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ὕμνους καὶ παιᾶνας, 25
 οἷς ἕκαστοι κατὰ τὰ πατρία τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους
 9 ἥρωας καὶ θεοὺς ὕμνοῦσι· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς
 Φιλοξένου καὶ Τιμοθέου νόμους μανθάνοντες πολλῇ
 φιλοτιμίᾳ χορεύουσι κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τοῖς Διονυσια-
 κοῖς αὐληταῖς ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις, οἱ μὲν παῖδες τοὺς 30

παιδικούς ἀγῶνας οἱ δὲ νεανίσκοι τοὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν
 λεγομένους. ὁμοίως γε μὴν καὶ παρ' ὕλον τὸν 10
 βίον τὰς ἀγωγὰς τὰς ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις οὐχ οὕτως
 ποιοῦνται διὰ τῶν ἐπεισάκτων ἀκροαμάτων ὥς δι'
 5 αὐτῶν, ἀνὰ μέρος ἄδειν ἀλλήλοις προστάττοντες.
 καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων μαθημάτων ἀρνηθῆναι τι μὴ 11
 γινώσκειν οὐδὲν αἰσχρὸν ἡγοῦνται, τὴν γε μὴν
 ῥῶδην οὐτ' ἀρνηθῆναι δύνανται διὰ τὸ κατ' ἀνάγκην
 πάντας μανθάνειν, οὐθ' ὁμολογοῦντες ἀποτρί-
 10 βεσθαι διὰ τὸ τῶν αἰσchrῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς νομίζεσθαι
 τοῦτο. καὶ μὴν ἐμβατήρια μετ' αὐλοῦ καὶ τάξεως 12
 ἀσχοῦντες, ἔτι δ' ὀρχήσεις ἐκπονοῦντες μετὰ κοινῆς
 ἐπιστροφῆς καὶ δαπάνης κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς
 θεάτροις ἐπιδείκνυνται τοῖς αὐτῶν πολίταις οἱ
 15 νέοι. ταῦτά τέ μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ πάλαι παρεια- 21
 γαγεῖν οὐ τρυφῆς καὶ περιουσίας χάριν, ἀλλὰ
 θεωροῦντες μὲν τὴν ἐκάστων αὐτουργίαν καὶ συλ-
 λήβδην τὸ τῶν βίων ἐπίπονον καὶ σκληρόν, θεω-
 ροῦντες δὲ τὴν τῶν ἡθῶν αὐστηρίαν, ἥτις αὐτοῖς
 20 παρέπεται διὰ τὴν τοῦ περιέχοντος ψυχρότητα καὶ
 στυγνότητα τὴν κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐν τοῖς τόποις
 ὑπάρχουσαν, ᾧ συνεξομοιοῦσθαι πεφύκαμεν πάντες
 ἄνθρωποι κατ' ἀνάγκην· οὐ γὰρ δι' ἄλλην, διὰ δὲ 2
 ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν κατὰ τὰς ἐθνικὰς καὶ τὰς ὅλο-
 25 σχερεῖς διαστάσεις πλεῖστον ἀλλήλων διαφέρομεν
 ἥθεσί τε καὶ μορφαῖς καὶ χρώμασιν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἐπι-
 τηδευμάτων τοῖς πλείστοις. βουλόμενοι δὲ μαλάτ- 3
 τειν καὶ κερναῖν τὸ τῆς φύσεως αὐθαδὲς καὶ σκληρόν,
 τὰ τε προειρημένα πάντα παρειαγάγον, καὶ πρὸς
 30 τούτοις συνόδους κοινὰς καὶ θυσίας πλείστας ὁμοίως

ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξὶ κατείθισαν, ἔτι δὲ χοροὺς
 4 παρθένων ὁμοῦ καὶ παίδων, καὶ συλλήβδην πᾶν
 ἐμμηχανήσαντο, σπεύδοντες τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀτέραμνον
 διὰ τῆς τῶν ἐθισμῶν κατασκευῆς ἐξημεροῦν καὶ
 5 πραῦναι. ὧν Κυναιθεῖς ὀλιγωρήσαντες εἰς τέλος, 5
 καὶ ταῦτα πλείστης δεόμενοι τῆς τοι-
 αύτης ἐπικουρίας διὰ τὸ σκληρότατον
 παρὰ πολὺ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ἔχειν ἀέρα
 καὶ τόπον, πρὸς αὐτὰς δὲ τὰς ἐν ἀλλήλοις παρα-
 6 τριβὰς καὶ φιλοτιμίας ὀρμήσαντες, τέλος ἀπεθη- 10
 ριώθησαν οὕτως ὥστε μηδ' ἐν ὁποίᾳ γεγονέναι
 τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ἀσεβήματα μείζονα καὶ
 συνεχέστερα. * * *

22 Αἰτωλοὶ μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα διεργασάμενοι κατὰ
 τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἤκον εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀσφαλῶς, 15
 2 Φίλιππος δὲ μετὰ δυνάμεως βοηθῶν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς
 παρὴν εἰς Κόρινθον, ὑστερήσας δὲ τοῦ καιροῦ
 ἀπέστειλε βιβλιαφόρους πρὸς πάντας τοὺς συμ-
 μάχους, παρακαλῶν πέμπειν ἐκάστους παρ' αὐτῶν
 κατὰ σπουδὴν εἰς Κόρινθον τοὺς βουλευσομένους 20
 3 ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῇ συμφερόντων. αὐτὸς δ' ἀναζεύξας
 ὥς ἐπὶ Τεγέας προῆγε, πυνθανόμενος τοὺς Λακε-
 δαιμονίους εἰς σφαγὰς καὶ ταραχὰς ἐμπεπτωκέναι
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους. * * *

25 Καταλαβὼν δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν συμμαχίδων 25
 παραγεγονότας εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον συν-
 ἤδρευε καὶ διελάμβανε μετὰ τούτων
 τί δεῖ ποιεῖν καὶ πῶς χρήσασθαι τοῖς
 2 Αἰτωλοῖς. ἐγκαλούντων δὲ Βοιωτῶν
 μὲν ὅτι συλήσαιεν τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Ἰωνίας 30

The congress of
 the allies at Co-
 rinth hears com-
 plaints of the Ae-
 tolians on all
 sides,

ἱερὸν εἰρήνης ὑπαρχούσης, Φωκῶν δὲ διότι στρα-
 τεύσαντες ἐπ' Ἀμβρυσον καὶ Δαύλιον ἐπιβά-
 λονται καταλαβέσθαι τὰς πόλεις, Ἑπειρωτῶν δὲ 3
 καθότι πορθήσαιεν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν, Ἀκαρνάνων
 5 δὲ παραδεικνύοντων τίνα τρόπον συστησάμενοι
 πρᾶξιν ἐπὶ Θύριον νυκτὸς ἔτι καὶ προσβαλεῖν
 τολμήσαιεν τῇ πόλει, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἀχαιῶν 4
 ἀπολογιζομένων ὡς καταλάβοιντο μὲν τῆς Μεγα-
 λοπολίτιδος Κλάριον, πορθήσαιεν δὲ διεξιόντες
 10 τὴν Πατρέων καὶ Φαραιέων χώραν, διαρπάσαιεν
 δὲ Κύναιθαν, συλήσαιεν δὲ τὸ τῆς ἐν Λούσοις
 Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν, πολιορκήσαιεν δὲ Κλειτορίους,
 ἐπιβουλεύσαιεν δὲ κατὰ μὲν θάλατταν Πύλφ,
 κατὰ δὲ γῆν ἄρτι συνοικιζομένη τῇ Μεγάλῃ πόλει
 15 σπεύδοντες μετὰ τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν ἀνάστατον αὐτὴν
 ποιῆσαι, διακούσαντες τούτων οἱ τῶν συμμάχων 5
 σύεδροι πάντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐκφέρειν ἐβουλεύ-
 σαντο τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς τὸν πόλεμον. προθέμενοι 6
 δὲ τὰς προειρημένας αἰτίας ἐν τῷ δόγματι παρα-
 20 κατεβάλλοντο ψήφισμα, προσδιασαφούντες ὅτι
 συνανασώσουσι τοῖς συμμάχοις εἴ τινα κατέχουσιν
 αὐτῶν Αἰτωλοὶ χώραν ἢ πόλιν, ἀφ' οὗ Δημήτριος
 ὁ Φιλίππου κατὰ φύσιν πατήρ μετήλλαξε· παρα- 7
 πλησίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν καιρῶν ἠναγκασμένους
 25 ἀκουσίως μετέχειν τῆς Αἰτωλῶν συμπολιτείας, ὅτι
 πάντας τούτους ἀποκαταστήσουσιν εἰς τὰ πάτρια
 πολιτεύματα, χώραν ἔχοντας καὶ πόλεις τὰς αὐ-
 τῶν, ἀφρουρήτους ἀφορολογήτους ἐλευθέρους ὄντας,
 πολιτείαις καὶ νόμοις χρωμένους τοῖς πατρίοις.
 30 συνανακομιεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσιν ἔγρα- 8

ψαν τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐξουσίαν, ἣν Αἰτωλοὶ παρήρηνται νῦν, βουλόμενοι τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπικρατεῖν αὐτοί.

- 26 Τούτου δὲ τοῦ δόγματος κυρωθέντος κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος τῆς ἑκατοστῆς καὶ τετταρακοστῆς 5 Ὀλυμπιάδος ὁ μὲν συμμαχικὸς προσαγορευόμενος πόλεμος ἀρχὴν εἰλήφει δικαίαν καὶ πρέπουσαν τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἀδικήμασιν, οἱ δὲ σύνεδροι παρα-
and calls on them for redress; **χρῆμα** πρεσβευτὰς ἐξαπέστελλον πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους, ἵνα παρ' ἐκάστοις διὰ 10 τῶν πολλῶν ἐπικυρωθέντος τοῦ δόγματος ἐκφέρωσι πάντες τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας πόλεμον. 3 ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς ἐπιστολὴν ὁ Φίλιππος διασαφῶν, ἵν' εἴ τι λέγειν ἔχουσι δίκαιον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐγκαλουμένων, ἔτι καὶ νῦν συνελθόντες διὰ 15 4 λόγου ποιῶνται τὴν διεξαγωγὴν· εἰ δ' ὑπειλήφασι, διότι χωρὶς κοινοῦ δόγματος λεηλατοῦσι καὶ πορθοῦσι πάντας, οὐκ ἀμυνεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀδικουμένους, ἐὰν δ' ἀμύνωνται, νομισθῆσθαι τούτους κατάρχειν τοῦ πολέμου, πάντων αὐτοὺς εὐθηεστάτους εἶναι. 20 5 they evade: accept a conference but fail to appear, **κομισάμενοι** δ' οἱ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἄρχοντες τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ταύτην, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐλπίσαντες οὐχ ἥξειν τὸν Φίλιππον, συνέθεντο ῥητὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ πρὸς τὸ Ῥίον ἀπαντήσουσι· γνόντες δὲ παραγινόμενον, ἀπέστειλαν 15 γραμματοφόρον διασαφούντες ὡς οὐ δύνανται πρὸ τῆς τῶν Αἰτωλῶν συνόδου δι' αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων οἰκονομεῖν. οἱ δ' Ἀχαιοὶ συνελθόντες εἰς τὴν καθήκουσαν σύνοδον τό τε δόγμα πάντες 7 ἐπεκύρωσαν καὶ τὸ λάφυρον ἐπεκήρυξαν κατὰ 30

τῶν Αἰτωλῶν. προσελθόντος δὲ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως 8
 πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἐν Αἰγίῳ καὶ διαλεχθέντος διὰ
 πλειόνων, τὰ ῥηθέντα μετ' εὐνοίας ἀπεδέξαντο καὶ
 τὰ προϋπάρχοντα φιλάνθρωπα τοῖς προγόνοις
 5 ἀνενεώσαντο πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν Φίλιππον.

Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς Αἰτωλοί, συνά- 27
 ψαντος τοῦ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίῳ χρόνου, and elect as Ge-
 στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν ἐίλοντο Σκόπαν, ὃς neral the chief
 ἐγεγόνει πάντων τῶν προειρημένων author of the out-
 10 ἀδικημάτων αἴτιος. * * * ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Φίλιππος 9
 χρηματίσας τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἀνέζευξε μετὰ τῆς δυνά-
 μεως ἐπὶ Μακεδονίας, σπεύδων ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν
 τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, οὐ μόνον τοῖς συμμάχοις 10
 ἀλλὰ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησι διὰ τοῦ προειρημένου
 15 ψηφίσματος καλὰς ἐλπίδας ὑποδεικνύων πραότη-
 τος καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας βασιλικῆς. * * *

Φίλιππος δὲ παραχειμάζων ἐν Μα- 29
 κεδονίᾳ κατέγραφε τὰς δυνάμεις πρὸς Philip wins over
 Scerdilaidas,
 τὴν μέλλουσαν χρεῖαν ἐπιμελῶς, ἅμα δὲ τούτοις
 20 ἡσφαλίζετο τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπερκειμένους τῆς Μα-
 κεδονίας βαρβάρους. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συνελθὼν 2
 πρὸς Σκερδιλαῖδαν καὶ τολμηρῶς δούς αὐτὸν εἰς
 τὰς χεῖρας διελέγετο περὶ φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας,
 καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπισχνούμενος αὐτῷ συγκατασκευάσειν 3
 25 τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα πραγμάτων, τὰ δὲ κατη-
 γορῶν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ὄντων εὐκατηγορήτων, ῥαδίως
 ἔπεισε συγχωρεῖν τοῖς παρακαλουμένοις. μήποτε 4
 γὰρ οὐδὲν διαφέρει τὰ κατ' ἰδίαν ἀδικήματα τῶν
 κοινῶν, ἀλλὰ πλήθει μόνον καὶ μεγέθει τῶν συμ-
 30 βαινόντων. καὶ γὰρ κατ' ἰδίαν τὸ τῶν ῥαδιουργῶν

καὶ κλεπτῶν φύλον τούτῳ μάλιστα τῷ τρόπῳ
 σφάλλεται, τῷ μὴ ποιεῖν ἀλλήλοις τὰ δίκαια, καὶ
 5 συλλήβδην διὰ τὰς εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀθεσίας. ὁ καὶ
 with whom the τότε συνέβη γενέσθαι περὶ τοὺς Αἰ-
 Aetolians had broken faith. τωλοὺς. συνθέμενοι γὰρ τῷ Σκερδι- 5
 λαῖδᾳ δώσειν μέρος τι τῆς λείας, ἐὰν συνεισβάλη
 6 μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν Ἀχαΐαν, πεισθέντος καὶ ποιή-
 σαντος τοῦτο διαρπάσαντες τὴν τῶν Κυναϊθέων
 πόλιν καὶ πολλὰ περιελασάμενοι σώματα καὶ
 θρέμματα τὸν Σκερδιλαῖδαν οὐδενὸς μερίτην ἐποί- 10
 7 ησαν τῶν ἀλόντων. διόπερ ὑποκαθημένης ἐκ
 τούτων αὐτῷ τῆς ὀργῆς, βραχέα προσαναμνήσαντος
 τοῦ Φιλίππου ταχέως ὑπήκουσε καὶ συνέθετο
 μεθέξειν τῆς κοινῆς συμμαχίας, ἐφ' ᾧ λαμβάνειν
 μὲν ἑξοσι τάλαντα κατ' ἐνιαυτόν, πλεῖν δὲ λέμβοις 15
 τριάκοντα καὶ πολεμεῖν τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς κατὰ θά-
 λατταν.

30 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Φίλιππος περὶ ταῦτα διέτριβεν, οἱ
 δ' ἐξαποσταλέντες πρέσβεις πρὸς τοὺς
 At the outset of the war the Aca- συμμάχους ἀφικόμενοι πρῶτον εἰς 20
 rnanians shewed a gallant spirit, 2 Ἀκαρνανίαν ἐνετύγχανον τούτοις. οἱ
 δ' Ἀκαρνᾶνες τό τε δόγμα γνησίως συνεπεκύρωσαν
 καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ χώρας πόλεμον ἐξήνεγκαν τοῖς Αἰτω-
 λοῖς· καίπερ τούτοις, εἰ καὶ τισιν ἑτέροις, δίκαιον
 ἦν συγγνώμην ἔχειν ὑπερτιθεμένοις καὶ καταμέλ- 25
 λουσι καὶ καθόλου δεδιόσι τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀστυ-
 3 γειτόνων πόλεμον καὶ διὰ τὸ παρακεῖσθαι μὲν
 συντερμονοῦντας τῇ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν χώρα, πολλὸν δὲ
 μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ κατ' ἰδίαν εὐχειρώτους ὑπάρχειν,
 τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, διὰ τὸ μικροῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις 30

πείραν εἰληφέναι τῶν δεινοτάτων διὰ τὴν πρὸς
 Αἰτωλοὺς ἀπέχθειαν. ἀλλὰ μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ γνή- 4
 σιοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ κοινῇ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν οὐδέποτε
 περὶ πλείονος οὐθέν ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ καθήκοντος·
 5 ὅπερ Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις καιροῖς οὐδενὸς
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἦττον εὐρίσκονται διατετηρηκότες,
 καίπερ ἀπὸ μικρᾶς ὀρμώμενοι δυνάμεως. οἷς οὐκ 5
 ὀκνητέον κατὰ τὰς περιστάσεις κοινωνεῖν πραγμά-
 των, σπευστέον δὲ μᾶλλον, εἰ καὶ τισιν ἐτέροις
 10 τῶν Ἑλλήνων· καὶ γὰρ ἰδία καὶ κοινῇ στάσιμον
 ἔχουσί τι καὶ φιλελεύθερον. Ἡπειρώται δὲ ἐκ 6
 παραθέσεως διακούσαντες τῶν πρέσ- the Epirots insin-
 βων τὸ μὲν δόγμα παραπλησίως ἐπε- cerity,
 κύρωσαν, τὸν δὲ πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν ἐψηφίσαντο
 15 τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς, ἐπειδὴν καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ βασιλεὺς
 ἐξενέγκη, τοῖς δὲ παρὰ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν πρεσβευταῖς 7
 ἀπεκρίθησαν ὅτι δέδοκται τοῖς Ἡπειρώταις διατη-
 ρεῖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν εἰρήνην, ἀγεννῶς καὶ ποικίλως
 χρώμενοι τοῖς πράγμασιν. ἀπεστάλησαν δὲ καὶ 8
 20 πρὸς βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον πρέσβεις οἱ παρακαλέ-
 σοντες αὐτὸν μήτε χρήματα πέμπειν τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς
 μήτ' ἄλλο μηδὲν χορηγεῖν κατὰ Φιλίππου καὶ
 τῶν συμμάχων. Μεσσήνιοι δέ, δι' οὓς ὁ πόλεμος 31
 τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβε, τοῖς παραγενομένοις the Messenians a
 25 πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπεκρίθησαν ὅτι τῆς Φι- mean want of re-
 γαλείας κειμένης ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅροις αὐτῶν καὶ ταπτο-
 μένης ὑπ' Αἰτωλοῦς, οὐκ ἂν ἐπιδέξαιτο τὸν πό-
 λεμον πρὶν ἢ ταύτην ἀπ' Αἰτωλῶν ἀποσπασθῆναι
 τὴν πόλιν. περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀποφάσεως ταύτης κατῴ- 2
 30 σχυσαν, οὐδαμῶς εὐδοκούντων τῶν πολλῶν, ἐφο-

- ρεύοντες Οἶνις καὶ Νίκιππος καὶ τινες ἕτεροι τῶν
 ὀλιγαρχικῶν, ἀγνοοῦντες καὶ πολὺ παραπαίοντες
 3 τοῦ δέοντος κατὰ γε τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην. ἐγὼ γὰρ
 φοβερὸν μὲν εἶναί φημι τὸν πόλεμον, οὐ μὴν οὕτω
 γε φοβερὸν ὥστε πᾶν ὑπομένειν χάριν τοῦ μὴ 5
 4 προσδέξασθαι πόλεμον, ἐπεὶ τί καὶ θρασύνομεν
 τὴν ἰσηγορίαν καὶ παρρησίαν καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐλευθερίας
 ὄνομα πάντες, εἰ μὴδὲν ἔσται προυργιαίτερον τῆς
 5 εἰρήνης; οὐδὲ γὰρ Θηβαίους ἐπαινοῦμεν κατὰ τὰ
 Μηδικά, διότι τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀποστάντες 10
 κινδύνων τὰ Περσῶν εἵλοντο διὰ τὸν φόβον, οὐδὲ
 Πίνδαρον τὸν συναποφηνάμενον αὐτοῖς ἄγειν τὴν
 ἡσυχίαν διὰ τῶνδε τῶν ποιημάτων,
 6 τὸ κοινόν τις ἀστῶν ἐν εὐδία τιθεῖς
 ἐρευνασάτω μεγαλάνορος ἡσυχίας τὸ φαιδρὸν 15
 φάος.
 7 δόξας γὰρ παραυτίκα πιθανῶς εἰρηκέναι, μετ' οὐ
 πολὺ πάντων αἰσχίστην εὐρέθη καὶ βλαβερωτάτην
 8 πεποιημένος ἀπόφασιν· εἰρήνη γὰρ μετὰ μὲν τοῦ
 δικαίου καὶ πρέποντος κάλλιστόν ἐστι κτῆμα καὶ 20
 λυσιτελέστατον, μετὰ δὲ κακίας ἢ δειλίας ἐπονει-
 δίστου πάντων αἰσχιστον καὶ βλαβερώτατον.
 32 Οἱ δὲ τῶν Μεσσηνίων προεστῶτες, ὄντες ὀλι-

which has been
 often fatal to their
 peace,

γαρχικοὶ καὶ στοχαζόμενοι τοῦ παραυ-
 τὰ κατ' ἰδίαν λυσιτελοῦς, φιλοτιμό- 25
 τερον τοῦ δέοντος αἰεὶ διέκειντο πρὸς τὴν εἰρήνην.
 2 διὸ πολλὰς μὲν περιστάσεις καὶ καιροὺς ἔχοντες,
 ἐνίστε δὲ φόβους καὶ κινδύνους διωλίσθαι· ἡ-
 θροίζετο δὲ κατὰ τὴν πρόθεσιν ταύτην αἰεὶ τὸ
 κεφάλαιον αὐτοῖς, καὶ μεγίσταις ἐποίουν παλαίην 30

τὴν πατρίδα συμφοραῖς. δοκῶ δ' ἔγωγε τὴν αἰτίαν 3
 εἶναι ταύτην, ὅτι δυσὶ γειτνιῶντες ἔθνεσι τοῖς
 μεγίστοις τῶν κατὰ Πελοπόννησον, μᾶλλον δὲ
 σχεδὸν καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, λέγω δὲ τῷ τε τῶν
 5 Ἀρκάδων καὶ τῷ τῶν Λακῶνων, καὶ τοῦ μὲν 4
 ἐχθρῶς καὶ ἀκαταλλάκτως ἀεὶ ποτε πρὸς αὐτοὺς
 ἔχοντος ἐξ οὗ καὶ κατέσχον τὴν χώραν, τοῦ δὲ
 φιλικῶς καὶ κηδεμονικῶς, οὔτε τὴν πρὸς Λακε-
 δαιμονίους ἔχθραν εὐγενῶς ἀνελάμβανον οὔτε τὴν
 10 πρὸς Ἀρκάδας φιλίαν. λοιπὸν ὅταν μὲν οὗτοι 5
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἢ πρὸς ἑτέρους πολεμοῦντες ἐν
 περισπασμοῖς ἦσαν, ἐγίνετο τὸ δέον αὐτοῖς· ἦγον
 γὰρ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀεὶ παρευδιαζόμενοι διὰ τὴν τοῦ
 τόπου παράπτωσιν· ὅταν δ' εὐσχολοὶ κάπερίσπα- 6
 15 στοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι γενηθέντες ἐτράπησαν πρὸς τὸ
 βλάπτειν αὐτούς, οὔτ' αὐτοὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἀντοφθαλ- 7
 μεῖν ἐδύναντο πρὸς τὸ βάρος τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων,
 οὔτε προκατεσκευασμένοι φίλους τοὺς ἀληθινῶς
 αὐτοῖς πάντα συννυποστησομένους ἢ δουλεύειν
 20 ἠναγκάζοντο τούτοις ἀχθοφοροῦντες, ἢ φεύγοντες
 τὴν δουλείαν ἀνάστατοι γίνεσθαι, λείποντες τὴν
 χώραν μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν, ὅπερ ἤδη πλεο- 8
 νάκεις αὐτοῖς συνέβη παθεῖν οὐ πάνυ πολλοῖς
 χρόνοις. εἴη μὲν οὖν οἷονεὶ συμφῦναι τὴν νῦν 9
 25 ὑπάρχουσιν κατάστασιν Πελοποννησίους, ἵνα μη-
 δενὸς δέη τῶν λέγεσθαι μελλόντων· for the Arcadians
are their natural
 εἰάν δέ ποτε κίνησιν καὶ μετὰστασιν allies. 10
 σχῇ ταῦτα, μίαν ὁρῶ Μεσσηνίοις καὶ Μεγαλοπο-
 λίταις ἐλπίδα τοῦ δύνασθαι νέμεσθαι τὴν αὐτῶν
 30 χώραν τὸν πλείω χρόνον, εἰάν συμφρονήσαντες κατὰ

τὴν Ἐπαμινώνδου γνώμην παντὸς καιροῦ καὶ
πράγματος ἔλονται κοινωνεῖν ἀλλήλοις ἀληθινῶς.

* * * * *

- 33¹¹ Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἰρήσθω μοι χάριν Ἀρκάδων
καὶ Μεσσηνίων, ἵνα μνημονεύοντες τῶν συμβεβη- 5
κότων αὐτοῖς περὶ τὰς πατρίδας ἀτυχημάτων ὑπὸ
Λακεδαιμονίων ἀληθινῶς ἀντέχωνται τῆς πρὸς
12 αὐτοὺς εὐνοίας καὶ πίστεως, καὶ μήτε φόβον ὑφο-
ρώμενοι μήτ' εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἐγκαταλείπωσιν
34 ἀλλήλους ἐν ταῖς ὁλοσχερέσι περιστάσεσιν. Λα- 10

The Spartans at
first dissembled
and wavered in
their choice,

κεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τῶν εἰθισμένων ἐποίη-
σαν τι (τοῦτο γὰρ συνεχὲς ἦν τοῖς
προειρημένοις). τέλος γὰρ τοὺς παρὰ
τῶν συμμάχων πρέσβεις ἀναποκρίτους ἀπέστειλαν.

- 35⁹ but after a revo- * * * ἅμα δὲ τῷ τὴν φήμην ἀφικέσθαι 15
lution which made
Lycurgus king, περὶ τῆς Κλεομένους τελευτῆς εὐθέως
ῥωμησαν ἐπὶ τὸ βασιλεῖς καθιστάναι τὰ τε πλήθη
10 καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐφόρων ἀρχεῖον. καὶ κατέστησαν οἱ
κοινωνοῦντες ἔφοροι τῆς αἰρέσεως τοῖς στασιώταις,
οἱ καὶ τὴν πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς συνθέμενοι συμμαχίαν, 20
ὑπὲρ ᾧν τὸν ἄρτι λόγον ἐποιησάμην, τὸν μὲν ἔνα
νομίμως καὶ καθηκόντως, Ἀγησίπολιν, ὄντα μὲν
παῖδα τὴν ἡλικίαν, υἱὸν δὲ Ἀγησιπόλιδος τοῦ
11 Κλεομβρότου· τὸν δὲ συνέβαινε βεβασιλευκέναι,
καθ' οὓς καιροὺς ἐξέπεσε Λεωνίδης ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς, 25
διὰ τὸ κατὰ γένος ὑπάρχειν ἔγγιστα τῆς οἰκίας
12 ταύτης. ἐπίτροπον δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς εἶλοντο Κλεο-
μένη, Κλεομβρότου μὲν υἱὸν Ἀγησιπόλιδος δὲ
13 ἀδελφόν. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐτέρας οἰκίας ὄντων ἐκ τῆς
Ἱππομέδοντος θυγατρὸς Ἀρχιδάμω δυεῖν παίδων, 30

ὅς ἦν υἱὸς Εὐδαμίδου, ζῶντος δὲ καὶ Ἴππομέ-
 δοντος ἀκμήν, ὅς ἦν υἱὸς Ἀγησιλάου, καὶ ἐτέ-
 ρων δὲ πλείονων ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας ὑπαρχόντων,
 ἀπωτέρω μὲν τῶν προειρημένων προσηκόντων
 5 δὲ κατὰ γένος, τούτους μὲν ἅπαντας ὑπερεῖδον,
 Λυκοῦργον δὲ βασιλέα κατέστησαν, οὐ τῶν προ- 14
 γόνων οὐδεὶς ἐτετεύχει τῆς προσηγορίας· ὃς δούς
 ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἐφόρων τάλαντον Ἡρακλέους ἀπόγονος
 καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐγεγόνει τῆς Σπάρτης. οὕτως εὖωνα 15
 10 πανταχῇ τὰ καλὰ γέγονεν. τοιγαροῦν οὐ παῖδες
 παίδων, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι τῆς ἀνοίας ἀπέτισαν
 τοὺς μισθοὺς οἱ καταστήσαντες.

* * * ὁ δὲ Λυκοῦργος ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς στρα- 36
 τιώτας καὶ τινὰς τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐνέ-
 15 βαλεν εἰς τὴν Ἀργεῖαν, ἀφυλάκτως they sided with
 διακειμένων εἰς τέλος τῶν Ἀργείων the Aetolians a-
 γαῖαν, ἀνὰ τὴν προὔπαρχουσαν κατάστασιν. καὶ Πο- 5
 λίχραν μὲν καὶ Πρασίαν καὶ Λεύκαν καὶ Κύφαντα
 προσπεσὼν ἄφνω κατέσχευεν, Γλυμπέσι δὲ καὶ
 10 Ζάρακι προσπεσὼν ἀπέπεσε. τούτου δὲ ταῦτα 6
 πράξαντος ἐπεκέρυξαν τὸ λάφυρον οἱ Λακεδαιμό-
 νιοι κατὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν. ἔπεισαν δὲ καὶ τοὺς
 Ἡλείους οἱ περὶ τὸν Μαχατᾶν, παραπλήσια λέ-
 γοντες ἅπερ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἐξε-
 25 νεγκεῖν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς τὸν πόλεμον.

Παραδόξως δὲ καὶ κατὰ νοῦν τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς τῶν 7
 πραγμάτων προκεχωρηκότων οὗτοι which was girt
 μὲν εὐθαρσῶς ἐνέβαινον εἰς τὸν πόλε- while Philip was
 μον, οἱ δ' Ἀχαιοὶ τὰναντία· Φίλιππος arming in the
 30 μὲν γάρ, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰς ἐλπίδας εἶχον, ἀκμήν ἐγίνετο North. 8

περὶ παρασκευήν, Ἡπειρῶται δ' ἔμελλον πολεμεῖν, Μεσσήνιοι δ' ἡσυχίαν εἶχον, Αἰτωλοὶ δέ, προσειληφότες τὴν Ἡλείων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἄγνοιαν, 37 πανταχόθεν περιεῖχον αὐτοὺς τῷ πολέμῳ. Ἀράτῳ μὲν οὖν συνέβαινε κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἤδη 5 λήγειν τὴν ἀρχήν, Ἄρατον δὲ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καθεσταμένον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν παραλαμβάνειν 2 τὴν στρατηγίαν. Αἰτωλῶν δ' ἐστρατήγει Σκόπας, ὁ δὲ χρόνος αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς μάλιστα τότε πως διήρητο· τὰς γὰρ ἀρχαιρεσίας Αἰτωλοὶ μὲν ἐποιοῦν 10 μετὰ τὴν φθινοπωρινὴν ἰσημερίαν εὐθέως, Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ τότε περὶ τὴν τῆς Πλειάδος ἐπιτολήν. * * *

IV. cc. LVII. to LXXXII.

57 Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Φίλιππος ἀναζεύξας ἐκ Μακεδονίας μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως (ἐν γὰρ ταύταις ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς ἀπελίπαμεν 15 ἄρτι τὸν συμμαχικὸν πόλεμον) ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ Θετταλίας καὶ τῆς Ἡπείρου, σπεύδων ταύτῃ ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰσβολὴν τὴν εἰς Αἰτωλίαν. 2 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ καὶ Δωρίμαχος κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἔχοντες πρᾶξιν κατὰ τῆς τῶν Αἰγειρατῶν 20 πόλεως, ἀθροίσαντες τῶν Αἰτωλῶν περὶ χιλίους καὶ διακοσίους εἰς Οἰάνθειαν τῆς Αἰτωλίας, ἥ κεῖται καταντικρὺ τῆς προειρημένης πόλεως, καὶ 3 πορθμεῖα τοῦτοις ἐτοιμάσαντες, πλοῦν ἐτήρουν πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολήν. τῶν γὰρ 25 ἡῦτομοληκότων τις ἐξ Αἰτωλίας, καὶ πλείω χρόνον διατετριφὼς παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγειράταις καὶ συντεθεωρηκὼς τοὺς φυλάττοντας τὸν ἀπ' Αἰγίου πυλῶνα μεθυσκομένους καὶ ῥαθύμως

While Philip was marching across Thessaly to Epirus

the Aetolians surprise Aegira with the help of traitors within :

διεξάγοντας τὰ κατὰ τὴν φυλακὴν, πλεονάκις 4
 παραβαλλόμενος καὶ διαβαίνων πρὸς τοὺς περὶ
 Δωρίμαχον ἐξεκέκλητο πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτοὺς
 ἅτε λίαν οἰκείους ὄντας τῶν τοιούτων ἐγχειρημά-
 5 των. ἡ δὲ τῶν Αἰγειρατῶν πόλις ἔκτισται μὲν 5
 τῆς Πελοποννήσου κατὰ τὸν Κορινθιακὸν κόλπον
 μεταξὺ τῆς Αἰγιάων καὶ Σικυωνίων πόλεως, κεῖται
 δ' ἐπὶ λόφων ἐρυμνῶν καὶ δυσβάτων, νεύει δὲ τῇ
 θέσει πρὸς τὸν Παρνασσὸν καὶ ταῦτα τὰ μέρη
 10 τῆς ἀντιπέρα χώρας, ἀπέχει δὲ τῆς θαλάττης ὡς
 ἑπτὰ στάδια. παραπεσόντος δὲ πλοῦ τοῖς περὶ 6
 τὸν Δωρίμαχον ἀνήχθησαν, καὶ καθορμίζονται
 νυκτὸς ἔτι πρὸς τὸν παρὰ τὴν πόλιν καταρρέοντα
 ποταμόν. οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ 7
 15 Δωρίμαχον, ἅμα δὲ τούτοις Ἀρχίδαμον τὸν Παν-
 ταλέοντος υἱόν, ἔχοντες περὶ αὐτοὺς τὸ πλῆθος
 τῶν Αἰτωλῶν προσέβαινον πρὸς τὴν πόλιν κατὰ
 τὴν ἀπ' Αἰγίου φέρουσαν ὁδόν· ὁ δ' αὐτόμολος 8
 ἔχων εἴκοσι τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους, διανύσας ταῖς
 20 ἀνοδίαις τοὺς κρημνοὺς θᾶπτον τῶν ἄλλων διὰ
 τὴν ἐμπειρίαν, καὶ διαδὺς διὰ τινος ὑδρορροίας, ἔτι
 κοιμωμένους κατέλαβε τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ πυλῶνος.
 κατασφάξας δ' αὐτοὺς ἀκμὴν ἐν ταῖς κοίταις ὄντας, 9
 καὶ διακόψας τοῖς πελέκεσι τοὺς μοχλοὺς, ἀνέφξε
 25 τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς τὰς πύλας. οἱ δὲ παρεισπεσόντες 10
 ἀπερινοήτως λαμπρῶς ἐχρήσαντο τοῖς πράγμασιν.
 ὁ καὶ παραίτιον ἐγένετο τοῖς μὲν Αἰγειράταις
 τῆς σωτηρίας, τοῖς δ' Αἰτωλοῖς τῆς ἀπωλείας.
 ὑπολαμβάνοντες γὰρ τοῦτο τέλος εἶναι τοῦ κατα- 11
 30 σχεῖν ἀλλοτρίαν πόλιν, τὸ γενέσθαι τῶν πυλώνων

ἐντός, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐχρῶντο τοῖς πράγμασι.
 58 διὸ καὶ βραχὺν παντελῶς χρόνον ἀθρόοι συμμει-
 ναντες περὶ τὴν ἀγοράν, λοιπὸν ἐκπαθεῖς ὄντες
 πρὸς τὰς ὠφελείας διέρρεον, καὶ παρεισπύπτοντες
 εἰς τὰς οἰκίας διήρπαζον τοὺς βίους ἤδη φωτὸς 5
 2 ὄντος. οἱ δ' Αἰγειράται, τοῦ πράγματος αὐτοῖς
 ἀνελπίστου καὶ παραδόξου τελέως συμβεβηκότος,
 they gain an en- οἷς μὲν ἐπέστησαν οἱ πολέμιοι κατὰ
 trance and begin
 to pillage; τὰς οἰκίας, ἐκπλαγεῖς καὶ περίφοβοι
 γενόμενοι πάντες ἐτρέποντο πρὸς φυγὴν ἔξω τῆς 10
 πόλεως ὡς ἤδη βεβαίως αὐτῆς κεκρατημένης ὑπὸ
 3 τῶν πολεμίων, ὅσοι δὲ τῆς κραυγῆς ἀκούοντες ἐξ
 ἀκεραίων τῶν οἰκιῶν ἐξεβοήθουν, πάντες εἰς τὴν
 4 ἄκραν συνέτρεχον. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν αἰεὶ πλείους
 ἐγίνοντο καὶ θαρσαλεώτεροι, τὸ δὲ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν 15
 σύστρεμμα τὸυναντίον ἔλαττον καὶ ταραχωδέστε-
 5 ρον διὰ τὰς προειρημένας αἰτίας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ
 συνορῶντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Δωρίμαχον ἤδη τὸν περι-
 εστώτα κίνδυνον αὐτοῦς, συστραφέντες ὥρμησαν
 ἐπὶ τοὺς κατέχοντας τὴν ἄκραν, ὑπολαμβάνοντες 10
 τῇ θρασύτητι καὶ τόλμῃ καταπληξάμενοι τρέψα-
 6 σθαι τοὺς ἡθροισμένους ἐπὶ τὴν βοήθειαν. οἱ δ'
 Αἰγειράται παρακαλέσαντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἡμύνοντο
 7 καὶ συνεπλέκοντο τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς γενναίως. οὔσης
 δὲ τῆς ἄκρας ἀτειχίστου καὶ τῆς συμπλοκῆς ἐκ 15
 χειρὸς καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα γινομένης, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
 ἦν ἀγὼν οἶον εἰκός, ἅτε τῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ πατρίδος καὶ
 τέκνων τῶν δ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἀγωνιζομένων, τέλος
 γε μὴν ἐτράπησαν οἱ παρεισπεπτωκότες τῶν Αἰ-
 8 τωλῶν. οἱ δ' Αἰγειράται λαβόντες ἀφορμὴν ἐγ- 30

κλίματος ἐνεργῶς ἐπέκειντο καὶ καταπληκτικῶς
τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἐξ οὗ συνέβη τοὺς but are driven out
with great loss.
πλείστους τῶν Αἰτωλῶν διὰ τὴν πτοίαν

αὐτοὺς ἰφ' αὐτῶν φεύγοντας ἐν ταῖς πύλαις συμ-
5 πατηθῆναι. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ 9
κατ' αὐτὸν ἔπεσε τὸν κίνδυνον, ὁ δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος ἐν
τῷ περὶ τὰς πύλας ὄθισμῳ καὶ πνιγμῷ διεφθάρη.
τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλήθος τῶν Αἰτωλῶν τὸ μὲν συνεπα- 10
τήθη, τὸ δὲ κατὰ τῶν χρημνῶν φεύγον ταῖς ἀνο-
10 δίαῖς ἐξετραχλίσθη. τὸ δὲ καὶ διασωθὲν αὐτῶν 11
μέρος πρὸς τὰς ναῦς, ἐρριφὸς τὰ ὄπλα παναίσχρως
ἅμα δ' ἀνελπίστως ἐποίησατο τὸν ἀπόπλουν.

Αὔγειράται μὲν οὖν διὰ τὴν ὀλιγορίαν ἀποβα- 12
λόντες τὴν πατρίδα, διὰ τὴν εὐψυχίαν καὶ γεν-
15 ναϊότητα πάλιν ἔσωσαν παραδόξως. The Achaeans are
hard pressed by
repeated forays. 59
κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς Εὐριπί-
δας, ὃς ἦν ἀπεσταλμένος ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν στρα-
τηγὸς τοῖς Ἡλείοις, καταδραμὼν τὴν Δυμαίων καὶ
Φαραιέων ἔτι δὲ τὴν τῶν Τριταιέων χώραν, καὶ
10 περιελασάμενος λείας πλήθος ἱκανόν, ἐποιεῖτο τὴν
ἀποχώρησιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἡλείαν. ὁ δὲ Μίλκος ὁ 2
Δυμαῖος, ὅσπερ ἐτίγχανε κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς καιροὺς
ὑποστράτηγος ὦν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἐκβοηθήσας παν-
δημεὶ τοὺς τε Δυμαίους καὶ Φαραιεῖς ἅμα δὲ καὶ
15 Τριταιεῖς ἔχων, προσέκειτο τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπαλ-
λαττομένοις. ἐνεργότερον δ' * * ἐμπεσὼν εἰς 3
ἐνέδραν ἐσφάλη καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπέβαλε τῶν ἀνδρῶν
τετταράκοντα μὲν γὰρ ἔπεσον, ἐάλωσαν δὲ περὶ
διακοσίους τῶν πεζῶν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Εὐριπίδας 4
30 ποιήσας τοῦτο τὸ προτέρημα, καὶ μετεωρισθεὶς

ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι, μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας αὐτὶς ἐξελθὼν
 κατέλαβε παρὰ τὸν Ἄραξον φρούριον τῶν Δυμαίων
 5 εὐκαιρον τὸ καλούμενον Τεῖχος, ὃ φασιν οἱ μῦθοι
 τὸ παλαιὸν Ἡρακλέα πολεμοῦντα τοῖς Ἡλείοις
 ἐποικοδομῆσαι, βουλόμενον ὁρμητηρίῳ χρῆσθαι 5
 60 τούτῳ κατ' αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ Δυμαῖοι καὶ Φαραιεῖς
 καὶ Τριταιεῖς ἡλαττωμένοι μὲν περὶ τὴν βοήθειαν,
 δεδιότες δὲ τὸ μέλλον ἐκ τῆς τοῦ φρουρίου κατα-
 λήψεως, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔπεμπον ἀγγέλους πρὸς
 τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, δηλοῦντες τὰ γεγο- 10
 νότα καὶ δεόμενοι σφίσι βοηθεῖν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
 πρεσβευτὰς ἐξαπέστειλλον τοὺς περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν
 1 ἀξιῳσοντας. ὁ δ' Ἄρατος οὔτε τὸ ξενικὸν ἐδύνατο
 συστήσασθαι διὰ τὸ κατὰ τὸν Κλεο-
 15 μενικὸν πόλεμον ἑλληλοειπέναι τινὰ 15
 τῶν ὀψωνίων τοὺς Ἀχαιῶς τοῖς μισθοφόροις,
 καθόλου τε ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς καὶ συλλήβδην πᾶσι
 τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου πράγμασιν ἀτόλμως ἐχρήτο καὶ
 3 νωθρῶς. διόπερ ὃ τε Λυκούργος εἶλε τὸ τῶν
 Μεγαλοπολιτῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὃ τ' Εὐριπίδας ἐξῆς 20
 4 τοῖς εἰρημένοις Γόρτυναν τῆς Τελφουσίας. οἳ τε
 Δυμαῖοι καὶ Φαραιεῖς καὶ Τριταιεῖς,
 5 and in despair
 three towns form
 a league for sepa-
 rate defence.
 δυσελπιστήσαντες ἐπὶ ταῖς τοῦ στρα-
 6 τηγοῦ βοηθείαις, συνεφρόνησαν ἀλλή-
 15 λους εἰς τὸ τὰς μὲν κοινὰς εἰσφοράς τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς 15
 5 μὴ τελεῖν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ συστήσασθαι μισθοφόρους,
 πεζοὺς μὲν τριακοσίους ἵππεῖς δὲ πεντήκοντα, καὶ
 6 διὰ τούτων ἀσφαλίζεσθαι τὴν χώραν. τοῦτο δὲ
 πράξαντες ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν καθ' αὐτοὺς πραγμάτων
 ἐνδεχομένως ἔδοξαν βεβουλεῦσθαι, περὶ δὲ τῶν 30

κοινῶν τάναντία· πονηρᾶς γὰρ ἐφόδου καὶ προφά-
 σεως τοῖς βουλομένοις διαλύειν τὸ ἔθνος ἐδόκουν
 ἀρχηγοὶ καὶ καθηγέμενες γεγονέναι. ταύτης δὲ τῆς 7
 πράξεως τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον τῆς αἰτίας ἐπὶ τὸν στρα-
 5 τηγὸν ἂν τις ἀναφέρει δικαίως τὸν ὀλιγωροῦντα καὶ
 καταμέλλοντα καὶ προϊέμενον αἰεὶ τοὺς δεομένους.
 πᾶς γὰρ ὁ κινδυνεύων, ἕως μὲν ἂν τινος ἐλπίδος 8
 ἀντέχεται παρὰ τῶν οἰκείων καὶ συμμάχων,
 προσανέχειν φιλεῖ ταύταις, ὅταν δὲ δυσχρηστῶν
 10 ἀπογνῶ, τότε ἤδη βοηθεῖν ἀναγκάζεται αὐτῷ κατὰ
 δύναμιν. διὸ καὶ Τριταιεῦσι καὶ Φαραιεῦσι καὶ 9
 Δυμαίοις, ὅτι μὲν ἰδίᾳ συνεστήσαντο μισθοφόρους
 καταμέλλοντος τοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἡγεμόνος, οὐκ
 ἐγκλητέον, ὅτι δὲ τὰς εἰς τὸ κοινὸν εἰσφορὰς
 15 ἀπέειπαν, μεμψιμοιρητέον. ἐχρῆν γὰρ τὴν μὲν 10
 ἰδίαν χρεῖαν μὴ παραλιπεῖν, εὐκαιροῦντάς γε δὴ
 καὶ δυναμένους, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν κοινὴν πολιτείαν
 δίκαια συντηρεῖν, ἄλλως τε δὴ καὶ κομιδῆς ὑπαρ-
 χούσης ἀδιαπτώτου κατὰ τοὺς κοινούς νόμους, τὸ
 20 δὲ μέγιστον, γεγονότας ἀρχηγούς τοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν
 συστήματος.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ Πελοπόννησον ἐν τούτοις ἦν, 61
 ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Φίλιππος διελθὼν τὴν B. C. 219. The Eph-
 rots beg Philip to
 take Ambracus. 2
 23 λαβὼν δὲ τοὺς Ἡπειρώτας ἕμα τοῖς Μακεδόσι
 πανδημεὶ καὶ τοὺς ἐξ Ἀχαΐας αὐτῷ συννητηκότας
 σφενδονήτας τριακοσίους, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς παρὰ Πο-
 λυρρηνίων ἀπεσταλμένους Κρήτας πεντακοσίους,
 προῆγε, καὶ διελθὼν τὴν Ἡπειρον παρῆν εἰς τὴν
 30 τῶν Ἀμβρακιωτῶν χώραν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἐφόδου 3

κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν μεσόγαιαν τὴν Αἰτωλίαν, ἄφνω καὶ παραδόξως ἐπιπεσὼν δυνάμει βαρεῖα τοῖς ὅλοις πράγμασιν ἐπιτεθείκει τέλος·
 4 νῦν δὲ πεισθεὶς τοῖς Ἑπειρώταις πρῶτον ἐκπολιορκῆσαι τὸν Ἀμβρακον, ἔδωκε τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς 5 ἀναστροφὴν εἰς τὸ καὶ στήναι καὶ προνοηθῆναί τι 5 καὶ παρασκευάσασθαι πρὸς τὸ μέλλον. οἱ γὰρ Ἑπειῶται τὸ σφέτερον ἀναγκαιότερον τιθέμενοι τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν συμμάχων, καὶ μεγάλως σπουδάζοντες ὑφ' αὐτοὺς ποιήσασθαι τὸν Ἀμβρακον, 10 ἐδέοντο τοῦ Φιλίππου ποιήσασθαι πολιορκίαν 6 περὶ τὸ χωρίον καὶ τοῦτο πρότερον ἐξελεῖν, περὶ πλείστου ποιούμενοι τὸ κομίσασθαι τὴν Ἀμβρακίαν παρὰ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν, τοῦτο δὲ γενέσθαι μόνως ἂν ἐλπίζοντες, εἰ τοῦ προειρημένου τόπου κυριεύ- 15 7 σαντες ἐπικαθίσαιεν τῇ πόλει. ὁ γὰρ Ἀμβρακος ἔστι μὲν χωρίον εὖ κατεσκευασμένον καὶ προτειχίσμασι καὶ τείχει, κείμεν δ' ἐν λίμναις, μίαν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας στενὴν καὶ χωστὴν ἔχων πρόσοδον, ἐπικείται δ' εὐκαίρως τῇ τε χώρᾳ τῶν Ἀμβρακιω- 20 τῶν καὶ τῇ πόλει.

8 Φίλιππος μὲν οὖν πεισθεὶς Ἑπειρώταις, καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύσας περὶ τὸν Ἀμβρακον, ἐγένετο περὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν·

62 Σκόπας δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον 25 while the Aetolians are invading Macedonia and sacking Dium. ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς πανδημεῖ, καὶ ποιησάμενος τὴν πορείαν διὰ Θέτταλίας, ἐνέβαλεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, καὶ τὸν τε σῆτον ἐπιπορευόμενος τὸν κατὰ τὴν Πιερίαν ἔφθειρε, καὶ λείας περιβαλόμενος πλῆθος ἐπανήγε, ποιούμενος 30

τὴν πορείαν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ Δῖον. ἐκλιπόντων δὲ τῶν ¹
 κατοικούντων τὸν τόπον, εἰσελθὼν τὰ τείχη κα-
 τέσκαψε καὶ τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον, πρὸς δὲ
 τούτοις ἐνέπρησε τὰς στοὰς τὰς περὶ τὸ τέμενος,
⁵ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ διέφθειρε τῶν ἀναθημάτων, ὅσα
 πρὸς κόσμον ἢ χρεῖαν ὑπῆρχε τοῖς εἰς τὰς πανη-
 γύρεις συμπορευομένοις· ἀνέτρεψε δὲ καὶ τὰς
 εἰκόνας τῶν βασιλέων ἀπάσας. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ³
 εὐθέως κατὰ τὴν ἔνστασιν τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τὴν
¹⁰ πρώτην πρᾶξιν οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τοῖς θεοῖς πόλεμον ἐξενηνοχῶς ἐπανήει, καὶ παρα- ⁴
 γενόμενος εἰς Αἰτωλίαν οὐχ ὡς ἡσεβηκῶς ἀλλ' ὡς
 ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ εἰς τὰ κοινὰ πράγματα γεγυνώς
 ἐτιμᾶτο καὶ περιεβλέπετο, πλήρεις ἐλπίδων κενῶν
¹⁵ καὶ φρονήματος ἀλόγου πεποικῶς τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς·
 ἔσχον γὰρ ἐκ τούτων διάληψιν ὡς τῆς μὲν Αἰτω- ⁵
 λίας οὐδ' ἐγγίξειν τολμήσοντος οὐδενός, αὐτοὶ δὲ
 πορθήσοντες ἀδεῶς οὐ μόνον τὴν Πελοπόννησον,
 καθάπερ ἔθος ἦν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Θετταλίαν
²⁰ καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν. Φίλιππος δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν ⁶³
 Μακεδονίαν ἀκούσας, καὶ παραχρῆμα τῆς Ἑπει-
 ρωτῶν ἀγνοίας καὶ φιλονεικίας τὰ πείχαιρα κεκο-
 μισμένος, ἐπολιόρκει τὸν Ἀμβρακόν. χρησάμενος ¹
 δὲ τοῖς τε χώμασιν ἐνεργῶς καὶ τῇ <sup>Phillip took Am-
bracus</sup>
²⁵ λοιπῇ παρασκευῇ ταχέως κατεπλήξατο
 τοὺς ἐνόντας, καὶ παρέλαβε τὸ χωρίον ἐν ἡμέραις
 τετταράκοντα ταῖς πάσαις. ἄφεις δὲ τοὺς φυ- ³
 λάττοντας ὑποσπόνδους, ὄντας εἰς πεντακοσίους
 Αἰτωλῶν, τὴν μὲν τῶν Ἑπειρωτῶν ἐπιθυμίαν
³⁰ ἐπλήρωσε παραδούς τὸν Ἀμβρακόν, αὐτὸς δ' ⁴

ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν προῆγε παρὰ Χαράδραν,
 σπεύδων διαβῆναι τὸν Ἀμβρακικὸν καλούμενον
 κόλπον, οὗ στενωτάτον ἐστὶ, κατὰ τὸ τῶν Ἀκαρ-
 5 νάνων ἱερὸν καλούμενον Ἄκτιον. ὁ γὰρ προειρη-
 μένος κόλπος ἐκπίπτει μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Σικελικοῦ πελά- 5
 γους μεταξὺ τῆς Ἠπείρου καὶ τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας
 στενῷ παντελῶς στόματι (λείπει γὰρ τῶν πέντε
 6 σταδίων), προβαίνων δ' εἰς τὴν μεσόγαιαν κατὰ
 μὲν τὸ πλάτος ἐφ' ἑκατὸν στάδια κεῖται, κατὰ δὲ
 τὸ μῆκος ἀπὸ τοῦ πελάγους προπίπτει περὶ τρια- 10
 κόσια στάδια· διορίζει δὲ τὴν Ἠπειρον καὶ τὴν
 Ἀκαρνανίαν, ἔχων τὴν μὲν Ἠπειρον ἀπὸ τῶν
 7 ἄρκτων τὴν δ' Ἀκαρνανίαν ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας. πε-
 ραιώσας δὲ κατὰ τὸ προειρημένον στόμα τὴν
 δύναμιν, καὶ διελθὼν τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν, ἦκε τῆς 13
 Αἰτωλίας πρὸς τὴν καλουμένην πόλιν
 and invaded Ae- Φοιτίας, συμπαρειληφὼς Ἀκαρνάνων
 tolia,
 8 πεζοὺς δισχιλίους ἵππεῖς δὲ διακοσίους. περι-
 στρατοπεδεύσας δὲ τὴν προειρημένην πόλιν, καὶ
 προσβολὰς ἐνεργοὺς καὶ καταπληκτικὰς ἐπὶ δύο 20
 ἡμέρας ποιησάμενος, παρέλαβε καθ'
 taking Phoeteas ὁμολογίαν, ἀφείς ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς
 9 ἐνόντας τῶν Αἰτωλῶν. τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης νυκτός, ὡς
 ἔτι μενούσης ἀναλώτου τῆς πόλεως, ἦκον βοηθοῦν-
 τες πεντακόσιοι τῶν Αἰτωλῶν· ὧν τὴν παρουσίαν 25
 προαισθανόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς, καθείς ἐπὶ τινὰς
 τόπους εὐκαίρους ἐνέδρας, τοὺς μὲν πλείους αὐτῶν
 ἀπέκτεινε τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ὑποχειρίους ἔλαβε
 10 πλὴν τελέως ὀλίγων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα σιτομετρή-
 σας εἰς τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τοῦ περι- 30

καταληφθέντος σίτου (πολὺ γὰρ πλῆθος ἐν ταῖς Φοιτίαις εὐρέθη συνηθροισμένον) προῆγε ποιούμενος τὴν πορείαν εἰς τὴν Στρατικήν. ἀποσχὼν δὲ τῆς πόλεως περὶ δέκα στάδια 11
 5 κατεστρατοπέδευσε περὶ τὸν Ἀχελῷον ποταμόν, ὁρμώμενος δ' ἐντεῦθεν ἀδεῶς ἐπόρθει τὴν χώραν, οὐδενὸς ἐπεξιέναι τολμῶντος τῶν ὑπεναντίων.

Οἱ δ' Ἀχαιοὶ κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους πιε- 64
 10 ζόμενοι τῷ πολέμῳ, τὸν δὲ βασιλέα πυνθανόμενοι σύνεγγυς εἶναι, πέμπουσι πρέσβεις ἀξιόυντες βοηθεῖν· οἱ καὶ συμμίζαντες ἔτι περὶ Στράτον 2
 ὄντι τῷ Φιλίππῳ τὰ τε λοιπὰ διελέγοντο κατὰ τὰς ἐντολάς, καὶ τὰς ὠφελείας ὑποδεικνύντες τῷ
 15 στρατοπέδῳ τὰς ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας ἔπειθον αὐτὸν διαβάντα τὸ Ῥῖον ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἥλειαν. ὦν 3
 ὁ βασιλεὺς διακούσας τοὺς μὲν πρεσβευτὰς παρακατέσχε, φήσας βουλεύσεσθαι περὶ τῶν παρακαλουμένων, αὐτὸς δ' ἀναζεύξας προῆγε, ποιούμενος
 20 τὴν πορείαν ὡς ἐπὶ Μητροπόλεως καὶ Κωνώπης. οἱ δ' Αἰτωλοὶ τὴν μὲν ἄκραν τῆς Μητροπόλεως 4
 κατεῖχον, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἐξέλιπον. ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος ἐμπρήσας τὴν Μητρόπολιν προῆει κατὰ τὸ συνεχές ἐπὶ τὴν Κωνώπην. τῶν δ' Αἰτωλῶν
 25 ἱππέων ἀθροισθέντων καὶ τολμησάν- and Metropolis 5
 των ἀπαντᾶν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ διάβασιν, ἥ κεῖται πρὸ τῆς πόλεως εἴκοσι στάδια διέχουσα, καὶ πεπεισμένων ἥ κωλύσειν τελείως ἥ κακοποιήσειν
 πολλὰ τοὺς Μακεδόνας περὶ τὴν ἔκβασιν, συννοή- 6
 30 σας αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς παρήγγειλε

τοῖς πελτασταῖς πρώτοις ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὸν ποτα-
 μὸν καὶ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἑκβασιν ἀθρόους κατὰ τάγ-
 7 μα συνησπικότας. τῶν δὲ πειθαρχούντων, ἅμα
 τῷ τὴν πρώτην διαβῆναι σημαίαν βραχέα ταύτης
 καταπειράσαντες οἱ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἵππεῖς, ἐν τῷ 5
 ταύτην τε μέναι συνασπίσασαν καὶ τὴν δευτέραν
 καὶ τρίτην διαβαινούσας συμφράττειν τοῖς ὅπλοις
 πρὸς τὴν ὑφ' ἐστῶσαν, ἀπραγούντες καὶ δυσχρήστως
 8 ἀπαλλάττοντες ἀπεχώρουν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ
 τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη τὸ μὲν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν φρόνημα 10
 συμπεφευγὸς εἰς τὰς πόλεις ἦγε τὴν ἡσυχίαν,
 9 ὃ δὲ Φίλιππος ἐπιδιαβὰς τῷ στρατεύματι, καὶ
 πορθήσας ἀδεῶς καὶ ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἤκεν εἰς
 τὴν Ἰθωρίαν· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ χωρίον ὃ κεῖται μὲν
 ἐπὶ τῆς παρόδου κυρίως, ὀχυρότητι δὲ φυσικῇ καὶ 15
 10 and Ithoria χειροποιήτῳ διαφέρει. συνεγγίζοντος
 δ' αὐτοῦ καταπλαγέντες οἱ φυλάττον-
 τες ἐξέλιπον τὸν τόπον· ὃ δὲ βασιλεὺς κυριεύσας
 11 τοῦ τόπου εἰς ἔδαφος καθεῖλε. παραπλησίως δὲ
 καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς πύργους τοὺς κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐπέ- 20
 65 ταξε τοῖς προνομεύουσι καταφέρειν. διελθὼν δὲ τὰ
 στενὰ τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη βάδην καὶ πρᾶεῖαν ἐποιεῖτο
 τὴν πορείαν, ἀναστροφὴν διδούς τῇ δυνάμει πρὸς
 2 τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ὠφελείας. γέμοντος δὲ τοῦ
 στρατοπέδου πάντων τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἦκε πρὸς 25
 3 τοὺς Οἰνιάδας. καταστρατοπεδεύσας δὲ πρὸς τὸ
 Παιάνιον τοῦτο πρῶτον ἐξελεῖν ἔκρινε· ποιησά-
 μενος δὲ προσβολὰς συνεχεῖς εἶλεν αὐτὸ κατὰ
 κράτος, πόλιν κατὰ μὲν τὸν περίβολον οὐ μεγάλην
 (ἐλάττων γὰρ ἦν ἐπὶ τὰ σταδίων), κατὰ δὲ τὴν 30

σύμπασαν κατασκεύην οἰκιῶν καὶ τειχῶν καὶ
 πύργων οὐδ' ὁποίας ἦττω. ταύτης δὲ τὸ μὲν 4
 τεῖχος κατέσκαψε πᾶν εἰς ἔδαφος, τὰς δ' οἰκῆσεις
 διαλύων τὰ ξύλα καὶ τὸν κέραμον εἰς σχεδίας
 5 καθήρμοξε τῷ ποταμῷ μετὰ πολλῆς φιλοτιμίας
 εἰς τοὺς Οἰνιάδας. οἱ δ' Αἰτωλοὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον 5
 ἐπεβάλοντο διατηρεῖν τὴν ἄκραν τὴν ἐν τοῖς
 Οἰνιάδαις, ἀσφαλίσάμενοι τείχεσι καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ
 κατασκευῇ· συνεγγίζοντος δὲ τοῦ Φιλίππου κατὰ-
 10 πλαγέντες ἐξεχώρησαν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς 6
 παραλαβὼν καὶ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν, ἐξ and Oeniadae,
 αὐτῆς προελθὼν κατεστρατοπέδευσε τῆς Καλυ-
 δωνίας πρὸς τι χωρίον ὀχυρόν, ὃ καλεῖται μὲν
 Ἑλαος ἡσφάλισται δὲ τείχεσι καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς
 15 παρασκευαῖς διαφερόντως, Ἀττάλου τὴν περὶ αὐ-
 τὸ κατασκευὴν ἀναδεξαμένου τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς. γενό- 7
 μενοι δὲ καὶ τούτου κύριοι κατὰ κράτος οἱ Μακε-
 δόνες, καὶ πῦσαν κατασύραντες τὴν Καλυδωνίαν,
 ἤκου πάλιν εἰς τοὺς Οἰνιάδας. ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος 8
 20 συνθεασάμενος τὴν εὐκαιρίαν τοῦ τόπου πρὸς τε
 τᾶλλα καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τὰς εἰς Πελοπόννησον
 διαβάσεις, ἐπεβάλετο τειχίζειν τὴν πόλιν. τοὺς 9
 γὰρ Οἰνιάδας κεῖσθαι συμβαίνει παρὰ θάλατταν,
 ἐπὶ τῷ πέρατι τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας τῷ πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς
 25 συνάπτοντι, περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Κορινθιακοῦ
 κόλπου. τῆς δὲ Πελοποννήσου τέτακται μὲν ἡ 10
 πόλις καταντικρὺ τῆς παραλίας τῆς τῶν Δυμαίων,
 ἔγγιστα δ' αὐτῆς ὑπάρχει τοῖς κατὰ τὸν Ἄραξον
 τόποις· ἀπέχει γὰρ οὐ πλείον ἑκατὸν σταδίων.
 30 εἰς ἃ βλέψας τὴν τε ἄκραν καθ' αὐτὴν ἡσφάλισατο, 11

καὶ τῷ λιμένι καὶ τοῖς νεωρίοις ὁμοῦ τεῖχος περι-
 βαλὼν ἐνεχίρει συνάψαι πρὸς τὴν ἄκραν, χρώ-
 μενος πρὸς τὴν οἰκονομίαν ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ Παιανίου
 παρασκευαῖς.

- 66 Ἔτι δὲ περὶ ταῦτα γινομένου τοῦ βασιλέως 5
 and then returns homeward to repel an invasion from the North. παρὴν ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἄγγελος διασα-
 φῶν ὅτι συμβαίνει τοὺς Δαρδανεῖς,
 ὑπονενοηκότας τὴν εἰς Πελοπόννησον
 αὐτοῦ στρατείαν, ἀθροίζει δυνάμεις καὶ παρα-
 σκευὴν ποιεῖσθαι μεγάλην, κεκρικότας ἐμβαλεῖν 10
 2 εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ νο-
 μίσας ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι βοηθεῖν κατὰ τάχος τῇ
 Μακεδονίᾳ, τοὺς μὲν παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πρέσβεις
 ἀπέστειλε, δούς ἀπόκρισιν ὅτι τοῖς προσηγγελμέ-
 νοις ἐπαρκέσας οὐδὲν προυργιαίτερον ποιήσεται 15
 μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ βοηθεῖν σφίσι κατὰ δύναμιν,
 3 αὐτὸς δ' ἀναζεύξας μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐποιεῖτο τὴν
 ἐπάνοδον ἥπερ καὶ τὴν παρουσίαν ἐπεποίητο.
 4 μέλλοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ διαβαίνειν τὸν Ἀμβρακικὸν
 κόλπον ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας εἰς Ἡπειρον παρὴν ἐφ' 20
 ἑνὸς λέμβου Δημήτριος ὁ Φάριος, ἐκπεπτωκὸς
 ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐκ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος· ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐν τοῖς
 5 πρὸ τούτων ἡμῖν δεδήλωται. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν
 Φίλιππος ἀποδεξάμενος φιλανθρωπῶς ἐκέλευσε
 πλεῖν ὡς ἐπὶ Κόρινθον κακεῖθεν ἤκειν διὰ Θεττα- 25
 λίας εἰς Μακεδονίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ διαβὰς εἰς τὴν
 Ἡπειρον προῆγε κατὰ τὸ συνεχές εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν.
 6 παραγενομένου δ' αὐτοῦ τῆς Μακεδονίας εἰς Πέλ-
 λαν, ἀκούσαντες οἱ Δαρδάνιοι παρὰ Θρακῶν
 τινων αὐτομόλων τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ Φιλίππου, 30

καταπλαγέντες παραχρήμα διέλυσαν τὴν στρα-
 τείαν, καίπερ ἤδη σύνεγγυς ὄντες τῆς Μακεδονίας.
 Φίλιππος δὲ πυθόμενος τὴν τῶν Δαρδανέων με- 7
 τάνοιαν τοὺς μὲν Μακεδόνας διαφῆκε πάντας ἐπὶ
 5 τὴν τῆς ὁπώρας συγκομιδὴν, αὐτὸς δὲ πορευθεὶς
 εἰς Θετταλίαν τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος τοῦ θέρους ἐν
 Λαρίσῃ διήγεν. * * *

Καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔτος ἔληγε τῆς ὑποκειμένης 11
 Ὀλυμπιάδος, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς ἤδη τῶν 67
 10 ἀρχαιρεσίων καθηκόντων στρατηγὸς ἡρέθη Δωρί-
 μαχος, ὃς παραυτίκα τὴν ἀρχὴν πα-
 ραλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἀθροίσας
 μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τοὺς ἄνω
 τόπους τῆς Ἠπείρου καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐδήου, θυμικώ-
 15 τερον χρώμενος τῇ καταφθορᾷ· τὸ γὰρ πλεῖον οὐ 2
 τῆς σφετέρας ὠφελείας ἀλλὰ τῆς τῶν Ἠπειρωτῶν
 βλάβης χάριν ἕκαστα συνετέλει. παραγενόμενος 3
 δὲ πρὸς τὸ περὶ Δωδώνην ἱερὸν τὰς τε στοᾶς
 ἐνέπρησε καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἀναθημάτων διέφθειρε,
 20 κατέσκαψε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν οἰκίαν, ὥστε μὴτ' 4
 εἰρήνης ὄρον μῆτε πολέμου πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς ὑπάρ-
 χειν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς περιστάσεσι παρὰ
 τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔθη καὶ νόμιμα χρῆσθαι
 ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς.

The Aetollans
 ravaged Epirus
 and sacked Do-
 dona.

15 Οὗτος μὲν οὖν ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα διαπραξά- 5
 μενος ἐπανήγεν αὐθις εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν·
 τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος ἔτι προβαίνοντος,
 καὶ πάντων ἀπηλπικότεων τὴν πα-
 ρουσίαν τοῦ Φιλίππου διὰ τὸν καιρόν, ἀναλα-
 30 βὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς χαλκᾶσπιδας μὲν τρισχιλίους

B.C. 318. In the
 winter Philip
 marched rapidly
 into the Pelopon-
 nese,

πελταστὰς δὲ δισχιλίους καὶ Κρήτας τριακοσίους,
 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἵππεῖς τοὺς περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν εἰς
 7 τετρακοσίους, προῆγεν ἀπὸ Λαρίσης· καὶ διαβι-
 βάσας τούτους ἐκ Θετταλίας εἰς Εὐβοίαν κατέκειθεν
 εἰς Κύνον ἦκε διὰ τῆς Βοιωτίας καὶ Μεγαρίδος 5
 εἰς Κόρινθον περὶ τροπὰς χειμερινάς, ἐνεργὸν καὶ
 λαθραῖαν πεποιημένος τὴν παρουσίαν οὕτως ὥστε
 μηδένα Πελοποννησίων ὑπονοῆσαι τὸ γεγονός.
 8 κλείσας δὲ τὰς πύλας τοῦ Κορίνθου καὶ διαλαβὼν
 τὰς ὁδοὺς φυλακαῖς, τῇ κατὰ πόδας Ἄρατον μὲν 10
 τὸν πρεσβύτερον ὡς αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ Σικυῶνος μετε-
 πέμπετο, γράμματά τε πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν
 Ἀχαιῶν καὶ πρὸς τὰς πόλεις ἐξαπέστελλεν, ἐν οἷς
 διεσάφει πότε καὶ ποῦ δεήσει συναντᾶν πάντας
 9 ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις· ταῦτα δ' οἰκονομήσας ἀνέξευξε, 15
 καὶ προελθὼν κατεστρατοπέδευσε τῆς Φλιασίας
 68 περὶ τὸ Διοσκούριον. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς
 Εὐριπίδας, ἔχων Ἡλείων δύο λόχους μετὰ τῶν
 πειρατῶν καὶ μισθοφόρων, ὥστ' εἶναι τοὺς πάντας
 εἰς δισχιλίους καὶ διακοσίους, ἅμα δὲ τούτοις 20
 ἵππεῖς ἑκατόν, ὀρμήσας ἐκ Ψωφίδος ἐποιεῖτο τὴν
 πορείαν διὰ τῆς Φενικῆς καὶ Στυμφαλίας, οὐδὲν
 μὲν εἰδὼς τῶν κατὰ τὸν Φίλιππον, βουλόμενος δὲ
 2 κατασύραι τὴν τῶν Σικυωνίων χώραν. τῆς δὲ
 νυκτὸς τῆς αὐτῆς ἐν ᾗ συνέβαινε στρατοπεδεύειν 25
 τὸν Φίλιππον περὶ τὸ Διοσκούριον.
 and fell in with a plundering party of Aetolians, παρηλλαχῶς τὴν στρατοπεδείαν τοῦ
 βασιλέως περὶ τὴν ἐωθινήν ἐμβάλλειν οἷός τ' ἦν
 3 εἰς τὴν Σικυωνίαν. τῶν δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου
 Κρητῶν τινες ἀπολελοιπότες τὰς τάξεις καὶ 3

διχνεύοντες περὶ τὰς προνομείας ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς
 τοὺς περὶ τὸν Εὐριπίδαν. οὓς ἀνακρίνας καὶ 4
 συνεῖς τὴν παρουσίαν τῶν Μακεδόνων ὁ προειρη-
 μένος, οὐδενὶ ποιήσας φανερόν οὐδὲν τῶν προσπε-
 5 πτωκότων, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς
 αὐθις ἀνέλυε τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἐν ἧπερ ἦκεν, βουλόμε-
 νος, ἅμα δὲ καὶ κατελπίζων καταταχῆσειν τοὺς Μα- 5
 κεδόνας διεκβαλὼν τὴν Στυμφαλίαν καὶ συνάψας
 ταῖς ὑπερκειμέναις δυσχωρίαις. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς 6
 10 οὐδὲν εἰδὼς τῶν περὶ τοὺς ὑπεναντίους, κατὰ δὲ
 τὴν αὐτοῦ πρόθεσιν ἀναζεύξας τὴν ἑωθινὴν προῆγε,
 κρίνων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν πορείαν παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν
 Στύμφαλον ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς Καφύας· ἐνθάδε γὰρ 7
 ἐγεγράφει τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς συναθροῖζεσθαι μετὰ τῶν
 15 ὅπλων. τῆς δὲ πρωτοπορείας τῶν Μακεδόνων 69
 ἐπιβαλούσης ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τὴν περὶ τὸ
 καλούμενον Ἀπέλαυρον, ἣ πρόκειται τῆς τῶν
 Στυμφαλίων πόλεως περὶ δέκα στάδια, ἅμα συνε-
 κύρησε καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἡλείων πρωτοπορείαν συμ-
 20 πεσεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπερβολήν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Εὐριπίδας 2
 συννοήσας τὸ γεγονός ἐκ τῶν προσηγγελμένων,
 παραλαβὼν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τινὰς τῶν ἱππέων καὶ
 διαδράς τὸν ἐνεστῶτα καιρὸν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἀπο-
 χώρησιν εἰς τὴν Ψωφίδα ταῖς ἀνοδίαις· τὸ δὲ 3
 25 λοιπὸν πλῆθος τῶν Ἡλείων ἐγκατα-
 λελειμμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ προεστῶτος καὶ <sup>which he cut to
pieces.</sup>
 γεγονὸς ἐκπλαγὲς ἐπὶ τῷ συμβεβηκότι κατὰ πο-
 ρείαν ἔμενε, διαπορούμενον τί δεῖ ποιεῖν καὶ πῇ
 τρέπεσθαι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον αὐτῶν οἱ προε- 4
 30 στῶτες ὑπελάμβανον τῶν Ἀχαιῶν αὐτῶν τινὰς

συνεπιβεβοηθηκέναι· καὶ μάλιστα ἡπάτων αὐτοὺς
 5 οἱ χαλκασπίδες· Μεγαλοπολίτας γὰρ εἶναι τού-
 τους ἐδόξαζεν διὰ τὸ τοιούτοις ὅπλοις κεκρῆσθαι
 τοὺς προειρημένους ἐν τῷ περὶ Σελλασίαν πρὸς
 Κλεομένη κινδύνῳ, καθοπλίσαντος Ἀντιγόνου 5
 6 τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς τὴν παρούσαν χρεῖαν· διόπερ
 ἀπεχώρουν τηροῦντες τὰς τάξεις πρὸς τινὰς ὑπερ-
 δεξίους τόπους, οὐκ ἀπελπίζοντες τὴν σωτηρίαν.
 ἅμα δὲ τῷ προσάγοντας αὐτοῖς τοὺς Μακεδόνας
 σύνεγγυς γενέσθαι λαβόντες ἔννοιαν τοῦ κατ' 10
 ἀλήθειαν ὄντος, πάντες ὥρμησαν πρὸς φυγὴν
 7 ῥίψαντες τὰ ὅπλα· ζωγρία μὲν οὖν ἐάλωσαν
 αὐτῶν περὶ χιλίους καὶ διακασίους, τὰ δὲ λοιπὸν
 διεφθάρη πλήθος, τὸ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων τὸ
 δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν κρημνῶν· διέφυγον δ' οὐ πλείους τῶν 15
 8 ἑκατόν· ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος τὰ τε σκῦλα καὶ τοὺς
 αἰχμαλώτους εἰς Κόρινθον ἀποπέμψας εἶχετο
 9 τῶν προκειμένων· τοῖς δὲ Πελοποννησίοις πᾶσι
 παράδοξον ἐφάνη τὸ γεγονός· ἅμα γὰρ ἤκουον τὴν
 παρουσίαν καὶ τὴν νίκην τοῦ βασιλέως. 20
 70 Ποιησάμενος δὲ τὴν πορείαν διὰ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας,
 καὶ πολλὰς ἀναδεξάμενος χιόνας καὶ
Then he marched
to Psophis, ταλαιπωρίας ἐν ταῖς περὶ τὸν Ὀλύ-
 γυρτον ὑπερβολαῖς, τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν κατήρε
 2 νύκτωρ εἰς Καφύας· θεραπεύσας δὲ τὴν δύναμιν
 ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας ἐνταῦθα, καὶ προσαναλαβὼν Ἀρα-
 τον τὸν νεώτερον καὶ τοὺς ἅμα ταύτῳ συνηθροισ-
 μένους τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ὥστ' εἶναι τὴν ὅλην δύναμιν
 εἰς τοὺς μυρίους, προῆγε διὰ τῆς Κλειτορίας ὡς
 ἐπὶ Ψωφίδας, συναθροίζων ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ὧν

διεπορεύετο βέλη καὶ κλίμακας. ἡ δὲ Ψωφὶς ἔστι 3
 μὲν ὁμολογούμενον καὶ παλαιὸν Ἀρκάδων κτίσμα
 τῆς Ἀζανίδος, κείται δὲ τῆς μὲν συμπάσης Πε-
 λοποννήσου κατὰ τὴν μεσόγαιον, αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς
 5 Ἀρκαδίας ἐπὶ τοῖς πρὸς δυσμὰς πέρασιν, συν-
 ἄπτουσα τοῖς περὶ τὰς ἐσχατίας κατοικοῦσι τῶν
 προσεσπερίων Ἀχαιῶν· ἐπικείται δ' εὐφυῶς τῇ 4
 τῶν Ἡλείων χώρα, μεθ' ὧν συνέβαινε τότε πολι-
 τεύεσθαι αὐτήν. πρὸς ἣν Φίλιππος τριταῖος ἐκ 5
 10 τῶν Καφυῶν διανύσας κατεστρατοπέδευε περὶ
 τοὺς ἀπέναντι τῆς πόλεως ὑπερκειμένους βουνούς,
 ἀφ' ὧν ἦν κατοπτεύειν τὴν τε πόλιν ὅλην ἀσφαλῶς
 καὶ τοὺς περίξ αὐτῆς τόπους. συνθεωρῶν δὲ τὴν 6
 ὀχυρότητα τῆς Ψωφίδος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἠπορεῖτο τί
 15 χρὴ ποιεῖν. τὴν γὰρ ἀφ' ἐσπέρας πλευρὰν αὐτῆς 7
 καταφέρεται λάβρος χειμάρρους ποταμός, ὃς κατὰ
 τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος τοῦ χειμῶνος ἄβατός ἐστιν,
 ποιεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸ παράπαν ἐχυρὰν καὶ δυσπρόσθοδον
 τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ κοιλώματος, ὃ κατὰ
 20 βραχὺ τῷ χρόνῳ κατείργασται φερόμενος ἐξ ὑπερ-
 δεξίων τόπων. παρὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπ' ἡοῦς πλευρὰν 8
 ἔχει τὸν Ἐρύμανθον, μέγαν καὶ λάβρον ποταμόν,
 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πολὺς καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν τεθρύληται λόγος.
 τοῦ δὲ χειμάρρου προσπίπτοντος πρὸς τὸν Ἐρύ- 9
 25 μανθον ὑπὸ τὸ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν μέρος τῆς πόλεως,
 συμβαίνει τὰς μὲν τρεῖς ἐπιφανείας αὐτῆς ὑπὸ
 τῶν ποταμῶν περιλαμβανομένας ἀσφαλιζέσθαι
 τὸν προειρημένον τρόπον· τῇ δὲ λοιπῇ, τῇ πρὸς 10
 ἄρκτον, βουνὸς ἐρυμνὸς ἐπικείται τετειχισμένος,
 30 ἄκρας εὐφυοῦς καὶ πραγματικῆς λαμβάνων τάξιν.

ἔχει δὲ καὶ τείχη διαφέροντα τῷ μεγέθει καὶ ταῖς
 11 κατασκευαῖς. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις βοήθειαν συνέβαινε
 παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλείων εἰσπεπτωκέναι, καὶ τὸν Εὐρι-
 πίδαν ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς διασεσωσμένον ὑπάρχειν ἐν
 αὐτῇ.

71 Ταῦτ' οὖν πάντα συνορῶν καὶ συλλογιζόμενος
 which, strong as ὁ Φίλιππος τὰ μὲν ἀφίστατο τοῖς
 it was, he took by λογισμοῖς τοῦ βιάζεσθαι καὶ πολιορ-
 storm, κεῖν τὴν πόλιν, τὰ δὲ προθύμως εἶχε, τὴν εὐκαιρίαν
 2 ὁρῶν τοῦ τόπου· καθ' ὅσον γὰρ ἐπέκειτο τοῖς 10
 Ἀχαιοῖς τότε καὶ τοῖς Ἀρκάσι καὶ πολεμητήριον
 ὑπῆρχε τοῖς Ἑλλείois ἀσφαλές, κατὰ τοσοῦτον
 πάλιν κρατηθὲν ἔμελλε τῶν μὲν Ἀρκάδων προ-
 κείσθαι κατὰ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλείων ὀρμητήριον ὑπάρχειν
 3 τοῖς συμμάχοις εὐκαιρον. διόπερ ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ 15
 μέρος ὀρμήσας τῇ γνώμῃ παρήγγελλε τοῖς Μακε-
 δόσιν ἅμα τῷ φωτὶ πᾶσιν ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι καὶ
 4 διεσκευασμένους ἐτοίμους ὑπάρχειν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
 διαβὰς τὴν κατὰ τὸν Ἐρύμανθον γέφυραν, οὐδενὸς
 ἐμποδῶν στάντος διὰ τὸ παράδοξον τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, 20
 ἦκε πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν ἐνεργῶς καὶ κατα-
 5 πληκτικῶς. οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδαν καὶ πάντες
 οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν διηπόρουν ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβαίνουσι
 τῷ πεπεῖσθαι μὴτ' ἂν ἐξ ἐφόδου τολμήσαι τοὺς
 πολεμίους προσβαλεῖν καὶ βιάζεσθαι πρὸς οὕτως 25
 ὀχυρὰν πόλιν μὴτε χρόνιον ἂν συστήσασθαι πο-
 6 λιорκίαν διὰ τὴν τοῦ καιροῦ περίστασιν. ἅμα δὲ
 ταῦτα λογιζόμενοι διηπίστουν ἀλλήλοις, δεδιότες
 μὴ πρᾶξιν ὁ Φίλιππος εἴη διὰ τῶν ἑνδον συνεστα-
 7 μένος κατὰ τῆς πόλεως. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἑώρων 30

τοιοῦτον ἐξ αὐτῶν γινόμενον, ὥρμησαν οἱ μὲν
 πλείους ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη βοηθήσαντες, οἱ δὲ μισθο-
 φόροι τῶν Ἡλείων κατὰ τινα πύλην ὑπερδέξιον
 ἐξῆλθον ὡς ἐπιθησόμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις. ὁ δὲ 8
 5 βασιλεὺς διατάξας κατὰ τρεῖς τόπους τοὺς προσ-
 οίσοντας τῷ τείχει τὰς κλίμακας, καὶ τούτοις
 ὁμοίως μερίσας τοὺς ἄλλους Μακεδόνας, μετὰ
 ταῦτα διὰ τῶν σαλπιγκτῶν ἀποδοὺς ἐκάστοις τὸ
 σύνθημα πανταχόθεν ἅμα τὴν προσβολὴν ἐποιεῖτο
 10 τοῖς τείχεσι. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἡμύνοντο γεν- 9
 ναίως οἱ κατέχοντες τὴν πόλιν, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπὸ
 τῶν κλιμάκων ἀπέρριπτον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἦ τε χορηγία 10
 τῶν βελῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν
 ἐπιτηδείων ἐνέλειπεν ὡς ἂν ἐκ τοῦ καιροῦ τῆς
 15 παρασκευῆς γεγενημένης, οἳ τε Μακεδόνες οὐ κατε-
 πλήττοντο τὸ γινόμενον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ριφέντος
 ἀπὸ τῶν κλιμάκων χώραν ὁ κατόπιν ἀμελλήτως
 ἐπέβαινεν, τέλος οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τραπέντες 11
 ἔφευγον πάντες πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, τῶν δὲ παρὰ
 20 τοῦ βασιλέως οἱ μὲν Μακεδόνες ἐπέβησαν τοῦ
 τείχους, οἱ δὲ Κρήτες πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ὑπερδέ-
 ξιον πύλην ἐπεξελθόντας τῶν μισθοφόρων συμ-
 μίξαντες ἠνάγκασαν αὐτοὺς οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ῥίψαντας
 τὰ ὄπλα φεύγειν. οἷς ἐπικείμενοι καὶ προσφέ- 12
 25 ροντες τὰς χεῖρας συνεισέπεσον διὰ τῆς πύλης·
 ἐξ οὗ συνέβη πανταχόθεν ἅμα καταληφθῆναι τὴν
 πόλιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ψωφίδιοι μετὰ τέκνων καὶ 13
 γυναικῶν ἀπεχώρησαν εἰς τὴν ἄκραν, ἅμα δὲ τού-
 τοις οἱ περὶ τὸν Εὐριπίδαν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ λοι-
 30 πὸν πλῆθος τῶν διασφζομένων· οἱ δὲ Μακεδόνες 72

εἰσπεσόντες τὴν μὲν ἐνδομένηαν ἅπασαν ἐκ τῶν
 οἰκιῶν παραχρῆμα διήρπασαν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ταῖς
 2 οἰκίαις ἐπισκηνώσαντες κατεῖχον τὴν πόλιν. οἱ
 and the citadel ^{surrendered.} δὲ συμπεφευγότες εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν,
 οὐδεμιᾶς σφίσι παρασκευῆς ὑπαρχού- 5
 σης, προορώμενοι τὸ μέλλον ἔγνωσαν ἐγχειρίζειν
 3 σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τῷ Φιλίππῳ. πέμψαντες οὖν κή-
 ρυκα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ λαβόντες συγχώρημα
 περὶ πρεσβείας, ἐξαπέστειλαν τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ
 μετὰ τούτων Εὐριπίδαν· οἱ καὶ ποιησάμενοι 10
 σπονδὰς ἔλαβον τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τοῖς συμπεφευ-
 4 γόσιν ὁμοῦ ξένοις καὶ πολίταις. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν
 αὐθις ἐπανήλθον ὅθεν ὥρμησαν, ἔχοντες παράγ-
 γελμα μένειν κατὰ χώραν ἕως ἂν ἡ δύναμις
 ἀναζεύξῃ, μή τινες ἀπειθήσαντες τῶν στρατιωτῶν 15
 5 διαρπάσωσιν αὐτούς· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐπιγενομένης
 χιόνος ἠναγκάσθη μένειν ἐπὶ τόπου τινὰς ἡμέρας,
 ἐν αἷς συναγαγὼν τοὺς παρόντας τῶν Ἀχαιῶν
 πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ὀχυρότητα καὶ τὴν εὐκαιρίαν ἐπε-
 δείκνυε τῆς πόλεως πρὸς τὸν ἐνεστῶτα πόλεμον, 20
 6 ἀπελογίσατο δὲ καὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν καὶ τὴν εὐνοίαν
 ἣν ἔχοι πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος, ἐπὶ δὲ πᾶσιν
 The town was ^{given to the} League. ἔφη καὶ νῦν παραχωρεῖν καὶ διδόναι
 τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς τὴν πόλιν· προκείσθαι γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰ
 δυνατὰ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ μηθὲν ἐλλεῖπειν προθυμίας. 25
 7 ἐφ' οἷς εὐχαριστούντων αὐτῷ τῶν τε περὶ τὸν
 Ἄρατον καὶ τῶν πολλῶν, διαλύσας τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
 ὁ μὲν Φίλιππος μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀναζεύξας ἐπὶ
 8 Λασιῶνος ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πορείαν, οἱ δὲ Ψωφίδιοι
 καταβάντες ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας ἐκομίσαντο τὴν πόλιν 30

καὶ τὰς οἰκήσεις ἕκαστοι τὰς αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ περὶ
τὸν Εὐριπίδαν ἀπήλθον εἰς τὸν Κόρινθον κακείθεν
εἰς Αἰτωλίαν. τῶν δ' Ἀχαιῶν ἀρχόντων οἱ 9
παρόντες ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν ἄκραν ἐπέστησαν μετὰ
5 φυλακῆς ἱκανῆς Πρόλαον Σικυνώνιον, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν
πόλιν Πυθίαν Πελληνέα.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ψωφίδα τοῦτον ἐπετελέσθη 10
τὸν τρόπον· οἱ δὲ παραφυλάττοντες τὸν Λασιῶνα 73
τῶν Ἠλείων συνέντες τὴν παρουσίαν τῶν Μακε-
10 δόνων, πεπυσμένοι δὲ καὶ τὰ γεγονότα He gained Lasion
without a blow,
περὶ τὴν Ψωφίδα, παραχρήμα τὴν
πόλιν ἐξέλιπον. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὡς θᾶπτον ἦκε, 2
ταύτην μὲν ἐξ ἐφόδου παρέλαβεν, συναύξων δὲ τὴν
- πρόθεσιν ἣν εἶχε πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος, παρέδωκε καὶ
15 τὸν Λασιῶνα τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν
Στράτον ἐκλιπόντων τῶν Ἠλείων ἀποκατέστησε
τοῖς Τελφουσίοις. ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ἦκε 3
πεμπταῖος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν. θύσας δὲ τῷ θεῷ καὶ
τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐστιάσας, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν
20 προσαναπαύσας δύναμιν ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, μετὰ
ταῦτα πάλιν ἀνέζευξεν· καὶ προελθὼν εἰς τὴν 4
Ἠλείαν τὰς μὲν προνομὰς ἐπαφῆκε κατὰ τῆς
χώρας, αὐτὸς δὲ κατεστρατοπέδευσε περὶ τὸ κα-
λούμενον Ἀρτεμίσιον. προσδεξάμενος δ' ἐνταῦθα 5
25 τὴν λείαν μετέβη πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ Διοσκούριον.
δηουμένης δὲ τῆς χώρας πολλὴ μὲν ἦν τὸ τῶν
ἀλίσκομένων πλῆθος, ἔτι δὲ πλέον τὸ and rich booty in
the land,
συμφεῦγον εἰς τὰς παρακειμένας κώ-
μας καὶ τοὺς ἐρυμνοὺς τῶν τόπων. συμβαίνει 6
30 γὰρ τὴν τῶν Ἠλείων χώραν διαφερόντως οἰκεῖσθαι

- καὶ γέμειν σωμάτων καὶ κατασκευῆς παρὰ τὴν
 7 ἄλλην Πελοπόννησον. ἔνιοι γὰρ αὐτῶν οὕτως
 στέργουσι τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν βίον ὥστε τινὰς
 ἐπὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς γενεάς, ἔχοντας ἱκανὰς οὐσίας,
 for the Eleans μὴ παραβεβληκέναι τὸ παράπαν εἰς 5
 8 love a country ἀλίαν. τοῦτα δὲ γίνεται διὰ τὸ με-
 γάλην ποιεῖσθαι σπουδὴν καὶ πρόνοιαν τοὺς πο-
 λιτευομένους τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας κατοικούντων,
 ἵνα τό τε δίκαιον αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τόπου διεξάγῃται καὶ
 9 τῶν πρὸς βιωτικὰς χρείας μηδὲν ἐλλείπῃ. δοκοῦσι 10
 δέ μοι πάντα ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος μὲν τῆς
 χώρας τὸ παλαιὸν ἐπινοῆσαι καὶ νομοθετῆσαι, τὸ
 δὲ πλεῖστον διὰ τὸν ὑπάρχοντά ποτε παρ' αὐτοῖς
 ἱερὸν βίον, ὅτε λαβόντες παρὰ τῶν
 on the good lands Ἑλλήνων συγχώρημα διὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα 15
 which of old were holy and unmo-
 lested. τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἱερὸν καὶ ἀπόρρητον
 10 ὥκουν τὴν Ἥλειαν ἄπειροι παντὸς ὄντες δεινοῦ καὶ
 74 πάσης πολεμικῆς περιστάσεως. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
 διὰ τὴν Ἀρκάδων ἀμφισβήτησιν περὶ Λασιῶνος
 καὶ τῆς Πισάτιδος πάσης ἀναγκασθέντες ἐπαμύ- 20
 νειν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ μεταλαβεῖν τὰς ἀγωγὰς τῶν
 2 βίων, οὐκέτι περὶ τοῦ πάλιν ἀνακτήσασθαι παρὰ
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὴν παλαιὰν καὶ πάτριον ἀσυλίαν
 οὐδὲ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔσχον, ἀλλ' ἔμειναν
 ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς κατὰ γε τὴν ἐμὴν περὶ 25
 3 τοῦ μέλλοντος ποιούμενοι πρόνοιαν· εἰ γάρ, ἥς
 πάντες εὐχόμεθα τοῖς θεοῖς τυχεῖν, καὶ πᾶν ὑπα-
 μένομεν ἰμείροντες αὐτῆς μετασχεῖν, καὶ μόνον
 τοῦτο τῶν νομιζομένων ἀγαθῶν ἀναμφισβήτητόν
 ἐστὶ παρ' ἀνθρώποις, λέγω δὴ τὴν εἰρήνην, ταύτην 30

δυνάμενοί τινες μετὰ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ καθήκοντος
 παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἀδήριτον
 κτᾶσθαι παρολιγωροῦσιν ἢ προυργιαίτερόν τι
 ποιοῦνται τούτου, πῶς οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογουμένως
 5 ἀγνοεῖν δόξαιεν; νῆ Δί', ἀλλ' ἴσως εὐεπίθετοι 4
 τοῖς πολεμεῖν καὶ παρασπονδεῖν προθεμένοις ἐκ
 τῆς τοιαύτης ἀγωγῆς γίνονται τῶν βίων. ἀλλ' 5
 ἐκείνο μὲν σπάνιον, καὶ ποτε γένηται, δυνάμενον
 κοινῆς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τυγχάνειν ἐπικουρίας·
 10 πρὸς δὲ τὰς κατὰ μέρος ἀδικίας ὑπογενομένης 6
 τοῖς βίοις χορηγίας, ὅπερ εἰκὸς ὑπάρξειν πάντα
 χρόνον ἐν εἰρήνῃ διάγουσιν, δῆλον ὡς οὐκ ἂν
 ἠπόρησαν ξένων καὶ μισθοφόρων τῶν κατὰ τόπους
 ἢ καιροὺς παρεφεδρευόντων. νῦν δὲ τὸ σπάνιον 7
 15 καὶ παράδοξον δεδιότες, ἐν συνεχέσι πολέμοις καὶ
 καταφθοραῖς τὴν τε χώραν ἔχουσι καὶ τοὺς βίους.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν τῆς Ἡλείων ὑπομνήσεως 8
 εἰρήσθω χάριν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ τῶν καιρῶν οὐδέποτε
 πρότερον εὐφυστέραν διάθεσιν ἔσχηκε τῆς νῦν
 10 πρὸς τὸ παρὰ πάντων ὁμολογουμένην κτήσασθαι
 τὴν ἀσυλίαν· τὴν δὲ χώραν, καθάπερ ἐπάνω
 προεῖπον, ἔτι τῆς παλαιᾶς συνηθείας οἶον
 αἰθυγμάτων ἐμμενόντων οἰκοῦσι διαφερόντως
 Ἡλείοι. διδὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Φιλίππου παρουσίαν 75
 25 ἄπλετον μὲν ἦν τὸ τῶν ἀλισκομένων πλήθος, ἔτι
 δὲ πλείον τὸ τῶν συμπεφευγόντων. πλείστη δ' 2
 ἀποσκευὴ καὶ πλείστος ὄχλος ἡθροί-
 σθη σωμάτων καὶ θρεμμάτων εἰς τὸ
 χωρίον ὃ καλοῦσι Θαλάμας, διὰ τὸ
 30 τὴν τε χώραν τὴν πέριξ αὐτοῦ στενὴν εἶναι καὶ

At Thalamae
 Philip took great
 numbers of fugi-
 tives and cattle.

- δυσέμβολον· τό τε χωρίον ἀπραγμάτευτον καὶ
 3 δυσπρόσοδον. ἀκούων δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ πλῆθος
 τῶν συμπεφευγόντων εἰς τὸν προειρημένον τόπον,
 καὶ κρίνας μὴδὲν ἀβασάνιστον μὴδ' ἀπέραντον
 ἀπολιπεῖν, τοῖς μὲν μισθοφόροις προκατελάβετο 5
 τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς εἰσβολῆς εὐφυῶς κειμένους τόπους,
 4 αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν καταλιπὼν ἐν τῷ χάρακι
 καὶ τὸ πλεῖον μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως, ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς
 πελταστὰς καὶ τοὺς εὐζώνους προῆγε διὰ τῶν
 στενῶν, οὐδενὸς δὲ κωλύοντος ἦκε πρὸς τὸ χωρίον. 10
 5 καταπλαγέντων δὲ τῶν συμπεφευγόντων τὴν ἔφοδον
 ἄτε δὴ πρὸς πᾶσαν πολεμικὴν χρεῖαν ἀπείρως καὶ
 ἀπαρασκεύως διακειμένων, ἅμα δὲ καὶ συνδεδρα-
 μηκότος ὄχλου συρφετώδους, ταχέως παρέδωσαν
 6 αὐτούς· ἐν οἷς ἦσαν καὶ μισθοφόροι διακόσιοι 15
 μυγάδες, οὓς ἦκεν ἔχων Ἀμφίδαμος ὁ στρατηγὸς
 7 τῶν Ἡλείων. ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος κυριεύσας ἀποσκευῆς
 τε πολλῆς καὶ σωμάτων πλειόνων ἢ πεντακισ-
 χιλίων, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τῆς τετράποδος λείας
 ἀναρίθμητον ἐξελασάμενος πλῆθος, τότε μὲν ἐπ- 20
 8 ανῆλθε πρὸς χάρακα, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῆς δυνά-
 μεως ὑπεργεμοίσης αὐτῷ παντοδαπῆς ὠφελείας
 βαρὺς ὦν καὶ δύσχρηστος ἀνεχώρει διὰ ταῦτα,
 καὶ κατέβευξε πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν.
 76 Ἀπελλῆς δέ, ὃς ἦν μὲν εἰς τῶν ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου 25
 καταλειφθέντων ἐπιτρόπων τοῦ παι-
 ὁς, πλείστον δ' ἐτύγχανε τότε δυνά-
 μενος παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ, βουλευθεὶς τὸ
 τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνος ἀγαγεῖν εἰς παραπλησίαν διά-
 θεσιν τῇ Θετταλῶν ἐπεβάλετο πρᾶγμα ποιεῖν 30

Apelles tried to
humble Achæans
to the level of
Thessalians.

μοχθηρόν. Θέτταλοι γὰρ ἐδόκουν μὲν κατὰ νόμους 2
 πολιτεύειν καὶ πολὺ διαφέρειν Μακεδόνων, διέφε-
 ρον δ' οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ πᾶν ὁμοίως ἔπασχον Μακεδόσι
 καὶ πᾶν ἐποιοῦν τὸ προσταττόμενον τοῖς βασιλι-
 5 κοῖς. διὸ καὶ πρὸς ταύτην ἀρμοζόμενος τὴν ὑπό- 3
 θεσιν ὁ προειρημένος ἐπεβάλετο καταπειράζειν
 τῶν συστρατευομένων. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἐπέ- 4
 τρεψε τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῶν σταθμῶν
 αἰὲ τοὺς προκατέχοντας τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καταλύσεις,
 10 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν λείαν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι· μετὰ δὲ 5
 ταῦτα τὰς χεῖρας προσέφερε διὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν
 ἐπὶ ταῖς τυχούσαις αἰτίαις, τοὺς δὲ συναγανακ-
 τοῦντας ἢ προσβοηθοῦντας τοῖς μᾶστιγουμενοῖς
 παρὼν αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν ἄλυσιν ἀπήγε, πεπεισμένος 6
 15 διὰ τοῦ τοιούτου τρόπου τὸ κατὰ βραχὺ λήσειν
 εἰς συνήθειαν ἀγαγὼν τοῦ μηδένα μηδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι
 δεινόν, ὃ ποτ' ἂν πάσχη τις ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως,
 καὶ ταῦτα μικροῖς χρόνοις πρότερον μετ' Ἀντι- 7
 γόνου συνεστρατευμένος, καὶ τεθεαμένος τοὺς Ἀ-
 20 χαιοὺς ὅτι παντὸς δεινοῦ λαβεῖν πείραν ὑπέμειναν
 ἐφ' ᾧ μὴ ποιεῖν Κλεομένει τὸ προσταττόμενον.
 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ συστραφέντων τινῶν Ἀχαϊκῶν νεα- 8
 νίσκων καὶ προσελθόντων τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἄρατον
 καὶ διασαφούντων τὴν Ἀπελλοῦ βούλησιν, ἦκον
 25 ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄρατον, κρίναντες
 ἐν ἀρχαῖς περὶ τῶν τοιούτων δίστασθαι καὶ μὴ
 καταμέλλειν. ἐντυχόντων δ' αὐτῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ 9
 περὶ τούτων, διακούσας ὁ Φίλιππος τὰ γεγονότα
 τοὺς μὲν νεανίσκους παρεκάλει θαρρεῖν ὥς οὐδενὸς
 30 αὐτοῖς ἔτι συμβησομένου τοιούτου, τῷ δ' Ἀπελλῇ

παρήγγειλε μηδὲν ἐπιτάττειν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς χωρὶς τῆς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ γνώμης.

- 77 Φίλιππος μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν ὁμιλίαν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ὑπαίθροις συνδιατρίβοντας καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς πρᾶ- 5
 ξιν καὶ τόλμαν οὐ μόνον παρὰ τοῖς στρατευομένοις ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς λοιποῖς πᾶσι
 2 Πελοποννησίοις εὐδοκίμει. βασιλέα γὰρ πλείοσιν ἀφορμαῖς ἐκ φύσεως κεχορηγημένον πρὸς πραγ-
 3 μάτων κατάκτησιν οὐκ εὐμαρὲς εὐρεῖν· καὶ γὰρ 10
 ἀγχίνοια καὶ μνήμη καὶ χάρις ἐπὶ αὐτῷ διαφέρουσα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐπίφασις βασιλικὴ καὶ δύναμις, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, πρᾶξις καὶ τόλμα πολεμική.
 4 καὶ τί δὴ ποτ' ἦν τὸ ταῦτα πάντα καταγωνισάμενον καὶ ποιῆσαν ἐκ βασιλέως εὐφυοῦς τύραννον 15
 ἄγριον, οὐκ εὐχερὲς διὰ βραχέων δηλῶσαι. διὸ καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων σκέπτεσθαι καὶ διαπορεῖν ἄλλος ἀρμόσει· καιρὸς μᾶλλον τοῦ νῦν ἐνεστῶτος·
 5 ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος ἐκ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἀναζεύξας τὴν ἐπὶ Φαραίαν παρὴν εἰς Τέλφουσαν κἀκεῖθεν εἰς 20
 Ἡραίαν. καὶ τὴν μὲν λείαν ἐλαφυροπῶλει, τὴν δὲ γέφυραν ἐπεσκεύαζε τὴν κατὰ τὸν Ἀλφειόν, βουλόμενος ταύτῃ ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰς τὴν Τρι-
 6 φυλίαν εἰσβολήν. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς Δωρίμαχος ὁ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν στρατηγός, δεομένων 25
 τῶν Ἡλείων σφίσι βοηθεῖν πορθουμένοις, ἑξακοσίους Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ στρατηγὸν Φιλλίδαν αὐτοῖς ἐξέ-
 7 πεμψεν· ὃς παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἡλείαν, καὶ παραλαβὼν τοὺς μισθοφόρους τῶν Ἡλείων ὄντας εἰς πεντακοσίους καὶ πολιτικούς· χιλίους, ἅμα δὲ 30

Philip shewed skill and daring in his inroad in Triphylia,

τούτοις τοὺς Ταραντίνους, ἦκε βοηθῶν εἰς τὴν
 Τριφυλίαν, ἣ τῆς μὲν προσηγορίας τέτευχε ταύτης 8
 ἀπὸ Τριφύλου τῶν Ἀρκάδος παίδων ἑνός, κεῖται
 δὲ τῆς Πελοποννήσου παρὰ θάλατταν μεταξὺ τῆς
 5 Ἠλείων καὶ Μεσσηνίων χώρας, τέτραπται δὲ εἰς
 τὸ Λιβυκὸν πέλαγος, ἐσχατείουσα τῆς Ἀρκαδίας
 ὡς πρὸς χειμερινὰς δύσεις, ἔχει δ' ἐν αὐτῇ πόλεις 9
 ταύτας, Σαμικὸν Λέπρεον Ὑπαναν Τυπανέας Πύρ-
 γον Αἴπιον Βῶλακα Στυλάγγιον Φρίξαν· ὧν 10
 10 ὀλίγοις χρόνοις πρότερον ἐπικρατήσαντες Ἠλείοι
 προσελάβοντο καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀλιφειρέων πόλιν,
 οὖσαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπ' Ἀρκαδίαν καὶ Μεγάλην πόλιν,
 Λυδιάδου τοῦ Μεγαλοπολίτου κατὰ τὴν τυραννίδα
 πρὸς τινὰς ἰδίας πράξεις ἀλλαγὴν δόντος τοῖς
 15 Ἠλείοις. πλὴν ὃ γε Φιλλίδας τοὺς μὲν Ἠλείους 78
 εἰς Λέπρεον τοὺς δὲ μισθοφόρους εἰς Ἀλίφειραν
 ἀποστείλας, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ^{where he took}
 ἔχων ἐν Τυπανέαις ἐκαραδόκει τὸ συμ- ^{Aliphera.}
 βησόμενον. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀποθέμενος τὴν ἀπο- 2
 20 σκευὴν καὶ διαβὰς τῇ γεφύρᾳ τὸν Ἀλφειὸν ποτα-
 μόν, ὃς ῥεῖ παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν τῶν Ἠραιέων πόλιν,
 ἦκε πρὸς τὴν Ἀλίφειραν, ἣ κεῖται μὲν ἐπὶ λόφου 3
 κρημνώδους πανταχόθεν, ἔχοντος πλείον ἢ δέκα
 σταδίων πρόσβασιν, ἔχει δ' ἄκραν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ
 25 κορυφῇ τοῦ σύμπαντος λόφου καὶ χαλκοῦν Ἀθη-
 νᾶς ἀνδριάντα κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει διαφέροντα, οὗ
 τὴν μὲν αἰτία, ἀπὸ ποίας προθέσεως ἢ χορηγίας 4
 ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς κατασκευῆς, ἀμφισβητεῖσθαι
 συμβαίνει καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις (οὔτε γὰρ
 30 πόθεν οὔτε τίς ἀνέθηκεν εὐρίσκεται τρανώς), τὸ 5

- μέντοι γε τῆς τέχνης ἀποτέλεσμα συμφωνεῖται
 παρὰ πᾶσι διότι τῶν μεγαλομερεστάτων καὶ τεχνι-
 κωτάτων ἔργων ἐστίν, Ἑκατοδώρα καὶ Σωστράτου
 6 κατεσκευακώτων. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπιγενομένης ἡμέ-
 ρας αἰθρίου καὶ λαμπρᾶς διατάξας ὑπὸ τὴν ἑω- 5
 θινὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ πλείους τόπους τοὺς τε τὰς
 κλίμακας φέροντας καὶ τὰς τῶν μισθοφόρων ἐφε-
 7 δρείας πρὸ τούτων, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς προειρημένοις τοὺς
 Μακεδόνας διηρημένους κατόπιν ἐκάστοις ἐπιστή- 10
 σας, ἅμα τῷ τὸν ἥλιον ἐπιβάλλειν πᾶσι προσέ- 10
 8 ταξε προσβαίνειν πρὸς τὸν λόφον. ποιοούντων δὲ
 τὸ παραγγελθὲν ἐκθύμως καὶ καταπληκτικῶς τῶν
 Μακεδόνων, συνέβαινε τοὺς Ἀλιφειρεῖς πρὸς τού-
 τους ὁρμᾶν αἰεὶ καὶ συντρέχειν τοὺς τόπους οἷς
 μάλιστα τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἑώρων προσπελάζοντας. 15
 9 κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔχων
 τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους διὰ τινων κρημνῶν ἔλαθε
 10 πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἄκρας προάστειον ἀναβάς. ἀποδο-
 θέντος δὲ τοῦ συνθήματος, πάντες ἅμα προσερεί-
 σαντες τὰς κλίμακας κατεπεύραζον τῆς πόλεως. 20
 11 πρῶτος μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς κατέσχε τὸ προά-
 στειον τῆς ἄκρας, ἔρημον καταλαβὼν· τούτου δ'
 ἐμπιπραμένου προϊδόμενοι τὸ μέλλον οἱ τοῖς τεί-
 χεσιν ἐπαμύνοντες, καὶ περιδεεῖς γενόμενοι μὴ
 τῆς ἄκρας προκαταληφθείσης στερηθῶσι καὶ τῆς 25
 τελευταίας ἐλπίδος, ὥρμησαν ἀπολιπόντες τὰ
 12 τείχη φεύγειν πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. οἱ δὲ Μακε-
 δόνες γενομένου τούτου παραχρῆμα καὶ τῶν τει-
 13 χῶν καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐκυρίευσαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
 διαπρεσβευσαμένων τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας πρὸς τὸν 30

Φίλιππον, δούς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν παρέλαβε καὶ ταύτην καθ' ὁμολογίαν.

Συντελεσθέντων δὲ τούτων καταπλαγεῖς γε-79
 γονότες πάντες οἱ κατὰ τὴν Τριφυλίαν Tyranae Hypana and Phigalea
 5 ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν surrendered.
 ἰδίων πατρίδων. ὁ δὲ Φιλλίδας ἐκλιπὼν τὰς Τυ- 2
 πανέας, προσδιարπάσας τινὰς τῶν οἰκιῶν, ἀπεχώ-
 ρησεν εἰς τὸ Λέπρεον· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐπὶ χεῖρα τότε 3
 τοῖς Αἰτωλῶν ἐγένετο συμμάχοις, τὸ μὴ μόνον ἐν
 10 τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις καιροῖς ἐγκαταλείπεσθαι προ-
 φανῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαρπαγέντας ἢ προδοθέντας
 τούτοις περιπίπτειν ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἃ τοῖς
 κρατηθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ὀφείλεται πάσχειν.
 οἱ δὲ Τυπανεῶται παρέδοσαν τῷ Φιλίππῳ τὴν 4
 15 πόλιν. τούτοις δὲ τὸ παραπλήσιον ἐποίησαν οἱ
 τὴν Ὑπαναν κατοικοῦντες. ὅμα δὲ τούτοις Φια- 5
 λεῖς, ἀκούοντες τὰ περὶ τὴν Τριφυλίαν καὶ δυσаре-
 στούμενοι τῇ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν συμμαχίᾳ, κατέλαβον
 μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων τὸν περὶ τὸ πολεμάρχιον τύπον.
 20 οἱ δὲ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν πειραταί, διατρίβοντες ἐν 6
 ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει διὰ τὰς ἐκ τῆς Μεσσηνίας ὠφε-
 λείας, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἰοί τ' ἦσαν ἐγχειρεῖν καὶ
 κατατολμᾶν τῶν Φιαλέων, ὁρῶντες δὲ τοὺς πολίτας 7
 ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀθροιζομένους πρὸς τὴν βοήθειαν ἀπέ-
 25 στησαν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, σπεισάμενοι δὲ καὶ λαβόντες
 τὰς αὐτῶν ἀποσκευὰς ἀπῆλθον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. οἱ 8
 δὲ Φιαλεῖς διαπρεσβευσάμενοι πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον
 ἐνεχείρισαν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν.

Ἔτι δὴ τούτων πραττομένων οἱ Λεπρεᾶται 80
 30 καταλαβόμενοι τόπον τινὰ τῆς πόλεως ἡξίουں ἐκ-

χωρεῖν τῆς ἄκρας καὶ τῆς πόλεως τοὺς Ἑλείους
 Lepreon dislodged its garrison and admitted Philip, καὶ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς
 παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων· ἦκε γὰρ καὶ
 2 παρ' ἐκείνων αὐτοῖς βοήθεια. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον
 οἱ περὶ τὸν Φιλλίδαν οὐ προσεῖχον, ἀλλ' ἔμενον 5
 3 ὡς καταπληξόμενοι τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει· τοῦ δὲ
 βασιλέως εἰς μὲν τὴν Φιάλειαν Ταυρίωνα μετὰ
 στρατιωτῶν ἐξαποστείλαντος, αὐτοῦ δὲ προάγοντος
 εἰς τὸ Λέπρεον καὶ συνεγγίζοντος ἤδη τῇ πόλει,
 συνέντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Φιλλίδαν ἐταπεινώθησαν, οἱ 10
 δὲ Λεπρεᾶται προσεπερρώσθησαν ταῖς ὁρμαῖς.
 4 καλὸν γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο Λεπρεάταις ἔργον πέπρακται,
 τὸ χιλίων μὲν ἔνδον ὄντων Ἑλείων, χιλίων δὲ σὺν
 τοῖς πειραταῖς Αἰτωλῶν, πεντακοσίων δὲ μισθο-
 φόρων, διακοσίων δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων, πρὸς δὲ τού- 15
 τοις τῆς ἄκρας κατεχομένης, ὅμως ἀντιποιήσασθαι
 τῆς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδος καὶ μὴ προέσθαι τὰς σφετέ-
 5 ρας ἐλπίδας. ὁ δὲ Φιλλίδας ὁρῶν τοὺς Λεπρεάτας
 ἀνδρωδῶς ὑφισταμένους καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐγγί-
 ζοντας, ἐξεχώρησε τῆς πόλεως ἅμα τοῖς Ἑλείοις 20
 6 καὶ τοῖς παρὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. οἱ μὲν οὖν
 παρὰ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν Κρήτες διὰ τῆς Μεσσηνίας
 εἰς τὴν οἰκειάν ἐπανήλθον, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Φιλλίδαν
 7 ἐποιοῦντο τὴν ἀπόλυσιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ Σαμικόν. τὸ
 δὲ τῶν Λεπρεατῶν πλῆθος ἐγκρατὲς γεγονὸς τῆς 25
 πατρίδος ἐξάπέστελλε πρεσβευτάς, ἐγχειρίζον τῷ
 8 Φιλίππῳ τὴν πόλιν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας τὰ
 γεγονότα τὴν μὲν λοιπὴν δύναμιν εἰς τὸ Λέπρεον
 ἀπέστειλε, τοὺς δὲ πελταστὰς καὶ τοὺς εὐζώνους
 ἀναλαβὼν ἡγείτο, συνάψαι σπεύδων τοῖς περὶ τὸν 30

Φιλλίδαυ. καταλαβὼν δὲ τῆς μὲν ἀποσκευῆς ἐγ- 9
 κρατῆς ἐγένετο πάσης, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Φιλλίδαυ
 κατετάχθησαν εἰς τὸ Σαμικὸν παραπεσόντες. προσ- 10
 στρατοπεδεύσας δὲ τῷ χωρίῳ, καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν
 5 ἐπισπασάμενος ἐκ τοῦ Λεπρέου δύναμιν, ἔμφασιν
 ἐποίει τοῖς ἔνδον ὡς πολιορκήσων τὸ χωρίον. οἱ 11
 δ' Αἰτωλοὶ μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλείων οὐδὲν ἔχοντες
 ἔτοιμον πρὸς πολιορκίαν πλὴν χειρῶν, καταπλα-
 γέντες τὴν περίστασιν ἐλάλουν περὶ ἀσφαλείας
 10 πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον. λαβόντες δὲ συγχώρημα μετὰ 12
 τῶν ὅπλων ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀπόλυσιν, οὗτοι μὲν
 ὤρμησαν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλείαν· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τοῦ μὲν
 Σαμικοῦ παραυτίκα κύριος ἐγένετο, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, 13
 παραγενομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μεθ'
 15 ἱκετηρίας, παρέλαβε Φρίξαν Στυλάγ- as did other towns.
 γιον Αἰπίον Βώλακα Πύργον Ἐπιτά-
 λιον. ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ἐπανῆλθε πάλιν 14
 εἰς τὸ Λέπρεον, πᾶσαν ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν πεποιημένος τὴν
 Τριφυλίαν ἐν ἡμέραις ἑξ. παρακαλέσας δὲ τοὺς 15
 10 Λεπρεάτας τὰ πρέποντα τῷ καιρῷ, καὶ φυλακὴν
 εἰσαγαγὼν εἰς τὴν ἄκραν, ἀνέζευξε μετὰ τῆς δυνά-
 μεως ἐφ' Ἑραιάς, ἀπολιπὼν ἐπιμελητὴν τῆς Τρι-
 φυλίας Λάδικον τὸν Ἀκαρνᾶνα. παραγενόμενος 16
 δ' εἰς τὴν προειρημένην πόλιν τὴν μὲν λείαν διέ-
 15 νεψε πᾶσαν, τὴν δ' ἀποσκευὴν ἀναλαβὼν ἐκ τῆς
 Ἑραιάς ἦλθε μέσου χειμῶνος εἰς Μεγάλην πόλιν.

* * * * *

Ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος ἀναζεύξας ἐκ τῆς Μεγάλης 82
 πόλεως καὶ πορευθεὶς διὰ Τεγέας παρῆν εἰς Ἄργος,
 30 κακεὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος τοῦ χειμῶνος διέτριβε, κατὰ

τε τὴν λοιπὴν ἀναστροφὴν καὶ κατὰ τὰς πράξεις
 τεθνασμασμένος ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐν ταῖς προειρη-
 2 μέναις στρατείαις. ὁ δ' Ἀπελλῆς οὐδ' ὥς ἔληγε
^{Apelles urges} τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, ἀλλ' οἶός τ' ἦν ἄγειν
^{Phillip to thwart}
^{Aratus,} ὑπὸ τὸν ζυγὸν τῷ κατὰ βραχὺ τοὺς 5
 3 Ἀχαιοὺς. ὁρῶν δὲ τῇ τοιαύτῃ προθέσει τοὺς περὶ
 τὸν Ἄρατον ἐμποδῶν ἱσταμένους καὶ τὸν Φίλιππον
 αὐτοῖς προσέχοντα, καὶ μᾶλλον τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ
 διὰ τε τὴν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον σύστασιν καὶ διὰ τὸ
 πλείστον ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἰσχύειν, καὶ μάλιστα διὰ 10
 τὴν ἐπιδεξιότητα καὶ νουνέχειαν τὰνδρός, περὶ
 τούτους ἐπεβάλετο γίνεσθαι καὶ κακοπραγμονεῖν
 4 τοιῷδέ τινι τρόπῳ. ἐξετάζων τοὺς ἀντιπολιτευο-
 μένους τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἄρατον, τίνες εἰσὶν, ἐκάστους
 ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐπεσπάσατο, καὶ λαμβάνων εἰς τὰς 15
 χεῖρας ἐψυχαγῶγει καὶ παρεκάλει πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
 5 φιλίαν, συνίστανε δὲ καὶ τῷ Φιλίππῳ, προσεπι-
 δεικνύων αὐτῷ παρ' ἑκάστου ὡς ἂν μὲν Ἀράτῳ
 προσέχη, χρήσεται τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἔγγραφ-
 τον συμμαχίαν, ἂν δ' αὐτῷ πείθεται καὶ τοιούτους 20
 προσλαμβάνη φίλους, χρήσεται πᾶσι Πελοποννη-
 6 σίοις κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν. περὶ τε τῶν
 ἀρχαιρέσιων εὐθύς ἐσπούδαξε, βουλόμενος τούτων
 τινὶ περιποιῆσαι τὴν στρατηγίαν, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν
 7 Ἄρατον ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς ὑποθέσεως. δι' αὐτὴν δὲ 25
 καὶ πείθει Φίλιππον παραγενέσθαι πρὸς τὰς τῶν
 Ἀχαιῶν ἀρχαιρεσίας εἰς Αἴγιον ὡς εἰς τὴν Ἠλείαν
 8 ἅμα ποιούμενον τὴν πορείαν. πεισ-
^{and secures the}
^{election of Epe-}
^{ratus against his}
^{nominee.} θέντος δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ βασιλέως, παρὼν
 αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ καιροῦ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν 30

παρακαλῶν οἷς δ' ἀνατεινόμενος, μόλις μὲν ἤνυσε,
κατεκράτησε δ' οὖν ὕμῳ τοῦ γενέσθαι στρατηγὸν
Ἐπήρατον Φαραίεα, τὸν δὲ Τιμόξενον ἐκπεσεῖν τὸν
ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἄρατον εἰσαγόμενον.

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BOOK V. cc. 1. to xxx.

- 5 Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Φίλιππος, ἐνδεὴς ὦν σίτου καὶ 6
 χρημάτων εἰς τὰς δυνάμεις, συνῆγε Philip courts Ara-
 τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς διὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων εἰς tus to get supplies
 ἐκκλησίαν. ἀθροισθέντος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους εἰς 7
 Αἴγιον κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, ὁρῶν τοὺς μὲν περὶ
 10 Ἄρατον ἐθελοκακοῦντας διὰ τὴν περὶ τὰς ἀρχαι-
 ρεσίας γεγεννημένην εἰς αὐτοὺς τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀπελ-
 λὴν κακοπραγμοσύνην, τὸν δ' Ἐπηρατον ἄπρακτον
 ὄντα τῇ φύσει καὶ καταγινωσκόμενον ὑπὸ πάντων,
 συλλογισάμενος ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων τὴν ἄγνοιαν 8
 15 τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀπελλὴν καὶ Λεόντιον ἔκρινεν αὐθις
 ἀντέχεσθαι τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἄρατον. πείσας οὖν 9
 τοὺς ἄρχοντας μεταγαγεῖν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰς Σι-
 κῶνα, λαβὼν τὸν τε πρεσβύτερον καὶ τὸν νεώτερον
 Ἄρατον εἰς τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ πάντων τῶν γεγονότων
 20 ἀναθεὶς τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀπελλὴν, παρεκάλει
 μένειν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς αἰρέσεως. τῶν δὲ 10

συγκαταθεμένων ἐτοίμως, εἰσελθὼν εἰς τοὺς Ἀ-
χαιοὺς καὶ χρησάμενος συνεργοῖς τοῖς προειρη-
μένοις πάντα κατέπραξε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολήν.

- 11 πεντήκοντα μὲν γὰρ ἔδοξε τάλαντα τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς
εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἀναζυγὴν αὐτῷ δοῦσι παραχρῆμα 5
τριμήνου μισθοδοτῆσαι τὴν δύναμιν καὶ σίτου
12 προσθεῖναι μυριάδας· τὸ δὲ λοιπόν, ἕως ἂν παρὼν
ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ συμπολεμῇ, τάλαντα λαμβάνειν
ἐκάστου μηνὸς παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἑπτακαίδεκα.

2 Δοξάντων δὲ τούτων οἱ μὲν Ἀχαιοὶ διελύθησαν 10

and decides to
form a navy for
use in the war. ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις· τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ βου-
λεομένῳ μετὰ τῶν φίλων, ἐπειδὴ
συνῆλθον αἱ δυνάμεις ἐκ τῆς παραχειμασίας, ἔδοξε

- 2 χρῆσθαι κατὰ θάλατταν τῷ πολέμῳ. οὕτως γὰρ
ἐπέπειστο μόνως αὐτὸς μὲν δυνήσεσθαι ταχέως 15
πανταχόθεν ἐπιφαίνεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, τοὺς δ'
ὑπεναντίους ἥκιστ' ἂν δύνασθαι παραβοθεῖν ἄλ-
3 λήλοις, ἅτε διεσπασμένους μὲν ταῖς χώραις, δεδιότας
δ' ἐκάστους περὶ σφῶν διὰ τὴν ἀδηλότητα καὶ τὸ
τάχος τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν παρουσίας τῶν πολε- 20
μίων· πρὸς γὰρ Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἔτι
4 δ' Ἡλείους ὁ πόλεμος ἦν αὐτῷ. κριθέντων δὲ τού-
των ἤθροιζε τὰς τε τῶν Ἀχαιῶν νῆας καὶ τὰς σφε-
τέρας εἰς τὸ Λέχαιον, καὶ συνεχεῖς ποιούμενος ἀνα-
πείρας ἐγύμναζε τοὺς φαλαγγίτας καὶ συνείθιζε 25
ταῖς εἰρεσίαις, προθύμως αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ παραγγελ-
5 λόμενον συνυπακουόντων τῶν Μακεδόνων· πρὸς τε
γὰρ τοὺς ἐν γῇ κινδύνους ἐκ παρατάξεως γενναί-
οι πρὸς τε τὰς κατὰ θάλατταν ἐκ τοῦ καιροῦ
χρείας ἐτοιμότατοι, λειτουργοί γε μὴν περὶ τὰς 30

ταφρείας καὶ χαρακοποιίας καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν τοιαύ-
την ταλαιπωρίαν φιλοπονώτατοί τινες, οἷους Ἡσίο- 6
δος παρεισάγει τοὺς Αἰακίδας,

πολέμῳ κεχαρηότας ἤντε δαιτί.

- 5 Ὁ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς καὶ τὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων 7
πλήθος ἐν τῷ Κορίνθῳ διέτριβε, περὶ τὴν κατὰ
θάλατταν ἄσκησιν καὶ παρασκευὴν γι- Apelles conspires
with Leontius and
Mogaleas.
νόμενος· ὁ δ' Ἀπελλῆς οὐτ' ἐπικρατεῖν 8
τοῦ Φιλίππου δυνάμενος οὔτε φέρειν τὴν ἐλάττωσιν
10 παρορώμενος, ποιεῖται συνωμοσίαν πρὸς τοὺς περὶ
Λεόντιον καὶ Μεγαλέαν, ὥστ' ἐκείνους μὲν συμ-
παρόντας ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν καιρῶν ἐθελοκακεῖν καὶ
λυμαίνεσθαι τὰς τοῦ βασιλέως χρείας, αὐτὸς δὲ
χωρισθεὶς εἰς Χαλκίδα φροντίζειν ἵνα μηδαμόθεν
15 αὐτῷ χορηγία παραγίνηται πρὸς τὰς ἐπιβολάς.
οὗτος μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα συνθέμενος καὶ κακοτρο- 9
πευσάμενος πρὸς τοὺς προειρημένους ἀπῆρεν εἰς
τὴν Χαλκίδα, σκήψεις τινὰς εὐλόγους πρὸς τὸν
βασιλέα πορισάμενος· κακεῖ διατρίβων οὕτως 10
20 βεβαίως ἐτήρει τὰ κατὰ τοὺς ὅρκους, πάντων
αὐτῷ πειθαρχούντων κατὰ τὴν προγεγενημένην
πίστιν, ὥστε τὸ τελευταῖον ἀνάγκασθῆναι τὸν
βασιλέα δι' ἀπορίαν ἐνέχυρα τιθέντα τῶν πρὸς
τὴν χρείαν ἀργυρωμάτων ἀπὸ τούτων ποιεῖσθαι
25 τὴν διαγωγὴν. ἡθροισμένων δὲ τῶν πλοίων, καὶ 11
τῶν Μακεδόνων ἤδη ταῖς εἰρεσίαις κατηρτισμένων,
σιτομετρήσας καὶ μισθοδοτήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν
δύναμιν ἀνήχθη, καὶ κατῆρε δευτεραῖος εἰς Πάτρας,
ἔχων Μακεδόνας μὲν ἑξακισχιλίους μισθοφόρους
30 δὲ χιλίους καὶ διακοσίους. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς 3

- καιροὺς Δωρίμαχος ὁ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν στρατηγὸς
 Ἀγέλαον καὶ Σκόπαν ἐξαπέστειλε τοῖς Ἡλείοις
 μετὰ Νεοκρήτων πεντακοσίων· οἱ δ' Ἡλείοι δε-
 διότες μὴ τὴν Κυλλήνην ὁ Φίλιππος ἐπιβάληται
 πολιορκεῖν, στρατιώτας τε μισθοφόρους συνήθροι- 5
 ζον καὶ τοὺς πολιτικούς ἡτοίμαζον, ὥχυρουντο δὲ
 2 καὶ τὴν Κυλλήνην ἐπιμελῶς. εἰς ἃ βλέπων ὁ
 Φίλιππος τοὺς τε τῶν Ἀχαιῶν μισθοφόρους καὶ
 τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ Κρητῶν καὶ τῶν Γαλατικῶν ἱπ-
 πέων τινάς, σὺν δὲ τούτοις τῶν ἐξ Ἀχαΐας 10
 ἐπιλέκτων εἰς δισχιλίους πεζοὺς ἀθροίσας ἐν
 τῇ τῶν Δυμαίων πόλει κατέλειπεν, ἅμα μὲν
 ἐφεδρείας ἔχοντας ἅμα δὲ προφυλακῆς τάξιν
 3 πρὸς τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἡλείας φόβον. αὐτὸς δ' ἔτι
 πρότερον γεγραφὼς τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις καὶ τοῖς 15
 Ἡπειρώταις, ἔτι δὲ τοῖς Ἀκαρνᾶσι καὶ Σκερδι-
 λαῖδα, πληροῦν ἐκάστοις τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς πλοῖα
 καὶ συναντᾶν εἰς Κεφαλληνίαν, ἀναχθεῖς ἐκ τῶν
 Πατρῶν κατὰ τὴν σύνταξιν ἔπλει,
 4 καὶ προσέσχε τῆς Κεφαλληνίας κατὰ 20
 Πρόννους. ὁρῶν δὲ τό τε πολισμάτιον δυσπολιόρ-
 κητον ὄν καὶ τὴν χώραν στενὴν παρέπλει τῷ
 στόλῳ, καὶ καθωρμίσθη πρὸς τὴν τῶν Παλαιῶν
 5 πόλιν. συνιδὼν δὲ ταύτην τὴν χώραν γέμουσαν
 σίτου καὶ δυναμένην τρέφειν στρατόπεδον, τὴν 25
 μὲν δύναμιν ἐκβιβάσας προσεστρατοπέδευσε τῇ
 πόλει, τὰς δὲ ναῦς συνορμίσας τάφρῳ καὶ χάρακι
 περιέβαλε, τοὺς δὲ Μακεδόνας ἐφῆκε σιτολογεῖν.
 6 αὐτὸς δὲ περιήει τὴν πόλιν, ἐπισκοπῶν πῶς δυ-
 νατὸν εἴη προσάγειν ἔργα τῷ τείχει καὶ μηχανάς, 30

Philip lands in
Cephallenia,

βουλόμενος ἅμα μὲν προσδέξασθαι τοὺς συμμά-
 χους ἅμα δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐξελεῖν, ἵνα ^{and besieges 7}
 πρῶτον μὲν Αἰτωλῶν παρέλθῃται τὴν ^{Palus,}
 ἀναγκαιοτάτην ὑπηρεσίαν (ταῖς γὰρ τῶν Κεφαλ-
 5 λήνων ναυσὶ χρώμενοι τὰς τ' εἰς Πελοπόννησον
 ἐποιοῦντο διαβάσεις, καὶ τὰς Ἑπειρωτῶν ἔτι δ'
 Ἀκαρνάνων ἐπόρθουν παραλίας), δεύτερον δ' ἵνα 8
 παρασκευάσῃ μὲν αὐτῷ παρασκευάσῃ δὲ τοῖς
 συμμάχοις ὀρμητήριον εὐφυῆς κατὰ τῆς τῶν πο-
 10 λεμίων χώρας. ἡ γὰρ Κεφαλληνία κεῖται μὲν 9
 κατὰ τὸν Κορινθιακὸν κόλπον ὥς εἰς τὸ Σικελικὸν
 ἀνατείνουσα πέλαγος, ἐπὶ κεῖται δὲ τῆς μὲν Πε- 10
 λοποννήσου τοῖς πρὸς ἄρκτον καὶ πρὸς ἑσπέραν
 μέρεσι κεκλιμένοις, καὶ μάλιστα τῇ τῶν Ἡλείων
 15 χώρᾳ, τῆς δ' Ἑπείρου καὶ τῆς Αἰτωλίας ἔτι δὲ
 τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας τοῖς πρὸς μεσημβρίαν καὶ πρὸς
 τὰς δύοσεis μέρεσιν ἐστραμμένοις. διὸ καὶ πρὸς 4
 τε τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν συμμάχων εὐφυῶς ἐχούσης
 καὶ κατὰ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων καὶ πρὸ τῆς τῶν
 20 φίλων χώρας εὐκαίρως κειμένης, ἔσπευδε χειρω-
 σάμενος ὑφ' αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι τὴν νῆσον. συν- 2
 θεωρῶν δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα μέρη τῆς πόλεως
 τὰ μὲν θαλάττῃ τὰ δὲ κρημνοῖς περιεχόμενα,
 βραχὺν δέ τινα τόπον ἐπίπεδον αὐτῆς ὑπάρχοντα,
 25 τὸ πρὸς τὴν Ζάκυνθον ἐστραμμένον, τῇδε διενοεῖτο
 προσάγειν ἔργα καὶ τῇδε τὴν ὅλην συνίστασθαι
 πολιορκίαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς περὶ ταῦτα καὶ 3
 πρὸς τούτοις ἦν· κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τούτου πεν-
 τεκαίδεκα μὲν ἦκον λέμβοι παρὰ Σκερδιλαΐδου
 30 (τοὺς γὰρ πλείστους ἐκωλύθη πέμψαι διὰ τὰς

- γενομένας ἐπιβουλὰς καὶ ταραχὰς περὶ τοὺς κατὰ
 4 τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα πολιδυνάστας); ἤκον δὲ καὶ παρ'
 Ἡπειρωτῶν καὶ παρ' Ἀκαρνάνων ἔτι δὲ Μεσ-
 5 σσηνίων οἱ διαταχθέντες σύμμαχοι· τῆς γὰρ τῶν
 Φιαλέων πόλεως ἐξαιρεθείσης ἀπροφασίστως τὸ
 λοιπὸν ἤδη μετείχον Μεσσηνιοὶ τοῦ πολέμου.
 6 τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν ἡτοιμασμένων διαθεῖς
 τὰ βέλη καὶ τοὺς πετροβόλους κατὰ τοὺς ἀρμό-
 ζοντας τόπους πρὸς τὸ κωλύειν τοὺς ἀμυνομένους,
 παρακαλέσας τοὺς Μακεδόνας ὁ βασιλεὺς προσῆγε 10
 τὰς μηχανὰς τοῖς τείχεσι καὶ διὰ τούτων τοῖς
 7 ὀρύγμασιν ἐνεχείρει. ταχὺ δὲ τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ
 δύο πλέθρα κρεμασθέντος διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις
 προθυμίαν τῶν Μακεδόνων, ἐγγίσας τοῖς τείχεσιν
 ὁ βασιλεὺς παρήνει τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει τίθεσθαι πρὸς 15
 8 αὐτὸν τὴν εἰρήνην. τῶν δὲ παρακουόντων ἐμβαλὼν
 πῦρ τοῖς ἐρείσμασιν ὁμοῦ πᾶν τὸ διεστυλωμένον
 9 κατέβαλε τείχος. οὐ γενομένου πρώτους ἐφῆκε τοὺς
 πελταστὰς τοὺς ὑπὸ Λεόντιον ταττομένους, σπειρη-
 δὸν τάξας καὶ παραγγέλλας βιάζεσθαι διὰ τοῦ πτώ- 20
 10 ματος. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Λεόντιον τηροῦντες τὰ πρὸς
 τὸν Ἀπελλῆν συγκεείμενα τρὶς ἐξῆς
 τοὺς νεανίσκους, ὑπερβάντας τὸ πτώ-
 μα, διέτρεψαν τοῦ μὴ τελεσιουργῆσαι
 11 τὴν κατάληψιν τῆς πόλεως, προδιεφθαρκότες μὲν 25
 τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἡγεμόνων,
 ἐθελοκακοῦντες δὲ καὶ παρ' ἑκάστου ἀποδειλιῶντες
 12 αὐτοί. τέλος ἐξέπεσον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πολλὰς πλη-
 γὰς λαβόντες, καίπερ εὐχερῶς δυνάμενοι κρατῆσαι
 13 τῶν πολεμίων. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὁρῶν ἀποδειλιῶντας 30

but without suc-
 cess owing to the
 treachery of the
 conspirators.

μὲν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, τραυματίας δὲ καὶ πλείους γε-
γονότας τῶν Μακεδόνων, τῆς μὲν πολιορκίας ἀπέ-
στη, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐξῆς ἐβουλευέτο μετὰ τῶν φίλων.

- Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς Λυκούργος μὲν 5
5 εἰς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ἐξεστρατεύκει, He then rejects
an appeal for suc-
cour from Mes-
senia,
Δωρίμαχος δὲ τοὺς ἡμίσεις ἔχων Αἰ-
τωλῶν εἰς Θετταλίαν ἐπεποίητο τὴν
ὁρμὴν, ἀμφότεροι πεπεισμένοι τὸν Φίλιππον ἀπο-
σπάσειν τῆς τῶν Παλαιέων πολιορκίας. ὑπὲρ 2
10 ὧν ἤκουον πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα· παρά τε
Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ παρὰ Μεσσηνίων, οἱ μὲν παρὰ
τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων παρακαλοῦντες αὐτὸν ἐμβαλεῖν
εἰς τὴν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν χώραν καὶ τὸν τε Δωρίμαχον
ἀποστήσαι τῆς εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ὁρμῆς καὶ τὴν
15 χώραν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἐπελθεῖν καὶ πορθῆσαι πᾶ-
σαν ἀδεῶς, οἱ δὲ παρὰ τῶν Μεσσηνίων δεόμενοι 3
σφίσι βοηθεῖν, καὶ διδάσκοντες ὅτι τῶν ἐτησίων
ἤδη στάσιν ἐχόντων δυνατόν ἐστι τὴν παρακομι-
δὴν ἐκ τῆς Κεφαλληνίας εἰς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ἐν
20 ἡμέρᾳ ποιήσασθαι μιᾷ· διόπερ οἱ περὶ Γόργον τὸν 4
Μεσσήνιον αἰφνίδιον καὶ πραγματικὴν ἐσομένην
συνίστασαν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Λυκούργον ἐπίθεσιν. οἱ 5
δὲ περὶ τὸν Λεόντιον, τηροῦντες τὴν αὐτῶν ὑπό-
θεσιν, συνήργουν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Γόργον ἐκτενωῶς,
25 θεωροῦντες ὅτι συμβήσεται τὴν θερείαν εἰς τέλος
ἄπρακτον γενέσθαι τῷ Φιλίππῳ. πλεῦσαι μὲν 6
γὰρ εἰς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ῥάδιον ἦν, ἀναπλεῦσαι δ'
ἐκεῖθεν τῶν ἐτησίων ἐπεχόντων ἀδύνατον· ἐξ οὗ 7
δῆλον ἦν ὡς ὁ μὲν Φίλιππος ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ
30 μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως συγκλεισθεὶς ἀναγκασθήσεται

- τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος τοῦ θέρου ἄπρακτος μένειν, οἱ δ' Αἰτωλοὶ τὴν Θετταλίαν καὶ τὴν Ἑπειρον 8 ἐπιπορευόμενοι κατασυροῦσι πᾶσαν ἀδεῶς. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν λυμεωνεούμενοι ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα συνεβούλευον, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἄρατον συμπαρόντες 5 9 τῆς ἐναντίας προέστασαν γνώμης· δεῖν γὰρ ἔφασαν εἰς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν ποιεῖσθαι τὸν πλοῦν καὶ τούτων ἔχεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων· ἐξεστρατευκότων γὰρ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν μετὰ Δωριμάχου κάλλιστον εἶναι καιρὸν ἐπελθεῖν καὶ πορθῆσαι 10 10 τὴν Αἰτωλίαν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὰ μὲν ἀπιστῶν and decides to in- ἤδη τοῖς περὶ τὸν Λεόντιον ἐκ τῆς vade Aetolia. περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐθελοκακήσεως, συναισθανόμενος δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ περὶ τὸν Παλούντα διαβουλίου αὐτῶν τὴν κακοπραγμοσύνην, ἔκρινε 15 11 χρῆσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι κατὰ τὴν Ἀράτου γνώμην. διόπερ Ἐπηράτῳ μὲν ἔγραψε, τῷ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν στρατηγῷ, βοηθεῖν τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἀναλαβόντι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς· αὐτὸς δ' ἀναχθεὶς ἐκ τῆς Κεφαλληνίας παρὴν δευτεραῖος εἰς Λευκάδα μετὰ τοῦ 20 12 στόλου νυκτός. εὐτρεπισάμενος δὲ τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόρυκτον, καὶ ταύτῃ διακομίσας τὰς ναῦς, ἐποίητο τὸν ἀπόπλουν κατὰ τὸν Ἀμβρακικὸν κα- 13 λούμενον κόλπον. ὁ δὲ προειρημένος κόλπος ἐπὶ πολὺ προτείνων ἐκ τοῦ Σικελικοῦ πελάγους εἰς 25 14 καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον ἡμῖν εἴρηται. διανύσας δὲ καὶ καθορμισθεὶς βραχὺ πρὸ ἡμέρας πρὸς τῇ καλουμένῃ Λιμναίᾳ, τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι παρήγγειλε καὶ τὸ πολὺ τῆς 30

ἀποσκευῆς ἀποθεμένους εὐζώνους σφᾶς παρα-
 σκευάζειν πρὸς ἀναζυγὴν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ὀδηγοὺς 15
 ἀθροίσας τὰ τε περὶ τοὺς τόπους καὶ τὰς παρα-
 κειμένας πόλεις ἐπυνθάνετο καὶ διηρεῖνα. κατὰ 6
 5 δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἦκεν ἔχων Ἀριστόφαντος ὁ
 στρατηγὸς πανδημεῖ τοὺς Ἀκαρνᾶνας· πολλὰ γὰρ
 καὶ δεινὰ πεπονθότες ἐν τοῖς ἀνώτερον χρόνοις
 ὑπ' Αἰτωλῶν ἐκθύμως εἶχον πρὸς τὸ κατὰ πάντα
 τρόπον ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ βλάψαι τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς.
 10 διόπερ ἀσμένως ἐπιλαβόμενοι τότε τῆς Μακεδόνων 2
 ἐπαρκείας ἦκον ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις, οὐ μόνον ὅσοις ὁ
 νόμος ἐπέταττε στρατεύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πρεσ-
 βυτέρων τινές. οὐκ ἐλάττω δὲ τούτων ὁρμὴν 3
 εἶχον Ἡπειρώται διὰ τὰς παραπλησίους αἰτίας·
 15 διὰ δὲ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς χώρας καὶ διὰ τὸ τῆς
 παρουσίας αἰφνίδιον τῆς τοῦ Φιλίππου καθυστέ-
 ρουν τῇ συναγωγῇ τῶν καιρῶν. τῶν δ' Αἰτωλῶν 4
 τοὺς μὲν ἡμίσεις ἔχων Δωρίμαχος, καθάπερ εἶπον,
 τοὺς δ' ἡμίσεις ἀπολελοῖπει, νομίζων ἀξιόχρεων
 20 πρὸς τὰ παράδοξα ταύτην τὴν ἐφεδρείαν ὑπάρχειν
 τῶν τε πόλεων καὶ τῆς χώρας. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς 5
 ἀπολιπὼν φυλακὴν ἱκανὴν τῆς ἀποσκευῆς, τότε
 μὲν ἀναζεύξας ἐκ τῆς Λιμναίας δειλῆς καὶ προελ-
 θὼν ὥς ἐξήκοντα στάδια κατεστρατοπέδευσε,
 25 δειπνοποιησάμενος δὲ καὶ βραχὺ διαναπαύσας 6
 τὴν δύναμιν αὖθις ὥρμα, καὶ συνεχῶς νυκτοπορή-
 σας ἦκε πρὸς τὸν Ἀχελῶον ποταμὸν ἄρτι τῆς
 ἡμέρας ἐπιφαινούσης, μεταξὺ Κωνώπης καὶ Στρά-
 του, σπεύδων ἄφνω καὶ παραδόξως ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν
 30 τοῖς Θέρμοις τόπον ἐπιβαλεῖν.

- 7 Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Λεόντιον κατὰ δύο τρόπους
 ὕρῳντες τὸν μὲν Φίλιππον καθιζόμενον
 τῆς προθέσεως τοὺς δ' Αἰτωλοὺς ἀδυνατή-
 σοντας τοῖς παροῦσι, καθ' ἓνα
 μὲν ἢ ταχεῖα καὶ παράδοξος ἢ τῶν Μακεδόνων 5
 ἐγγεγόνει παρουσία, καθ' ἕτερον δὲ ἢ πρὸς γε τὸν
 ἐν τοῖς Θέρμοις τόπον οὐδέποτ' ἂν ὑπολαβόντες
 Αἰτωλοὶ τολμῆσαι τὸν Φίλιππον οὕτω προχείρως
 αὐτὸν δοῦναι διὰ τὰς ὀχυρότητας τῶν τόπων
 ἐμελλον ἀπρονόητοι καὶ παντέλῳς ἀπαράσκειοι 10
 3 ληφθῆσθαι πρὸς τὸ συμβαῖνον· εἰς ἃ βλέποντες,
 καὶ τήρουντες τὴν ἑαυτῶν πρόθεσιν, ᾤοντο δεῖν
 τὸν Φίλιππον περὶ τὸν Ἀχελῷον στρατοπεδεύ-
 σαντα προσαναπαῦσαι τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς νυκτο-
 πορίας, σπουδάζοντες βραχεῖαν γε τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς 15
 4 ἀναστροφὴν δοῦναι πρὸς τὴν βοήθειαν. οἱ δὲ
 περὶ τὸν Ἄρατον θεωροῦντες τὸν μὲν καιρὸν ἕξῃ
 ὄντα τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν Λεόντιον
 προδήλως ἐμποδίζοντας, διεμαρτύροντο τὸν Φί-
 λιππον μὴ παριέναι τὸν καιρὸν μηδὲ καταμέλλειν. 20
 5 οἷς καὶ πεισθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ προσκόπτων ἤδη
 τοῖς περὶ τὸν Λεόντιον ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πορείαν κατὰ
 6 τὸ συνεχές· διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Ἀχελῷον ποταμὸν
 προῆγε συντόνως ὥς ἐπὶ τὸν Θέρμον· ἅμα δὲ
 7 προάγων ἐδήου καὶ κατέφθειρε τὴν χώραν. παρῆει 25
 δὲ ἐκ μὲν εὐωνύμων ἀπολιπὼν Στράτον Ἀγρίνιον
 Θεστιεῖς, ἐκ δὲ δεξιῶν Κωνώπην Λυσιμάχεια
 8 Τριχώνιον Φύταιον. ἀφικόμενος δὲ πρὸς πόλιν
 σὴν καλουμένην Μέταπαν, ἣ κεῖται μὲν ἐπ' αὐτῆς
 τῆς Τριχωνίδος λίμνης καὶ τῶν παρὰ ταύτην 30

He pushes on
 rapidly despite
 the intrigues of
 Leontius,

στενῶν, ἀπέχει δὲ σχεδὸν ἑξήκοντα στάδια τοῦ
 προσαγορευομένου Θέρμου, ταύτην μὲν ἐκλιπόντων 9
 τῶν Αἰτωλῶν εἰσαγαγὼν πεντακοσίους στρατιώ-
 τας κατεῖχε, βουλόμενος ἐφεδρεῖα χρήσασθαι πρὸς
 5 τε τὴν εἴσοδον καὶ τὴν ἔξοδον τὴν ἐκ τῶν στενῶν
 (ἔστι γὰρ πᾶς ὁ παρὰ τὴν λίμνην τόπος ὀρεινὸς 10
 καὶ τραχύς, συνηγμένος ταῖς ὕλαις· διὸ καὶ παν-
 τελῶς στενὴν καὶ δυσδίοδον ἔχει τὴν πάροδον):
 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς μὲν μισθοφόρους προθέμενος 11
 10 πάσης τῆς πορείας, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς,
 ἐξῆς δὲ τοὺς πελταστὰς καὶ φαλαγγίτας ἔχων
 προῆγε διὰ τῶν στενῶν, ἀπουραγούντων μὲν αὐτῷ
 τῶν Κρητῶν, δεξιῶν δὲ παρὰ πλάγια τῶν Θρακῶν
 καὶ ψιλῶν ἀντιπαραπορευομένων ταῖς χώραις. τὴν 12
 15 μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν εὐωνύμων ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς πορείας
 ἠσφάλισθ' ἢ λίμνη σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τριάκοντα στάδια.
 ἀνύσας δὲ τοὺς προειρημένους τόπους, καὶ παρα- 8
 γυνόμενος πρὸς τὴν καλουμένην κώμην Παμφλίαν,
 ὁμοίως καὶ ταύτην ἀσφαλισάμενος φρουρᾷ προέ-
 20 βαινε πρὸς τὸν Θέρμον, ὁδὸν οὐ μόνον προσάντη
 καὶ τραχεῖαν διαφερόντως, ἀλλὰ καὶ κρημνοὺς ἐξ
 ἑκατέρου τοῦ μέρους ἔχουσιν βαθεῖς, ὥστε καὶ 2
 λίαν ἐπισφαλῇ καὶ στενῇ τὴν πάροδον εἶναι
 κατ' ἐνλίους τόπους, τῆς πάσης ἀναβάσεως οὐ-
 25 σης σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τριάκοντα στάδια. διανύσας 3
 δὲ καὶ ταύτην ἐν βραχεῖ χρόνῳ διὰ τὸ τοὺς
 Μακεδόνας ἐνεργὸν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν πορείαν ἦκε
 πολλῆς ὥρας ἐπὶ τὸν Θέρμον, καὶ καταστρατο- 4
 πεδεύσας ἐφῆκε τὴν δύναμιν τὰς τε περιοικίδας
 30 κώμας πορθεῖν καὶ τὸ τῶν Θερμίων πεδίον

ἐπιτρέχειν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰς οἰκίας τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ
 and sacks Ther- τῷ Θέρμῳ διαρπάζειν, οὐσας πλήρεις
 mus; οὐ μόνον σίτου καὶ τῆς τοιαύτης χο-
 ρηγίας ἀλλὰ καὶ κατασκευῆς διαφερούσης τῶν
 5 παρ' Αἰτωλῶν. καθ' ἕκαστον γὰρ ἔτος ἀγοράς τε 5
 καὶ πανηγύρεις ἐπιφανεστάτας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰς
 τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων καταστάσεις ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ
 συντελούντων, ἕκαστοι πρὸς τὰς ὑποδοχὰς καὶ
 τὰς εἰς ταῦτα παρασκευὰς τὰ πολυτελέστατα τῶν
 ἐν τοῖς βίοις ὑπαρχόντων εἰς τούτον ἀπετίθεντο 10
 6 τὸν τόπον. χωρὶς δὲ τῆς χρείας καὶ τὴν ἀσφά-
 λειαν ἠλπιζον ἐνταυθοῖ βεβαιωτάτην αὐτοῖς ὑπάρ-
 χειν διὰ τὸ μήτε πολέμιον τετολμηκέναι μηδένα
 πώποτε εἰς τοὺς τόπους τούτους ἐμβαλεῖν, εἶναι
 τε τῇ φύσει τοιούτους ὥστε τῆς συμπάσης Αἰ- 15
 7 τωλίας οἶον ἀκροπόλεως ἔχειν τάξιν. διόπερ
 εἰρηνευομένης ἐκ παλαιοῦ τῆς χώρας πλήρεις
 ἦσαν ἀγαθῶν πολλῶν αἷ τε περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν οἰκίαι
 8 καὶ πάντες οἱ πέριξ τόποι. ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν
 νύκτα παντοδαπῆς γέμοντες ὠφελείας αὐτοῦ κα- 20
 τηυλίσθησαν· τῇ δ' ἐπαύριον τῆς μὲν κατασκευῆς
 τὰ πολυτελέστατα καὶ τὰ δυνατὰ κομίζεσθαι
 διέλεγον, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ σωρεύοντες πρὸ τῶν σκηνῶν
 9 ἐνεπίμπρασαν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ὅπλων τῶν
 ἐν ταῖς στοαῖς ἀνακειμένων τὰ μὲν πολυτελῆ 25
 καθαιροῦντες ἀπεκόμιζον, τινὰ δ' ὑπήλλαττον, τὰ
 δὲ λοιπὰ συναθροίσαντες πῦρ ἐνέβαλον. ἦν δὲ
 ταῦτα πλείω τῶν μυρίων καὶ πεντακισχιλίων.
 9 Καὶ ἕως μὲν τούτου πάντα κατὰ τοὺς τοῦ
 πολέμου νόμους καλῶς καὶ δικαίως ἐπράττετο· τὰ 30

δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα πῶς χρὴ λέγειν οὐκ οἶδα. λαβόντες 2
 γὰρ ἔννοιαν τῶν ἐν Δίῳ καὶ Δωδώνῃ not even sparing
 holy places and
 things. πεπραγμένων τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς· τὰς τε
 στοὰς ἐνεπύμπρασαν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἀναθημά-
 5 των διέφθειρον, ὄντα πολυτελῆ ταῖς κατασκευαῖς
 καὶ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας ἔνια τετευχότα καὶ δα-
 πάνης. οὐ μόνον δὲ τῷ πυρὶ κατελυμήναντο τὰς 3
 ὀροφάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατέσκαψαν εἰς ἔδαφος. ἀνέ-
 τρεψαν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας, ὄντας οὐκ ἐλάττους
 10 δισχιλίων· πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ διέφθειραν, πλὴν ὅσοι
 θεῶν ἐπιγραφὰς ἢ τύπους εἶχον· τῶν δὲ τοιούτων
 ἀπέσχοντο. κατέγραφον δ' εἰς τοὺς τοίχους καὶ 4
 τὸν περιφερόμενον στίχον, ἥδη τότε τῆς ἐπιδεξιό-
 τητος τῆς Σάμου φυομένης, ὅς ἦν υἱὸς μὲν Χρυσό-
 15 γόνου σύντροφος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως. ὁ δὲ στίχος 5
 ἦν

ὁρᾷς τὸ δῖον οὐ βέλος διέπτατο ;
 καὶ μεγίστη δὴ καὶ παράστασις ἐπὶ τούτοις εἶχε 6
 τὸν τε βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν φίλους ὡς
 20 δικαίως ταῦτα πράττοντας καὶ καθηκόντως, ἀμυ-
 νομένους τοῖς ὁμοίοις τὴν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν περὶ τὸ
 Δῖον ἀσέβειαν. ἐμοὶ δὲ τάναντία δοκεῖ τούτων. 7

* * *

Ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος ὅσα δυνατόν ἦν ἄγειν καὶ 13
 25 φέρειν ἀναλαβὼν ἐκ τοῦ Θέρμου προ-
 ἦγε, ποιούμενος τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπάνοδον He then retired
 in safety despite
 the attacks of the
 Aetolians,
 ᾗ καὶ παρεγένετο, προβαλόμενος μὲν
 τὴν λείαν εἰς τοῦμπροσθεν καὶ τὰ βαρέα τῶν
 ὅπλων, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς οὐραγίας ἀπολιπὼν τοὺς Ἀκαρ-
 30 νᾶνας καὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους, σπεύδων ὡς τάχιστα 2

διανύσαι τὰς δυσχωρίας διὰ τὸ προσδοκᾶν τοὺς
 Αἰτωλοὺς ἐξάψεσθαι τῆς οὐραγίας, πιστεύοντας
 3 ταῖς ὀχυρότησι τῶν τόπων. ὁ καὶ συνέβη γε-
 νέσθαι παρὰ πόδας. οἱ γὰρ Αἰτωλοὶ προσβεβοη-
 θηκότες καὶ συνηθροισμένοι σχεδὸν εἰς τρισχι- 5
 λίους, ἕως μὲν ὁ Φίλιππος ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν μετεώρων,
 οὐκ ἤγγιζον ἀλλ' ἔμενον ἔν τισι τόποις ἀδήλοις,
 Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Τριχωνέως προεστῶτος αὐτῶν·
 ἅμα δὲ τῷ κινήσαι τὴν οὐραγίαν ἐπέβαλον εὐθέως
 εἰς τὸν Θέρμον καὶ προσέκειντο τοῖς ἐσχάτοις. 10
 4 γινομένης δὲ ταραχῆς περὶ τὴν οὐραγίαν, ἔτι
 μᾶλλον ἐκθύμως οἱ παρὰ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἐπέκειντο
 καὶ προσέφερον τὰς χεῖρας, πιστεύοντες τοῖς τό-
 5 ποις. ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος προειδὼς τὸ μέλλον ὑπὸ
 τινα λόφον ὑπεστάλκει τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς ἐν τῇ 15
 καταβάσει καὶ τῶν πελταστῶν τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτά-
 6 τους, ὧν διαναστάντων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐπικειμένους καὶ
 προπεπτωκότας τῶν ὑπεναντίων τοὺς μὲν λοιποὺς
 τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἀνοδία καὶ προτροπάδην συνέβη
 φυγεῖν, ἑκατὸν δὲ καὶ τριάκοντα πεσεῖν, ἀλῶναι 20
 7 δ' οὐ πολὺ τούτων ἐλάττους. γενομένου δὲ τοῦ
 προτερήματος τούτου ταχέως οἱ περὶ τὴν οὐραγίαν,
 ἐμπρήσαντες τὸ Πάμφιον καὶ μετ' ἀσφαλείας
 διελθόντες τὰ στενά, συνέμιξαν τοῖς Μακεδόσιν·
 8 ὁ γὰρ Φίλιππος ἐστρατοπεδευκῶς περὶ τὴν Μέ- 25
 ταπαν ἐνταυθοὶ προσανεδέχετο τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς
 οὐραγίας. εἰς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν κατασκάψας τὴν
 Μέταπαν προῆγε, καὶ παρενέβαλε περὶ τὴν κα-
 9 λουμένην πόλιν Ἀκρας. τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἅμα προάγων
 ἐπόρθει τὴν χώραν, καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύσας περὶ 30

Κωνώπην ἐπέμεινε τὴν ἐχομένην ἡμέραν. τῇ δ' 10
 ἐπιούσῃ πάλιν ἀναζεύξας ἐποικεῖτο τὴν πορείαν
 παρὰ τὸν Ἀχελῶον ἕως ἐπὶ τὸν Στράτον. διαβὰς
 δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπέστησε τὴν δύναμιν ἐκτὸς βέ-
 5 λους, ἀποπειρώμενος τῶν ἔνδον· ἐπυνθάνετο γὰρ 14
 εἰς τὸν Στράτον συνδεδραμηκέναι τῶν recrossed the
Achelous and
passed Stratus.
 Αἰτωλῶν πεζοὺς μὲν εἰς τρισχιλίους,
 ἰππεῖς δὲ περὶ τετρακοσίους, Κρήτας δ' εἰς πεν-
 τακοσίους. οὐδενὸς δ' ἐπεξιέναι τολμῶντος αὐτῖς 2
 10 ἀρξάμενος ἐκίνει τοὺς πρῶτους, ποιούμενος τὴν
 πορείαν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Λιμναίαν καὶ τὰς ναῦς. ἅμα 3
 δὲ τῷ τὴν οὐραγίαν παραλλάξαι τὴν πόλιν, τὸ
 μὲν πρῶτον ὀλίγοι τῶν Αἰτωλικῶν ἰππέων ἐξελ-
 θόντες κατεπεύραζον τῶν ἐσχάτων· ἐπεὶ δὲ τό τε 4
 15 τῶν Κρητῶν πλῆθος ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τινες τῶν
 Αἰτωλικῶν συνῆψαν τοῖς αὐτῶν ἰππεύσιν, γινο-
 μένης ὅλοσχερεστέρας συμπλοκῆς ἠναγκάσθησαν
 ἐκ μεταβολῆς οἱ περὶ τὴν οὐραγίαν κινδυνεύειν.
 τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἀμφοτέρων ἐφάμιλλος ἦν ὁ 5
 20 κίνδυνος· προσβοηθησάντων δὲ τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ
 Φιλίππου μισθοφόροις τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν ἐνέκλιναν
 καὶ σποράδην ἔφευγον οἱ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἰππεῖς καὶ
 μισθοφόροι, καὶ τὸ μὲν πολὺ μέρος αὐτῶν ἕως εἰς 6
 τὰς πύλας καὶ πρὸς τὰ τείχη συνεδίωξαν οἱ παρὰ
 25 τοῦ βασιλέως, κατέβαλον δ' εἰς ἑκατόν. ἀπὸ δὲ 7
 ταύτης τῆς χρείας λοιπὸν οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως
 τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἤγον, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς οὐραγίας ἀσφαλῶς
 συνῆψαν πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὰς ναῦς. * * *

Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀναχθεὶς ἐκ τῆς Λευκάδος, καὶ 17
 30 πορθήσας ἐν παράπλῳ τὴν τῶν Οἰανθέων χώραν, 8

κατῆρε μετὰ τοῦ στόλου παντὸς εἰς Κόρινθον.

9 Philip summons the allies to meet at Tegea, ὁρμίσας δὲ τὰς νῆας ἐν τῷ Λεχαιῷ
τὴν τε δύναμιν ἐξεβίβαζε καὶ τοὺς

γραμματοφόρους διαπέστελλε πρὸς τὰς ἐν Πε-
λοποννήσῳ συμμαχίδας πόλεις, δηλῶν τὴν ἡμέραν 5
ἐν ᾗ δεήσει πάντας μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων κοιταίους

18 ἐν τῇ τῶν Τεγεατῶν γίνεσθαι πόλει. ταῦτα δὲ
διαπραξάμενος, καὶ μείνας οὐδένα χρόνον ἐν τῇ
and marches upon Sparta, Κορίνθῳ, παρήγγειλε τοῖς Μακεδόσιν
ἀναζυγὴν, ποιησάμενος δὲ τὴν πορείαν 10

2 δι' Ἀργούς ἦκε δευτεραίος εἰς Τέγεαν. προσανα-
λαβὼν δὲ τοὺς ἡθροισμένους τῶν Ἀχαιῶν προῆγε
διὰ τῆς ὀρεινῆς, σπουδάζων λαθεῖν τοὺς Λακε-
3 δαιμονίους ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν χώραν. περιελθὼν
δὲ ταῖς ἐρημίαις τεταρταῖος ἐπέβαλε τοῖς καταν- 15
τικρὺ τῆς πόλεως λόφοις, καὶ παρήει, δεξιὸν ἔχων

4 τὸ Μεγελάιον, ἐπ' αὐτὰς τὰς Ἀμύκλας. οἱ δὲ
Λακεδαιμόνιοι θεωροῦντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως παρά-
γουσιν τὴν δύναμιν ἐκπλαγεῖς ἐγένοντο καὶ περί-
5 φοβοι, θαυμάζοντες τὸ συμβαῖνον. ἀκμὴν γὰρ 10
ταῖς διανοαῖς ἦσαν μετέωροι ἐκ τῶν προσπιπτόν-
των ὑπὲρ τοῦ Φιλίππου περὶ τὴν καταφθορὰν
τοῦ Θέρμου καὶ καθόλου ταῖς ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ πράξεσι,
καὶ τις ἐνεπεπτώκει θρούς παρ' αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ
τὸν Λυκούργον ἐκπέμπειν βοηθήσοντα τοῖς Αἰ- 15

6 τωλοῖς. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ τὸ δεινὸν ἥξειν ἐπὶ σφᾶς
οὕτως ὀξέως ἐκ τηλικούτου διαστήματος οὐδὲ
διενοεῖτο παράπαν αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς, ἅτε καὶ τῆς
ἡλικίας ἐχούσης ἀκμὴν εὐκαταφρόνητόν τι τῆς
τοῦ βασιλέως. διὸ καὶ παρὰ δόξαν αὐτοῖς τῶν 30

πραγμάτων συγκυρούντων εικότως ἦσαν ἐκπλαγεῖς.
 ὁ γὰρ Φίλιππος τολμηρότερον καὶ πρακτικώτερον 7
 ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν χρώμενος ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς εἰς
 ἀπορίαν καὶ δυσχρηστίαν ἅπαντας ἤγε τοὺς πο-
 5 λεμίους. ἀναχθεῖς γὰρ ἐκ μέσης Αἰτωλίας, κα- 8
 θάπερ ἐπάνω προεῖπον, καὶ διανύσας ἐν νυκτὶ
 τὸν Ἀμβρακικὸν κόλπον εἰς Λευκάδα κατῆρε· δύο 9
 δὲ μείνας ἡμέρας ἐνταῦθα, τῇ τρίτῃ ποιησάμενος
 ὑπὸ τὴν ἐωθινὴν τὸν ἀνάπλουν, δευτεραῖος πορ-
 10 θήσας ἅμα τὴν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν παραλίαν ἐν Λεχαίῳ
 καθωρμίσθη· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κατὰ τὸ συνεχές 10
 ποιούμενος τὰς πορείας ἐβδομαῖος ἐπέβαλε τοῖς
 ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν κειμένοις παρὰ τὸ Μενελάιον
 λόφοις, ὥστε τοὺς πλείστους ὀρῶντας τὸ γεγονός
 15 μὴ πιστεύειν τοῖς συμβαίνουσιν.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι περιδεεῖς γεγονότες 11
 διὰ τὸ παράδοξον ἠπόρουν καὶ δυσχρήστως δι-
 έκειντο πρὸς τὸ παρόν, ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος τῇ μὲν 19
 πρώτῃ κατεστρατοπέδευσε περὶ τὰς Ἀμύκλας.
 20 αἱ δ' Ἀμύκλαι καλούμεναι τόπος ἐστὶ τῆς Λα- 2
 κωνικῆς χώρας καλλιденδρότατος καὶ καλλικαρπό-
 τatos, ἀπέχει δὲ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος ὡς εἴκοσι
 σταδίους. ὑπάρχει δὲ καὶ τέμενος Ἀπόλλωνος 3
 ἐν αὐτῷ σχεδὸν ἐπιφανέστατον τῶν κατὰ τὴν
 25 Λακωνικὴν ἱερῶν. κεῖται δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐν τοῖς
 πρὸς θάλατταν κεκλιμένοις μέρεσιν. τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ 4
 πορθῶν ἅμα τὴν χώραν εἰς τὸν Πύρρου καλούμενον
 κατέβη χάρακα. δύο δὲ τὰς ἐξῆς leaving which he
ravages the La-
conian coast.
 30 ἡμέρας ἐπιδραμὼν καὶ δηώσας τοὺς
 σύνεγγυς τόπους κατεστρατοπέδευσε περὶ τὸ

- 5 Κάρνιον, ὅθεν ὀρμήσας ἦγε πρὸς Ἀσίνην, καὶ
 ποιησάμενος προσβολὰς οὐδέν γε τῶν προύργου
 περαινῶν ἀνέζευξε, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπιπορευόμενος
 ἔφθειρε τὴν χώραν πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ Κρητικὸν
 6 πέλαγος τετραμμένην ἕως Ταινάρου. μεταβαλό- 5
 μενος δ' αὐτὶς ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πορείαν παρὰ τὸν
 ναύσταθμον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὃ καλεῖται μὲν
 Γύθιον, ἔχει δ' ἀσφαλῆ λιμένα, τῆς δὲ πόλεως
 7 ἀπέχει περὶ τριάκοντα στάδια. τοῦτο δ' ἀπο-
 λιπὼν κατὰ πορείαν δεξιὸν κατεστρατοπέδευσε 10
 περὶ τὴν Ἐλείαν, ἣτις ἐστὶν ὡς πρὸς μέρος θεω-
 ρουμένη πλείστη καὶ καλλίστη χώρα τῆς Λακω-
 8 νικῆς· ὅθεν ἀφίεις τὰς προνομὰς αὐτόν τε τὸν
 τόπον τοῦτον πάντα κατεπυρπόλει καὶ διέφθειρε
 τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ καρπούς, ἀφικνεῖτο δὲ ταῖς προνομαῖς 15
 καὶ πρὸς Ἀκρίας καὶ Λεύκας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν
 Βοιωτῶν χώραν.
- 20 Οἱ δὲ Μεσσήνιοι κομισάμενοι τὰ γράμματα
 τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου τὰ περὶ τῆς
The Messenians marching to join
him are taken off
their guard and
routed. στρατείας, τῇ μὲν ὀρμῇ τῶν ἄλλων 20
 οὐκ ἐλείποντο συμμάχων, ἀλλὰ τὴν
 ἔξοδον ἐποιήσαντο μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ τοὺς ἀκμαίο-
 τάτους ἄνδρας ἐξέπεμψαν, πεζοὺς μὲν δισχιλίους
 2 ἵππεῖς δὲ διακοσίους· τῷ δὲ μήκει τῆς ὁδοῦ κα-
 θυστερήσαντες τῆς εἰς τὴν Τέγεαν παρουσίας τοῦ 25
 Φιλίππου τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἠπόρουν τί δέον εἶη
 3 ποιεῖν, ἀγωνιῶντες δὲ μὴ δόξαιεν ἐθελοκακεῖν διὰ
 τὰς προγεγενημένας περὶ αὐτοὺς ὑποψίας ὥρμησαν
 διὰ τῆς Ἀργείας εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν, βουλόμενοι
 συνάψαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Φίλιππον. παραγεγρόμενοι 30

δὲ πρὸς Γλυμπεῖς χωρίον, ὃ κεῖται περὶ τοὺς
 ὄρους τῆς Ἀργείας καὶ Λακωνικῆς, πρὸς τοῦτο
 κατεστρατοπέδευσαν. ἀπείρως ἅμα καὶ ῥαθύμως·
 οὔτε γὰρ τάφρον οὔτε χάρακα τῇ παρεμβολῇ 5
 5 περιέβαλον, οὔτε τόπον εὐφυῇ περιέβλεψαν, ἀλλὰ
 τῇ τῶν κατοικούντων τὸ χωρίον εὐνοίᾳ πιστεύοντες
 ἀκάκως πρὸ τοῦ τείχους αὐτοῦ παρενέβαλον. ὃ 6
 δὲ Λυκούργος, προσαγγελθείσης αὐτῷ τῆς τῶν
 Μεσσηνίων παρουσίας, ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς μισθο-
 10 φόρους καὶ τινὰς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων προῆγε, καὶ
 συνάψας τοῖς τόποις ὑπὸ τὴν ἑωθινὴν ἐπέθετο τῇ
 στρατοπεδείᾳ τολμηρῶς. οἱ δὲ Μεσσήνιοι τὰλλα 7
 πάντα κακῶς βουλευσάμενοι, καὶ μάλιστα προ-
 ελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς Τεγέας μῆτε κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἀξιό-
 15 χρεοὶ ὑπάρχοντες μῆτε πιστεύοντες ἐμπείροις, παρ'
 αὐτόν γε τὸν κίνδυνον κατὰ τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ὅμως
 τὸ δυνατόν ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων ἔλαβον πρὸς τὴν
 ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν· ἅμα γὰρ τῷ συνιδεῖν ἐπιφαινο- 8
 μένους τοὺς πολεμίους ἀφέμενοι πάντων σπουδῇ
 20 πρὸς τὸ χωρίον προσέφυγον. διόπερ Λυκούργος 9
 τῶν μὲν ἵππων ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο τῶν πλείστων καὶ
 τῆς ἀποσκευῆς, τῶν δ' ἀνδρῶν ζωγρίᾳ μὲν οὐδενὸς
 ἐκυρίευσεν, τῶν δ' ἐππέων ὀκτῶ μόνον ἀπέκτεινε.

Μεσσήνιοι μὲν οὖν τοιαύτῃ περιπετείᾳ χρη- 10
 25 σάμενοι πάλιν δι' Ἀργεοὺς εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀνεκο-
 μίσθησαν· ὃ δὲ Λυκούργος μετεωρισθεὶς ἐπὶ τῷ 11
 γεγονότι, παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα περὶ
 παρασκευὴν ἐγένετο καὶ συνήδρευε μετὰ τῶν φίλων
 ὥς οὐκ ἐάσων τὸν Φίλιππον ἐπανελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς
 30 χώρας ἄνευ κινδύνου καὶ συμπλοκῆς. ὃ δὲ βα- 12

- σιλεὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἑλείας ἀναζεύξας προῆγε, πορθῶν
 ἅμα τὴν χώραν, καὶ τεταρταῖος αὐθις εἰς τὰς
 Ἀμύκλας κατῆρε παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι περὶ
 21 μέσον ἡμέρας. Λυκούργος δὲ διαταξάμενος περὶ
 τοῦ μέλλοντος κινδύνου τοῖς ἡγεμόσι 5
 καὶ τοῖς φίλοις, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐξελθὼν ἐκ
 τῆς πόλεως κατελάβετο τοὺς περὶ τὸ
 Μενελαίου τόπους, ἔχων τοὺς πάντας οὐκ ἐλάττους
 2 δισχιλίων, τοῖς δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει συνέθετο προσέχειν
 τὸν νοῦν, ἵν' ὅταν αὐτοῖς αἴρῃ τὸ σύνθημα, σπουδῇ 10
 κατὰ πλείους τόπους ἐξαγαγόντες πρὸ τῆς πόλεως
 τὴν δύναμιν ἐκτάττωσι βλέπουσαν ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐρώ-
 ταν, καθ' ὃν ἐλάχιστον τόπον ἀπέχει τῆς πόλεως
 ὁ ποταμός.
- 3 Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν Λυκούργον καὶ τοὺς 15
 4 Λακεδαιμονίους ἐν τούτοις ἦν· ἵνα δὲ μὴ τῶν
 τόπων ἀγνοουμένων ἀνυπότακτα καὶ κωφὰ γίνηται
 τὰ λεγόμενα, συνυποδεικτέον ἂν εἴῃ τὴν φύσιν
 5 καὶ τάξιν αὐτῶν, ὃ δὴ καὶ παρ' ὕλην τὴν πραγ-
 ματείαν πειρώμεθα ποιεῖν, συνάπτοντες καὶ συν- 20
 οικειοῦντες αἰετὶ τοὺς ἀγνοουμένους τῶν τόπων τοῖς
 6 γνωριζομένοις καὶ παραδιδομένοις. ἐπεὶ γὰρ τῶν
 κατὰ πόλεμον κινδύνων τοὺς πλείους καὶ κατὰ
 γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν σφάλλουσιν αἱ τῶν τόπων
 διαφοραί, βουλόμεθα δὲ πάντες οὐχ οὕτως τὸ 25
 7 γεγονός ὥς τὸ πῶς ἐγένετο γινώσκειν, οὐ παρο-
 λυγωρητέον τῆς τῶν τόπων ὑπογραφῆς ἐν οὐδ'
 ὁποίᾳ μὲν τῶν πράξεων, ἥκιστα δ' ἐν ταῖς πολεμι-
 καῖς, οὐδ' ὀκνητέον ποτὲ μὲν λιμέσι καὶ πελάγεσι
 καὶ νήσοις συγχρῆσθαι σημείοις, ποτὲ δὲ πάλιν 30

The Spartans
 prepare to attack
 Philip on his re-
 turn,

ἱεροῖς, ὄρεσι, χώραις ἐπωνύμοις, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον 8
 ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ περιέχοντος διαφοραῖς, ἐπειδὴ κοινό-
 τатаи πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις εἰσὶν αὐται· μόνως γὰρ 9
 οὕτως δυνατόν ἐστι ἐννοίαν ἀγαγεῖν τῶν ἀγνοουμέ-
 5 νων τοὺς ἀκούοντας, καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον εἰρή-
 καμεν. ἔστι δ' ἡ τῶν τόπων φύσις τοιαύτη [ὑπὲρ 10
 ὧν νῦν δὴ ὁ λόγος]. τῆς γὰρ Σπάρτης τῷ μὲν 22
 καθόλου σχήματι περιφερούς ὑπαρχούσης καὶ
 κειμένης ἐν τόποις ἐπιπέδοις, κατὰ and beset the road
by the Eurotas.
 10 μέρος δὲ περιεχούσης ἐν αὐτῇ διαφό-
 ρους ἀνωμάλους καὶ βουνώδεις τόπους, τοῦ δὲ 2
 ποταμοῦ παραρρέοντος, ἐκ τῶν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς
 αὐτῆς μερῶν, ὅς καλεῖται μὲν Εὐρώτας γίνεται
 δὲ τὸν πλείω χρόνον ἄβατος διὰ τὸ μέγεθος,
 15 συμβαίνει τοὺς βουνοὺς ἐφ' ὧν τὸ Μενελαίον ἐστι 3
 πέραν μὲν εἶναι τοῦ ποταμοῦ, κεῖσθαι δὲ τῆς πόλεως
 κατὰ χειμερινὰς ἀνατολὰς, ὄντας τραχεῖς καὶ
 δυσβάτους καὶ διαφερόντως ὑψηλοὺς, ἐπικεῖσθαι
 δὲ τῷ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τοῦ ποταμοῦ διαστήματι
 20 κυρίως, δι' οὗ φέρεται μὲν ὁ προειρημένος ποταμὸς 4
 παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν τοῦ λόφου ῥίζαν, ἔστι δ' οὐ πλεῖον
 τὸ πᾶν διάστημα τριῶν ἡμισταδίων· δι' οὗ τὴν ἀνα- 5
 κομιδὴν ἔδει ποιεῖσθαι κατ' ἀνάγκην τὸν Φίλιππον,
 ἐκ μὲν εὐωνύμων ἔχοντα τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς Λα-
 25 κεδαιμονίους ἐτοίμους καὶ παρατεταγμένους, ἐκ δὲ
 δεξιῶν τὸν τε ποταμὸν καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Λυκούργον
 ἐπὶ τῶν λόφων ἐφειστώτας. ἐμεμηχάνηντο δέ τι 6
 πρὸς τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι καὶ τοιοῦτον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι·
 φράξαντες γὰρ τὸν ποταμὸν ἄνωθεν ἐπὶ τὸν μεταξὺ
 30 τόπον τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν βουνῶν ἐφῆκαν, οὐ δια-

- βρόχου γεννηθέντος οὐχ οἶον τοὺς ἵππους ἀλλ' οὐδ'
 7 ἂν τοὺς πεζοὺς δυνατὸν ἦν ἐμβαίνειν. διόπερ ἀπε-
 λείπετο παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν παρωρείαν ὑπὸ τοὺς λόφους
 τὴν δύναμιν ἄγοντας δυσπαραβοηθήτους καὶ μακ-
 ροὺς αὐτοὺς ἐν πορείᾳ παραδιδόναι τοῖς πολεμίοις. 5
 8 Εἰς ἃ βλέπων ὁ Φίλιππος, καὶ βουλευσάμενος
 μετὰ τῶν φίλων, ἀναγκαιότατον ἔκρινε τῶν πα-
 ρόντων τὸ τρέψασθαι πρῶτους τοὺς περὶ τὸν
 Λυκούργον ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὸ Μενελάιον τόπων.
 9 ἀναλαβὼν οὖν τοὺς τε μισθοφόρους καὶ τοὺς 10
 πελταστάς, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις καὶ τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς,
 προῆγε διαβὰς τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς λόφους.
 10 ὁ δὲ Λυκούργος συνθεωρῶν τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τοῦ
 Φιλίππου τοὺς μὲν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ στρατιάτας ἡτοί-
 μαζε καὶ παρεκάλει πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον, τοῖς δὲ ἐν 15
 11 τῇ πόλει τὸ σημεῖον ἀνέφηεν· οὗ γενομένου
 παραυτίκα τοὺς πολιτικούς, οἷς ἐπιμελὲς ἦν, ἐξήγον
 κατὰ τὸ συντεταγμένον πρὸ τοῦ τείχους, ποιοῦντες
 23 ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρατος τοὺς ἵππεῖς. ὁ δὲ Φίλιπ-
 πος ἐγγίσας τοῖς περὶ τὸν Λυκούργον τὸ μὲν 20
 But Philip dis-
 lodges their posts
 2 and clears a way, πρῶτον αὐτοὺς ἐφῆκε τοὺς μισθοφό-
 ρους, ἐξ οὗ καὶ συνέβη τὰς ἀρχὰς
 ἐπικυδεστέρας ἀγωνίζεσθαι τοὺς παρὰ τῶν Λακε-
 δαιμονίων ἅτε καὶ τοῦ καθοπλισμοῦ καὶ τῶν
 3 τόπων αὐτοῖς οὐ μικρὰ συμβαλλομένων. ἐπεὶ 25
 δὲ τοὺς μὲν πελταστάς ὁ Φίλιππος ὑπέβαλε τοῖς
 ἀγωνιζομένοις ἐφεδρείας ἔχοντας τάξιν, τοῖς δ'
 Ἰλλυριοῖς ὑπεράρας ἐκ πλαγίων ἐποιεῖτο τὴν
 4 ἔφοδον, τότε συνέβη τοὺς μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου
 μισθοφόρους ἐπαρθέντας τῇ τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ 30

πελταστῶν ἐφεδρεία πολλὰ πλάσιως ἐπιρρωσθῆναι
 πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον, τοὺς δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Λυκούργου
 καταπλαγέοντας τὴν τῶν βαρέων ὅπλων ἔφοδον
 ἐγκλίναντες φυγεῖν. ἔπεσον μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν εἰς 5
 5 ἑκατόν, ἐάλωσαν δὲ μικρῷ πλείους· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ
 διέφυγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ὁ δὲ Λυκούργος αὐτὸς
 ταῖς ἀνοδίαις ὁρμήσας νύκτωρ μετ' ὀλίγων ἐποιή-
 σατο τὴν εἰς πόλιν πάροδον. Φίλιππος δὲ τοὺς 6
 μὲν λόφους τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς κατελάβετο, τοὺς δ'
 10 εὐζώνους ἔχων καὶ πελταστὰς ἐπανήει πρὸς τὴν
 δύναμιν. Ἄρατος δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον, 7
 ἄγων ἐκ τῶν Ἀμυκλῶν τὴν φάλαγγα, σύνεγγυς
 ἦν ἤδη τῆς πόλεως. ὁ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς διαβὰς 8
 τὸν ποταμὸν ἐφήδρευε τοῖς εὐζώνοις καὶ πελτα-
 15 σταῖς, ἔτι δὲ τοῖς ἱππεύσιν, ἕως τὰ βαρέα τῶν
 ὅπλων ὑπ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς βουνοὺς ἀσφαλῶς διήει,
 τὰς δυσχωρίας. τῶν δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιβαλο- 9
 μένων ἐγχειρεῖν τοῖς ἐφεδρεύουσι τῶν ἱππέων, καὶ
 γενομένης συμπλοκῆς ὀλοσχερεστέρας, καὶ τῶν
 20 πελταστῶν εὐψύχως ἀγωνισαμένων, καὶ περὶ 10
 τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ὁ Φίλιππος ὁμολογούμενον
 προτέρημα ποιήσας, καὶ συνδιώξας τοὺς τῶν Λα-
 κεδαιμονίων ἱππεῖς εἰς τὰς πύλας, μετὰ ταῦτα
 διαβὰς ἀσφαλῶς τὸν Εὐρώταν ἀπουράγει τοῖς
 25 αὐτοῦ φάλαγγίταις.

Ἦδη δὲ τῆς ὥρας συναγωγῆς, ἀπαναγκαζό- 24
 μένος αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδεύειν περὶ τὴν
 ἐκ τῶν στενῶν ἔξοδον ἐχρήσατο στρα-
 τοπεδεῖα, κατὰ σύμπτωμα τῶν ἡγε-
 30 μόνων περιβαλομένων τοιοῦτον τρόπον οἷον οὐκ

encamps securely,
 and returns by
 Sellasia and Te-
 gea.

ἂν ἄλλον τις εὖροι βουλόμενος εἰς τὴν χώραν τῆς
 Λακωνικῆς παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν
 3 εἰσβολήν. ἔστι γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν προειρη-
 μένων στενῶν, ὅταν ἀπὸ τῆς Τεγέας ἢ καθόλου
 τῆς μεσογαίου παραγινόμενος ἐγγίξῃ τις τῇ Λα- 5
 κedaίμονι, τόπος ἀπέχων μὲν τῆς πόλεως δύο
 μάλιστα σταδίου, ἐπ' αὐτοῦ δὲ κείμενος τοῦ
 4 ποταμοῦ. τούτου δὲ συμβαίνει τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν
 πόλιν καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν βλέπουσαν πλευρὰν πε-
 ριέχεσθαι πᾶσαν ἀπορρῶγι μεγάλη καὶ παντελῶς 10
 ἀπροσίτῳ· τὸ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς κρημνοῖς τούτοις χωρίον
 ἐπίπεδόν ἐστι καὶ γεῶδες καὶ κάθυγρον, ἅμα δὲ
 καὶ πρὸς τὰς εἰσαγωγὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξαγωγὰς τῶν
 5 δυνάμεων εὐφυῶς κείμενον, ὥστε τὸν στρατοπε-
 δεύσαντα ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ κατασχόντα τὸν ὑπερκεί- 15
 μενον λόφον δοκεῖν μὲν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ στρατοπεδεύειν
 διὰ τὴν παράθεσιν τῆς πόλεως, στρατοπεδεύειν
 δὲ ἐν καλλίστῳ, κρατοῦντα τῆς εἰσόδου καὶ τῆς
 6 διόδου τῶν στενῶν. πλὴν ὃ γε Φίλιππος κατα-
 στρατοπεδεύσας ἐν τούτῳ μετ' ἀσφαλείας τῇ κατὰ 20
 πόδας ἡμέρᾳ τὴν μὲν ἀποσκευὴν προαπέστειλε,
 τὴν δὲ δύναμιν ἐξέταξεν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιπέδοις εὐσύ-
 7 νοπτον τοῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. χρόνον μὲν οὖν τινα
 βραχὺν ἔμεινε, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κλίνας ἐπὶ κέρας
 ἦγε ποιούμενος τὴν πορείαν ὡς ἐπὶ Τέγεαν. 25
 8 συνάψας δὲ τοῖς τόποις ἐν οἷς Ἀντίγονος καὶ
 Κλεομένης συνεστήσαντο τὸν κίνδυνον, αὐτοῦ
 9 κατεστρατοπέδευσε. τῇ δ' ἐξῆς θεασάμενος τοὺς
 τόπους καὶ θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς ἐφ' ἑκατέρου τῶν
 λόφων, ὧν ὁ μὲν Ὀλυμπος ὁ δ' Εὐας καλεῖται, 30

μετὰ ταῦτα προῆγε στερροποιησάμενος τὴν οὐρα-
 γίαν. ἀφικόμενος δ' εἰς Τέγεαν καὶ λαφυροπώ- 10
 λήσας πᾶσαν τὴν λείαν, μετὰ ταῦτα ποιησάμενος
 δι' Ἀργούς τὴν πορείαν, ἦκε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως
 5 εἰς Κόρινθον. παρόντων δὲ πρεσβευτῶν παρά τε 11
 Ῥοδίων καὶ Χίων περὶ διαλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου,
 χρηματίσας τούτοις καὶ συνυποκριθεὶς καὶ φήσας
 ἕτοιμος εἶναι διαλύεσθαι καὶ νῦν καὶ πάλαι πρὸς
 Αἰτωλοὺς, τούτους μὲν ἐξέπεμπε διαλέγεσθαι
 10 κελεύσας καὶ τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς περὶ τῆς διαλύσεως,
 αὐτὸς δὲ καταβὰς εἰς τὸ Λέχαιον ἐγένετο περὶ 12
 πλοῦν, ἔχων τινὰς πράξεις ὁλοσχερεστέρας ἐν
 τοῖς περὶ Φωκίδα τόποις.

* * * * *

15 Οἱ δ' Αἰτωλοὶ τὰ μὲν ἔσπευδον ποιήσασθαι 29
 τὴν εἰρήνην πιεζόμενοι τῷ πολέμῳ, Negotiations for
 peace break down.
 καὶ παρὰ δόξαν αὐτοῖς προχωρούντων
 τῶν πραγμάτων (ἐλπίσαντες γὰρ ὡς παιδίῳ νηπίῳ 2
 χρήσασθαι τῷ Φιλίππῳ διὰ τε τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ
 10 τὴν ἀπειρίαν, τὸν μὲν Φίλιππον εὖρον τέλειον
 ἄνδρα καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐπιβολὰς καὶ κατὰ τὰς
 πράξεις, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐφάνησαν εὐκαταφρόνητοι καὶ
 παιδαριώδεις ἐν τε τοῖς κατὰ μέρος καὶ τοῖς
 καθόλου πράγμασιν), ἅμα δὲ προσπιπτούσης 3
 15 αὐτοῖς τῆς τε περὶ τοὺς πελταστὰς γενομένης
 ταραχῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀπελλὴν καὶ
 Λεόντιον ἀπωλείας ἐλπίσαντες μέγα τι καὶ δυ-
 σχερὲς κίνημα περὶ τὴν αὐλήν εἶναι, παρεῖλκον
 ὑπερτιθέμενοι τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ Ῥίον ταχθεῖσαν ἡμέραν.
 30 ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος ἀσμένως ἐπιλαβόμενος τῆς προ- 4

φάσεως ταύτης διὰ τὸ θαρρεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ, καὶ
 προδιειληφῶς ἀποτρίβεσθαι τὰς διαλύσεις, τότε
 παρακαλέσας τοὺς ἀπηντηκότας τῶν συμμάχων
 οὐ τὰ πρὸς διαλύσεις πράττειν ἀλλὰ τὰ πρὸς τὸν
 πόλεμον, ἀναχθεῖς αὐτῖς ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Κό- 5
 5 ρινθον. καὶ τοὺς μὲν Μακεδόνας διὰ Θετταλίας
 ἀπέλυσε πάντας εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν παραχειμάσοντας,
 αὐτὸς δ' ἀναχθεῖς ἐκ Κεγχρεῶν καὶ παρὰ τὴν
 Ἀττικὴν κομισθεὶς δι' Εὐρίπου κατέπλευσεν εἰς
 6 Δημητριάδα, καὶ κεῖ Πτολεμαῖον, ὃς ἦν ἔτι λοιπὸς 10
 τῆς τῶν περὶ τὸν Λεόντιον ἐταιρείας, κρίνας ἐν
 τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἀπέκτεινεν. * * *

30 Τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος ἐπιγενομένου, καὶ Φιλίππου
 μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς Μακεδονίαν
 ἀπηλλαγμένου, τοῦ δ' Ἐπηράτου τοῦ 15
 στρατηγοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καταπεφρο-
 νημένου μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτικῶν νεανίσκων κατε-
 γνωσμένου δὲ τελέως ὑπὸ τῶν μισθοφόρων, οὗτ'
 ἐπειθάρχει τοῖς παραγγελλομένοις οὐδεὶς οὗτ' ἦν
 2 ἔτοιμον οὐδὲν πρὸς τὴν τῆς χώρας βοήθειαν. εἰς 20
 ἂ βλέψας Πυρρίας ὁ παρὰ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἀπε-
 σταλμένος στρατηγὸς τοῖς Ἡλείοις, ἔχων Αἰτωλῶν
 εἰς χιλίους καὶ τριακοσίους καὶ τοὺς τῶν Ἡλείων
 μισθοφόρους, ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πολιτικοὺς πεζοὺς
 μὲν εἰς χιλίους ἵππεῖς δὲ διακοσίους, ὥστ' εἶναι 25
 3 τοὺς πάντας εἰς τρισχιλίους, οὐ μόνον τὴν τῶν
 Δυμαίων καὶ Φαραιέων συνεχῶς ἐπόρθει χώραν
 4 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῶν Πατρέων. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ἐπὶ
 τὸ Παναχαϊκὸν ὄρος καλούμενον ἐπιστρατοπε-
 δεύσας, τὸ κείμενον ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Πατρέων πόλεως, 30

The Aetolians
 ravage the Pelo-
 ponnese while E-
 peratus is quite
 incompetent.

ἐδῆον πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ Ῥίον καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Αἴγιον
 κεκλιμένην χώραν. λοιπὸν αἱ μὲν πόλεις κακο- 5
 παθοῦσαι καὶ μὴ τυγχάνουσαι βοηθείας δυσχερῶς
 πῶς εἶχον πρὸς τὰς εἰσφοράς, οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται
 5 τῶν ὀψωνίων παρελκομένων καὶ καθυστερούντων
 τὸ παραπλήσιον ἐποιοῦν περὶ τὰς βοηθείας· ἐξ 6
 ἀμφοῖν δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀνταποδόσεως γινομένης
 ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον προύβαινε τὰ πράγματα καὶ τέλος
 διελύθη τὸ ξενικόν. πάντα δὲ ταῦτα συνέβαινε
 10 γίνεσθαι διὰ τὴν τοῦ προεστῶτος ἀδυναμίαν. ἐν 7
 τοιαύτῃ δ' ὄντων διαθέσει τῶν κατὰ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς,
 καὶ τῶν χρόνων ἤδη καθηκόντων, Ἐπῆρατος μὲν
 ἀπετίθετο τὴν ἀρχήν, οἱ δ' Ἀχαιοὶ τῆς θερείας
 ἐναρχομένης στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Ἄρατον κατέστη-
 15 σαν τὸν πρεσβύτερον.

* * * * *

Ταῦτα δὲ ἀρμοσάμενος διέλυε τοὺς Μεγαλο- 93
 πολίτας πρὸς αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὸ τῶν Aratus disbanded
his forces and
 Ἀχαιῶν δόγμα. συνέβαινε γὰρ τοῦ- composed civil
 20 τοὺς προσφάτως ὑπὸ Κλεομένου strife at Megalo-
pollis.
 ἐπταικότας τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον ἐκ
 θεμελίων ἐσφαλμένους, πολλῶν μὲν ἐπιδεῖσθαι
 πάντων δὲ σπανίζειν· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ φρονήμασιν 3
 ἔμενον, ταῖς δὲ χορηγίαις καὶ κοινῇ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν
 25 πρὸς πᾶν ἀδυνατῶς εἶχον. διόπερ ἦν ἀμφισβη- 4
 τήσεως φιλοτιμίας ὀργῆς τῆς ἐν ἀλλήλοις πάντα
 πλήρη· τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι καὶ περὶ τὰ
 κοινὰ πράγματα καὶ περὶ τοὺς κατ' ἰδίαν βίους,
 ὅταν ἐλλίπωσιν αἱ χορηγίαι τὰς ἐκάστων ἐπι-
 30 βολάς. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἡμφισβήτουν ὑπὲρ τοῦ 5

τειχισμοῦ τῆς πόλεως, φάσκοντες οἱ μὲν συνάγειν αὐτὴν δεῖν καὶ ποιεῖν τηλικαύτην ἡλικίην καὶ τειχίζειν ἐπιβαλλόμενοι καθίξονται καὶ φυλάττειν καιροῦ περιστάντος δυνήσονται· καὶ γὰρ νῦν παρὰ τὸ μέγεθος αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν ἐσφάλλται. 5

6 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις εἰσφέρειν ᾧοντο δεῖν τοὺς κτημα-
τικοὺς τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν τῶν
7 προσλαμβανομένων οἰκητόρων ἀναπλήρῳσιν. οἱ
δ' οὔτε τὴν πόλιν ἐλάττω ποιεῖν ὑπέμενον οὔτε τὸ
τρίτον τῶν κτήσεων εὐδόκουν εἰσφέρειν μέρος, 10

8 μάλιστά τε τῶν νόμων ὑπὸ Πρυτάνιδος γεγραμ-
μένων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐφιλονείκουν, ὃν ἔδωκε μὲν
αὐτοῖς νομοθέτην Ἀντίγονος, ἣν δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν
ἀνδρῶν ἐκ τοῦ Περιπάτου καὶ ταύτης τῆς αἰρέσεως.

9 τοιαύτης δ' οὔσης τῆς ἀμφισβητήσεως ποιησά- 15
μενος Ἄρατος τὴν ἐνδεχομένην ἐπιστροφὴν κατ-
10 ἔπαυσε τὴν φιλοτιμίαν αὐτῶν. ἐφ' οἷς δ' ἔληξαν
τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφορᾶς, γράψαντες εἰς στήλην
παρὰ τὸν τῆς Ἑστίας ἀνέθεσαν βωμὸν ἐν Ὀμαρίῳ.

* * * * *

100 9 Ἦδη δ' αὐτοῦ συντετελεσμένου τὰ κατὰ τὰς

The commercial
powers try to me-
diate. Philip is
indifferent at first,

Θήβας, πάλιν ἤκου ὑπὲρ τῶν διαλύ-
σεων παρὰ τε Χίων καὶ Ῥοδίων καὶ
Βυζαντίων πρέσβεις καὶ παρὰ Πτο-

10 λεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως· οἷς παραπλησίους ἀπο- 23
κρίσεις δούς ταῖς πρότερον, καὶ φήσας οὐκ ἀλ-
λότριος εἶναι διαλύσεως, ἔπεμψε κελεύσας αὐτοὺς

11 πείραν λαμβάνειν καὶ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν. αὐτὸς δὲ
τῆς μὲν διαλύσεως ὀλιγώρει, τοῦ δὲ πράττειν τι

101 τῶν ἐξῆς ἀντείχετο. διόπερ ἀκούων τοὺς Σκερ- 30

- διλατῶδου λέμβους περὶ Μαλέαν ληΐζεσθαι καὶ
 πᾶσι τοῖς ἐμπόροις ὡς πολεμίοις χρῆσθαι, παρε-
 σπονδηκέναι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰδίων τινὰ πλοίων ἐν
 Λευκάδι συνορμήσαντα, καταρτίσας δώδεκα μὲν 2
 5 καταφράκτους ναῦς ὀκτὼ δ' ἀφράκτους τριάκοντα
 δ' ἡμιολίους ἔπλει δι' Εὐρίπου, σπεύδων μὲν
 καταλαβεῖν καὶ τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς, καθόλου δὲ με-
 τέωρος ὦν ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς ἐπὶ τὸν κατὰ τῶν
 Αἰτωλῶν πόλεμον διὰ τὸ μηδέν πω συνεικέναι
 10 τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ γεγονότων. συνέβαινε δέ, καθ' οὓς 3
 καιροὺς ἐπολιόρκει τὰς Θήβας Φίλιππος, ἡττηθῆναι
 Ῥωμαίους ὑπ' Ἀννίβου τῇ περὶ Τυρρηνίαν μάχῃ,
 τὴν δὲ φήμην ὑπὲρ τῶν γεγονότων μηδέπω προ-
 σπεπτωκέναι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν. ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος 4
 15 τῶν λέμβων ὑστερήσας καὶ καθορμισθεὶς πρὸς
 Κεγχρεαῖς τὰς μὲν καταφράκτους ναῦς ἔξαπέ-
 στειλε, συντάξας περὶ Μαλέαν ποιεῖσθαι τὸν
 πλοῦν ὡς ἐπ' Αἰγίου καὶ Πατρῶν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ
 τῶν πλοίων ὑπερισθμίσας ἐν Λεχαίῳ παρήγγελλε
 20 πᾶσιν ὀρμεῖν. αὐτὸς δὲ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἦκε μετὰ 5
 φίλων ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Νεμέων πανήγυριν εἰς Ἄργος.
 ἄρτι δ' αὐτοῦ θεωμένου τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν γυμνικόν, 6
 παρῆν ἐκ Μακεδονίας γραμματοφόρος διασαφῶν
 ὅτι λείπονται Ῥωμαῖοι μάχῃ μεγάλη
 25 καὶ κρατεῖ τῶν ὑπαίθρων Ἀννίβας. but hearing of
Roman disasters
wishes to have his
hands free. 7
 παραντίκα μὲν οὖν Δημητρίῳ τῷ
 Φαρίῳ μόνῳ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐπέδειξε, σιωπᾶν
 παρακελευσάμενος· ὃς καὶ λαβόμενος τῆς ἀφορμῆς 8
 ταύτης τὸν μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ᾤετο δεῖν
 30 τὴν ταχίστην ἀπορρῖψαι πόλεμον, ἀντέχεσθαι δὲ

- τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα πραγμάτων ἡξίου καὶ
 9 τῆς εἰς Ἰταλίαν διαβάσεως. τὰ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ
 τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάντα καὶ νῦν ἤδη ποιεῖν αὐτῷ τὸ
 προσταττόμενον ἔφη καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ποιήσκειν.
 Ἀχαιῶν μὲν ἐβελοντὴν εὐνοούντων, Αἰτωλῶν δὲ 5
 καταπεπληγμένων ἐκ τῶν συμβεβηκότων αὐτοῖς
 10 κατὰ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα πόλεμον· τὴν δ' Ἰταλίαν ἔφη
 καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖ διάβασιν ἀρχὴν εἶναι τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν
 ὅλων ἐπιβολῆς, ἣν οὐδενὶ καθήκειν μᾶλλον ἢ
 ῥαίον· τὸν δὲ καιρὸν εἶναι νῦν, ἐπταϊκότων Ῥω- 10
 102 μαίων. τοιοῦτοις δὲ χρησάμενος λόγοις ταχέως
 παρώρμησε τὸν Φίλιππον ὥς ἄν, οἶμαι, καὶ νέον
 βασιλέα καὶ κατὰ τὰς πράξεις ἐπιτυχῇ καὶ κα-
 θόλου τολμηρὸν εἶναι δοκοῦντα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις
 ἐξ οἰκίας ὀρμώμενον τοιαύτης ἢ μάλιστα πῶς αἰεὶ 15
 τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἐλπίδος ἐφίεται.
- 2 Πλὴν ὁ γε Φίλιππος, ὥς εἶπον, τότε μὲν αὐτῷ
 τῷ Δημητρίῳ τὰ προσπεπτωκότα διὰ τῆς ἐπιστο-
 λῆς ἐδήλωσε, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συνῆγε τοὺς φίλους
 καὶ διαβούλιον ἀνεδίδου περὶ τῆς πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς 20
 3 The Achaeans
 too are ready to
 make peace. διαλύσεως. ὄντων δὲ καὶ τῶν περὶ
 τὸν Ἄρατον οὐκ ἄλλοτρίων διεξαγω-
 γῆς τῷ δοκεῖν ὑπερδεξίους ὄντας τῷ πολέμῳ
 4 ποιεῖσθαι τὴν διάλυσιν, οὕτως ὁ βασιλεὺς, οὐδὲ
 τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς ἔτι προσδεξάμενος τοὺς κοινῇ 25
 πράττοντας τὰ περὶ τὰς διαλύσεις, παραχρῆμα
 Κλεόνικον μὲν τὸν Ναυπάκτιον πρὸς τοὺς Αἰτω-
 5 λους διεπέμψατο (κατέλαβε γὰρ ἔτι τοῦτον ἐκ
 τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἐπιμένοντα τὴν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν
 σύνοδον), αὐτὸς δὲ παραλαβὼν ἐκ Κορίνθου τὰς 30

ναὺς καὶ τὴν πεζὴν δύναμιν ἤκεν ἔχων εἰς Αἴγιον.
 καὶ προελθὼν ἐπὶ Λασιῶνα καὶ τὸν ἐν τοῖς Περιπ- 6
 πίοις πύργον παραλαβὼν, καὶ συννυποκριθεὶς ὡς
 ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν Ἥλείαν τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν λίαν
 5 ἔτοιμος εἶναι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου κατάλυσιν,
 μετὰ ταῦτα δις ἢ τρίς ἀνακάμψαντος τοῦ Κλεονί- 7
 κου, δεομένων τῶν Αἰτωλῶν εἰς λόγους σφίσι
 συνελθεῖν ἐπήκουσε, καὶ πάντ' ἀφείδεν τὰ τοῦ πο- 8
 λέμου πρὸς μὲν τὰς συμμαχίδας πόλεις γραμμα-
 10 τοφόρους ἐξαπέστειλε, παρακαλῶν πέμπειν τοὺς
 συνεδρεύοντας καὶ μεθέξοντας τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν
 διαλύσεων κοινολογίας, αὐτὸς δὲ διαβὰς μετὰ τῆς 9
 δυνάμεως καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύσας περὶ Πάνορμον,
 ὃς ἔστι μὲν τῆς Πελοποννήσου λιμὴν, κείμενος δὲ
 15 καταντικρὺ τῆς τῶν Ναυπακτίων πόλεως, ἀνέμενε
 τοὺς τῶν συμμάχων συνέδρους. κατὰ δὲ τὸν 10
 καιρὸν τοῦτον καθ' ὃν ἔδει συναθροίζεσθαι τοὺς
 προειρημένους, πλεύσας εἰς Ζάκυνθον δι' αὐτοῦ
 κατεστήσατο τὰ κατὰ τὴν νῆσον, καὶ παρὴν αὐθις
 20 ἀναπλέων. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τῶν συνέδρων ἡθροισμένων 103
 ἐξέπεμψε πρὸς τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς Ἄρατον A conference is
held at Naupac-
tus,
 καὶ Ταυρίωνα καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἡκόντων
 ἅμα τούτοις, οἳ καὶ συμμίζαντες τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς 2
 πανδημεὶ συνηθροισμένοις ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ, βραχέα
 25 διαλεχθέντες καὶ θεωροῦντες αὐτῶν τὴν ὁρμὴν τὴν
 πρὸς τὰς διαλύσεις, ἔπλεον ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς πρὸς
 τὸν Φίλιππον χάριν τοῦ διασαφῆσαι περὶ τούτων.
 οἳ δ' Αἰτωλοὶ σπεύδοντες διαλύσασθαι τὸν πόλε- 3
 μον ἐξαπέστελλον ἅμα τούτοις πρέσβεις πρὸς
 30 τὸν Φίλιππον, ἀξιοῦντες παραγενέσθαι μετὰ τῆς

δυνάμεως πρὸς σφᾶς, ἵνα τῆς κοινολογίας ἐκ χειρὸς
 γινομένης τύχῃ τὰ πράγματα τῆς ἀρμοζούσης
 4 διεξαγωγῆς. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὀρμηθεὶς τοῖς παρα-
 καλουμένοις διέπλευσε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως πρὸς
 τὰ λεγόμενα Κοῖλα τῆς Ναυπακτίας, ἃ τῆς πόλεως 5
 5 εἴκοσι μάλιστα σταδίους ἀφέστηκεν· στρατοπε-
 δεύσας δέ, καὶ περιλαβὼν χάρακι τὰς νῆας καὶ
 τὴν παρεμβολήν, ἔμενε προσανέχων τὸν καιρὸν
 6 τῆς ἐντεύξεως. οἱ δ' Αἰτωλοὶ χωρὶς τῶν ὅπλων
 ἦκον πανδημεί, καὶ διασχόντες ὡς δύο στάδια τῆς 10
 Φιλίππου παρεμβολῆς διεπέμποντο καὶ διελέγοντο
 7 περὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ὁ βα-
 σιλεὺς πάντας ἐξέπεμπε τοὺς ἦκοντας παρὰ τῶν
 συμμάχων, κελεύσας ἐπὶ τούτοις προτείνειν τὴν
 εἰρήνην τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς ὥστ' ἔχειν ἀμφοτέρους ἃ 15
 8 νῦν ἔχουσιν· δεξαμένων δὲ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἐτοίμως,
 τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη περὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος συνεχεῖς
 ἐγίνοντο διαποστολαὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὧν τὰς μὲν
 πλείους παρήσομεν διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἔχειν ἄξιον
 9 μνήμης, τῆς δ' Ἀγελάου τοῦ Ναυπακτίου πα- 20
 ραινέσεως ποιησόμεθα μνήμην, ἣ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην
 ἔντευξιν ἐχρήσατο πρὸς τε τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς
 104 παρόντας συμμάχους. ὃς ἔφη δεῖν μάλιστα μὲν
 where Agelaus strongly advo-
 cates the union
 of Greece in face
 of Rome. μηδέποτε πολεμεῖν τοὺς Ἕλληνας
 ἀλλήλοις, ἀλλὰ μεγάλην χάριν ἔχειν 25
 τοῖς θεοῖς εἰ λέγοντες ἐν καὶ ταῦτό
 πάντες, καὶ συμπλέκοντες τὰς χεῖρας καθάπερ οἱ
 τοὺς ποταμοὺς διαβαίνοντες, δύναιντο τὰς τῶν
 βαρβάρων ἐφόδους ἀποτριβόμενοι συσσώζειν σφᾶς
 2 αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς πόλεις. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἰ τὸ παράπαν 30

τοῦτο μὴ δυνατόν, κατὰ γε τὸ παρὸν ἡξίου συμ-
 φρονεῖν καὶ φυλάττεσθαι προῖδομένους τὸ βάρος
 τῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ συνεστῶτος
 πρὸς ταῖς δύσεσι πολέμου· δῆλον γὰρ εἶναι παντὶ 3
 5 τῷ καὶ μετρίως περὶ τὰ κοινὰ σπουδάζοντι καὶ
 νῦν, ὥς ἔάν τε Καρχηδόνιοι Ῥωμαίων ἔάν τε
 Ῥωμαῖοι Καρχηδονίων περιγέυνονται τῷ πολέμῳ,
 διότι κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον εἰκὸς ἐστὶ τοὺς κρατή-
 σαντας ἐπὶ ταῖς Ἰταλιωτῶν καὶ Σικελιωτῶν μέναι
 10 δυναστείας, ἥξειν δὲ καὶ διατενεῖν τὰς ἐπιβολὰς
 καὶ δυνάμεις αὐτῶν πέρα τοῦ δέοντος. διόπερ 4
 ἡξίου πάντας μὲν φυλάξασθαι τὸν καιρὸν, μάλιστα
 δὲ Φίλιππον. εἶναι δὲ φυλακὴν, εἰ ἂν ἀφέμενος 5
 τοῦ καταφθεῖρειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ ποιεῖν εὐχει-
 15 ρώτους τοῖς ἐπιβαλλομένοις κατὰ τὸνναντίον ὥς
 ὑπὲρ ἰδίου σώματος βουλευῆται, καὶ καθόλου
 πάντων τῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος μερῶν ὥς οἰκείων καὶ
 προσηκόντων αὐτῷ ποιῆται πρόνοιαν· τοῦτον γὰρ 6
 τὸν τρόπον χρωμένου τοῖς πράγμασι τοὺς μὲν
 20 Ἕλληνας εὖνους ὑπάρξειν αὐτῷ καὶ βεβαίους
 συναγωνιστὰς πρὸς τὰς ἐπιβολὰς, τοὺς δ' ἔξωθεν
 ἦττον ἐπιβουλεύσειν αὐτοῦ τῇ δυναστείᾳ, κατα-
 πεπληγμένους τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρὸς αὐτὸν
 πίστιν. εἰ δὲ πραγμάτων ὀρέγεται, πρὸς τὰς 7
 25 δύσεις βλέπειν αὐτὸν ἡξίου καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ
 συνεστῶσι πολέμοις προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, ἵνα γε-
 νόμενος ἔφεδρος ἔμφρων πειραθῇ σὺν καιρῷ τῆς
 τῶν ὅλων ἀντιποιήσασθαι δυναστείας. εἶναι δὲ 8
 τὸν ἐνεστῶτα καιρὸν οὐκ ἀλλότριον τῆς ἐλπίδος
 30 ταύτης. τὰς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας διαφορὰς καὶ 9

- τοὺς πολέμους εἰς τὰς ἀναπαύσεις αὐτὸν ὑπερτί-
 θεσθαι παρεκάλει, καὶ μάλιστα σπουδάζειν περὶ
 τούτου τοῦ μέρους, ἵν' ἔχῃ τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ὅταν
 βούληται, καὶ διαλύεσθαι καὶ πολεμεῖν πρὸς αὐ-
 10 τοὺς· ὥς ἐὰν ἅπαξ τὰ προφαινόμενα νῦν ἀπὸ τῆς 5
 ἐσπέρας νέφη προσδέξηται τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα
 τόποις ἐπιστῆναι, καὶ λίαν ἀγωνιᾶν ἔφη μὴ τὰς
 ἀνοχὰς καὶ τοὺς πολέμους καὶ καθόλου τὰς
 παιδιάς, ἃς νῦν παίζομεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐκ-
 κοπῆναι συμβῇ πάντων ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὥστε 10
 11 κἂν εὖξασθαι τοῖς θεοῖς ὑπάρχειν ἡμῖν τὴν ἐξου-
 σίαν ταύτην, καὶ πολεμεῖν ὅταν βουλώμεθα καὶ
 διαλύεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ καθόλου κυρίους
 εἶναι τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀμφισβητουμένων.
- 105· Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀγέλαος τοιαῦτα διαλεχθεὶς πάντας 15
 μὲν παρώρμησε τοὺς συμμάχους πρὸς τὰς διαλύ-
 σεις, μάλιστα δὲ τὸν Φίλιππον, οἰκείοις χρησά-
 μενος λόγοις πρὸς τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἤδη
 προκατεσκευασμένην ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Δημητρίου
 2 παραινέσεων. διόπερ ἀνθομολογησάμενοι πρὸς 20
 σφᾶς ὑπὲρ τῶν κατὰ μέρος, καὶ κυρώσαντες τὰς
 διαλύσεις, ἐχωρίσθησαν κατάγοντες εἰς τὰς οἰ-
 κείας ἕκαστοι πατρίδας εἰρήνην ἀντὶ πολέμου.

* * * * *

BOOK VII. cc. x. to XIII.

Οὔσης δημοκρατίας παρὰ τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις, 10
καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀξιολόγων ἀνδρῶν πεφυ- A revolution at
γαδευμένων, τῶν δὲ κατακεκληρουχη- Messene is fol-
μένων τὰς τούτων οὐσίας ἐπικρατούν- lowed by confis-
cation. B.C. 215.
5 των τῆς πολιτείας, δυσχερῶς ὑπέφερον τὴν τούτων
ἰσηγορίαν οἱ μένοντες τῶν ἀρχαίων πολιτῶν. * * *

Φιλίππου τοῦ βασιλέως Μακεδόνων τὴν 11
τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἀκρόπολιν κατασχεῖν Phillip is minded
βουλομένου, καὶ φήσαντος πρὸς τοὺς to seize the Acro-
polis, but for-
10 προεστῶτας τῆς πόλεως βούλεσθαι bears at the re-
monstrance of
θεάσασθαι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ θῦσαι Aratus.
τῷ Διί, ἀναβάντος μετὰ τῆς θεραπείας καὶ θύοντος,
μετὰ ταῦτα κατὰ τὸν ἐθισμόν ἐκ τῶν τυθέντων
ἱερείων προσενεχθέντων αὐτῷ τῶν σπλάγχνων,
15 δεξάμενος εἰς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ βραχὺ διακλίνας
ἤρετο προτείνων τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἄρατον, τί δοκεῖ
τὰ ἱερὰ σημαίνειν, πότερον ἐκχωρεῖν τῆς ἄκρας ἢ
κρατεῖν αὐτῆς. ὁ μὲν οὖν Δημήτριος αὐτόθεν ἐκ 2
τοῦ προβεβηκότος “εἰ μὲν μάντεως φρένας ἔχεις”
20 ἔφη, “ἐκχωρεῖν τὴν ταχίστην, εἰ δὲ βασιλέως
πραγματικοῦ, τηρεῖν αὐτήν, ἵνα μὴ νῦν ἀφελὺς ζητῆς
ἕτερον ἐπιτήδειον καιρόν. οὕτως γὰρ ἐκατέρων 3
τῶν κεράτων κρατῶν μόνως ἂν ὑποχείριον ἔχοις
τὸν βοῦν,” αἰνιττόμενος τὰ μὲν κέρατα τὸν Ἴθω-
25 μάτην καὶ τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον, τὴν δὲ Πελοπόν-
νησον τὸν βοῦν. ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος ἐπιστρέψας πρὸς 4
τὸν Ἄρατον “σὺ δὲ ταῦτα συμβουλεύεις;” ἔφη.
τοῦ δ' ἐπισχόντος, αὐτὸ λέγειν ἡξίου τὸ φαινόμενον.

- 5 ὁ δὲ διαπορήσας “εἰ μὲν χωρὶς” ἔφη “τοῦ παρα-
 σπονδῆσαι Μεσσηνίους δύνη κρατεῖν τοῦ τόπου
 6 τούτου, συμβουλευώ κρατεῖν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτον κατα-
 λαβὼν φρουρᾷ πάσας ἀπολλύναι μέλλεις· τὰς
 ἀκροπόλεις καὶ τὴν φρουράν, ἣ παρέλαβες παρ’ 5
 7 Ἀντιγόνου φρουρουμένους τοὺς συμμάχους,” λέγων
 τὴν πίστιν, “σκόπει μὴ καὶ νῦν κρεῖττον ἢ τοὺς
 ἄνδρας ἐξαγαγόντα τὴν πίστιν αὐτοῦ καταλιπεῖν,
 καὶ ταύτῃ φρουρεῖν τοὺς Μεσσηνίους, ὁμοίως δὲ
 8 καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς συμμάχους.” ὁ Φίλιππος κατὰ 10
 μὲν τὴν ἰδίαν ὁρμὴν ἔτοιμος ἦν παρασπονδεῖν, ὥς
 ἐκ τῶν ὕστερον πραχθέντων ἐγένετο καταφανής·
 9 ἐπιτετιμημένος δὲ μικρῷ μὲν πρότερον ὑπὸ τοῦ
 νεωτέρου πικρῶς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπωλείᾳ,
 τότε δὲ μετὰ παρρησίας ἅμα καὶ μετ’ ἀξιώσεως 15
 λέγοντος τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου, καὶ δεομένου μὴ παρ-
 10 ακοῦσαι τῶν λεγομένων, ἐνετράπη, καὶ λαβόμενος
 αὐτοῦ τῆς δεξιᾶς “ἄγωμεν τοίνυν” ἔφη “πάλιν τὴν
 αὐτὴν ὁδόν.” * * *
 13 2 Ἡμεῖς δέ, τοῦ κατὰ τὴν πέμπτην βύβλον ἡμῖν 20
 ἐν ἐπαγγελίᾳ καὶ φάσει μόνον εἰρη-
 μένου νῦν δι’ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων
 τὴν πίστιν εἰληφότος, βουλόμεθα
 προσαναμνήσαι τοὺς συνεφιστάνοντας
 τῇ πραγματείᾳ πρὸς τὸ μηδεμίαν τῶν ἀποφάσεων 25
 ἀναπόδεικτον μηδ’ ἀμφισβητουμένην καταλιπεῖν.
 3 καθ’ ὃν γὰρ καιρὸν ἐξηγούμενοι τὸν Αἰτωλικὸν
 πόλεμον ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς διηγήσεως ἐπέ-
 στημεν ἐν ᾧ Φίλιππον ἔφαμεν τὰς ἐν Θέρμῳ
 στοὰς καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἀναθημάτων θυμικώτερον 30

Demetrius of
 Pharos was the
 evil genius of
 Philip, as Aratus
 was his good ad-
 viser.

καταφθεῖραι, καὶ δεῖν τούτων τὴν αἰτίαν οὐχ οὕτως
ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ὥς ἐπὶ τοὺς
συνόντας αὐτῷ φίλους ἀναφέρειν, τότε περὶ μὲν 4
Ἄράτου τὸν βίον ἐφήσαμεν ἀπολογεῖσθαι τὸ μη-
5 δὲν αὖ ποιῆσαι μοχθηρόν, Δημητρίου δὲ τοῦ Φαρίου
τὴν τοιαύτην εἶναι προαίρεσιν. δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο 5
ποιήσκειν ἐπηγγειλάμεθα διὰ τῶν ἐξῆς ῥηθησομέ-
νων, εἰς τοῦτον ὑπερθέμενοι τὸν καιρὸν τὴν πίστιν
τῆς προρρηθείσης ἀποφάσεως, ἐν ᾧ παρὰ μίαν 6
10 ἡμέραν Δημητρίου μὲν παρόντος, ὥς ἀρτίως ὑπὲρ
τῶν κατὰ Μεσσηνίους ὑπεδείξαμεν, Ἄράτου δὲ
καθυστερήσαντος ἤρξατο Φίλιππος ἄπτεσθαι τῶν
μεγίστων ἀσεβημάτων, καὶ καθάπερ αὖ ἐγγευσά- 7
μενος αἵματος ἀνθρωπείου καὶ τοῦ φονεύειν καὶ
15 παρασπονδεῖν τοὺς συμμάχους, οὐ λύκος ἐξ ἀν-
θρώπου κατὰ τὸν Ἀρκαδικὸν μῦθον, ὥς φησιν ὁ
Πλάτων, ἀλλὰ τύραννος ἐκ βασιλέως ἀπέβη
πικρός. τούτου δ' ἐναργέστερον ἔτι δεῦγμα τῆς 8
ἐκατέρου γνώμης τὸ περὶ τῆς ἄκρας συμβούλευμα,
20 πρὸς τὸ μηδὲ περὶ τῶν κατ' Αἰτωλοὺς διαπορεῖν.

* * * * *

BOOK VIII. c. xiv.

Φίλιππος δὲ τοὺς μὲν Μεσσηνίους πολεμίους 14
γεγονότας οὐδὲν ἄξιον ἡδυνήθη λόγου Philip falls to
get possession of
Messene,
βλάψαι, καίπερ ἐπιβαλόμενος κακο-
ποιεῖν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν, εἰς δὲ τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους

τῶν φίλων τὴν μεγίστην ἀσέλγειαν ἐναπεδείξατο·
 2 τὸν γὰρ πρεσβύτερον Ἄρατον, δυσαρεστηθέντα
 τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπραγμένοις ἐν τῇ Μεσσήνῃ, μετ'
 οὐ πολὺ μετὰ Ταυρίωνος τοῦ χειρίζοντος αὐτῷ τὰ
 3 resents remon-
strance, and rids
himself of Aratus
by slow poison.
B.C. 213. κατὰ Πελοπόννησον ἐπανείλατο φαρ- 5
 μάκῳ. παραυτίκα μὲν οὖν ἡγνοεῖτο
 παρὰ τοῖς ἐκτὸς τὸ γεγονός· καὶ γὰρ
 ἦν ἡ δύναμις οὐ τῶν παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν ἀπολ-
 λουσῶν, ἀλλὰ χρόνον ἔχουσα καὶ διάθεσιν ἐργα-
 4 ζομένη· τὸν γε μὴν Ἄρατον αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐλάνθανε 10
 τὸ κακόν. ἐγένετο δὲ δῆλον ἐκ τούτων· ἅπαντας
 5 γὰρ ἐπικρυπτόμενος τοὺς ἄλλους, πρὸς ἓνα τῶν
 ὑπηρετῶν Κεφάλωνα διὰ τὴν συνήθειαν οὐκ ἔστεξε
 τὸν λόγον, ἀλλ' ἐπιμελῶς αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀρρω-
 στίαν τοῦ προειρημένου συμπαρόντος καὶ τι τῶν 15
 πρὸς τῷ τοίχῳ πτυσμάτων ἐπισημηναμένου δίαιμον
 ὑπάρχον, εἶπε “ταῦτα τὰπίχειρα τῆς φιλίας, ὧ
 6 Κεφάλων, κεκομίσμεθα τῆς πρὸς Φίλιππου.” οὐ-
 τως ἐστὶ μέγα τι καὶ καλὸν χρῆμα μετριότης,
 ὥστε μᾶλλον ὁ παθὼν τοῦ πράξαντος ἡσχύνητο 20
 τὸ γεγονός, εἰ τοσούτων καὶ τηλικούτων κεκοινω-
 νηκῶς ἔργων ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Φιλίππου συμφέροντι
 7 τοιαῦτα τὰπίχειρα κεκόμισται τῆς εὐνοίας. οὗτος
 μὲν οὖν καὶ διὰ τὸ πολλάκις τῆς ἀρχῆς τετευχέναι
 παρὰ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ διὰ τὸ 25
 μέγεθος τῶν εἰς τὸ ἔθνος εὐεργεσιῶν, μεταλλάξας
 τὸν βίον ἔτυχε πρεπούσης τιμῆς καὶ παρὰ τῇ
 8 πατρίδι καὶ παρὰ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν· καὶ γὰρ
 θυσίας αὐτῷ καὶ τιμὰς ἥρωικὰς ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ
 συλλήβδην ὅσα πρὸς αἰώνιον ἀνήκει μνήμην, ὥστ' 30

εἶπερ καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἀποικομένους ἔστι τις αἴσθησις, εἰκὸς εὐδοκεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ τῇ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν εὐχαριστία καὶ ταῖς ἐν τῷ ζῆν κακοπραγίαις καὶ κινδύνοις.

* * * * *

BOOK X. cc. xxi., xxii.

- 5 Εὐρυλέων ὁ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν στρατηγὸς ἄτολ-21
 μος ἦν καὶ πολεμικῆς χρείας ἀλλότριος. τοῦ 2
 δὲ καιροῦ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν διήγησιν ἐφεστακότος
 ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν Φιλοποίμενος The character of
 Philopoemen is a
 fit subject for an
 historian's study.
 πράξεων, καθήκειν ἡγούμεθα, καθάπερ
 10 καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀξιολόγων
 ἀνδρῶν τὰς ἐκάστων ἀγωγὰς καὶ φύσεις ἐπειρά-
 θημεν ὑποδεικνύναι, καὶ περὶ τούτου ποιῆσαι τὸ
 παραπλήσιον. καὶ γὰρ ἄτοπον τὰς μὲν τῶν πό- 3
 λεων κτίσεις τοὺς συγγραφέας, καὶ πότε καὶ πῶς
 15 καὶ διὰ τίνων ἐκτίσθησαν, ἔτι δὲ τὰς διαθέσεις
 καὶ περιστάσεις μετ' ἀποδείξεως ἐξαγγέλλειν, τὰς
 δὲ τῶν τὰ ὅλα χειρισάντων ἀνδρῶν ἀγωγὰς καὶ
 ζήλους παρασιωπᾶν, καὶ ταῦτα τῆς χρείας μεγά-
 λην ἐχούσης τὴν διαφοράν· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν τις καὶ 4
 20 ζηλῶσαι καὶ μιμήσασθαι δυνηθείη μᾶλλον τοὺς
 ἐμψύχους ἀνδρας τῶν ἀψύχων κατασκευασμάτων,
 τοσούτῳ καὶ τὸν περὶ αὐτῶν λόγον διαφέρειν
 εἰκὸς πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν τῶν ἀκουόντων. εἰ μὲν 5
 οὖν μὴ κατ' ἰδίαν ἐπεποιήμεθα τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ

σύνταξιν, ἐν ᾗ διεσαφούμεν καὶ τίς ἦν καὶ τίνων
 καὶ τίσιν ἀγωγαῖς ἐχρήσατο νέος ὢν, ἀναγκαῖον
 ἦν ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου τῶν προειρημένων φέρειν ἀπολο-
 6 γισμὸν· ἐπεὶ δὲ πρότερον ἐν τρισὶ βυβλίοις ἐκτὸς
 ταύτης τῆς συντάξεως τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πεποιήμεθα 5
 λόγον, τὴν τε παιδικὴν ἀγωγὴν διασαφούντες καὶ
 7 τὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας πράξεις, δῆλον ὥς ἐν τῇ νῦν
 ἐξηγήσει πρέπον ἂν εἴη τῆς μὲν νεωτερικῆς ἀγωγῆς
 καὶ τῶν νεωτερικῶν ζήλων κατὰ μέρος ἀφελεῖν,
 τοῖς δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀκμὴν αὐτοῦ κεφαλαιωδῶς ἐκεῖ
 δεδηλωμένοις ἔργοις προσθεῖναι καὶ κατὰ μέρος, 10
 ἵνα τὸ πρέπον ἐκατέρα τῶν συντάξεων τηρῶμεν.
 8 ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὁ τόπος, ὑπάρχων ἐγκωμιαστι-
 κός, ἀπῆται τὸν κεφαλαιώδη καὶ μετ' αὐξήσεως
 τῶν πράξεων ἀπολογισμὸν, οὕτως ὁ τῆς ἱστορίας, 15
 κοινὸς ὢν ἐπαίνου καὶ ψόγου, ζητεῖ τὸν ἀληθῆ καὶ
 τὸν μετὰ ἀποδείξεως καὶ τῶν ἐκάστοις παρεπο-
 μένων συλλογισμῶν.

- 22 Φιλοποίμην τοίνυν πρῶτον μὲν ἔφνυ καλῶς· ἦν
 γὰρ ἐξ ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων κατ' Ἀρκαδίαν, 20
 τραφεὶς δὲ καὶ παιδευθεὶς ὑπὸ Κλέανδρον τὸν
 Μαντινέα, πατρικὸν μὲν αὐτῷ ξένον
 ὑπάρχοντα, φυγαδεύοντα δὲ κατ' ἐκεί-
 νους τοὺς καιροὺς, ὄντα δὲ Μαντινέων
 2 ἐπιφανέστατον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παραγενόμενος εἰς 25
 ἡλικίαν ἐγένετο ζηλωτὴς Ἐκδήμου καὶ Δημοφάνους,
 οἳ τὸ μὲν γένος ἦσαν ἐκ Μεγάλης πόλεως, φεύ-
 γοντες δὲ τοὺς τυράννους καὶ συμβιώσαντες Ἀρ-
 κεσίλῃ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν ἡλευθέρω-
 σαν μὲν τὴν αὐτῶν πατρίδα, συστησάμενοι κατ' 30

He was well-born,
 carefully trained,
 of simple and
 hardy habits.

Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ τυράννου πρᾶξιν, συνεπελάβοντο 3
 δὲ καὶ τῆς καταλύσεως τοῦ Σικυωνίων τυράννου
 Νικοκλέους, κοινωνήσαντες Ἀράτῳ τῆς ἐπιβολῆς·
 ἔτι δὲ Κυρηναίων αὐτοὺς μεταπεμφαμένων ἐπι-
 5 φανῶς προύστησαν καὶ διεφύλαξαν αὐτοῖς τὴν
 ἐλευθερίαν. οἷς κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἡλικίαν ἐπὶ 4
 πολὺ συμβιώσας διέφερε μὲν εὐθέως τῶν καθ'
 αὐτὸν περί τε τὰς ἐν τοῖς κυνηγίοις κακοπαθείας
 καὶ τόλμας περί τε τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, ἣν δὲ 5
 10 καὶ περὶ τὸν βίον ἐπιμελῆς καὶ λιτὸς κατὰ τὴν
 περικοπήν, παρείληφὼς παρὰ τῶν προειρημένων
 ἀνδρῶν τοιαύτας τινὰς δόξας, ὥς οὐχ οἷόν τε τῶν
 κοινῶν προστατεῖν καλῶς τὸν ὀλιγορῶντα τῶν
 κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον βίον, οὔτε μὴν ἀποσχέσθαι τῶν
 15 τῆς πατρίδος, ὅστις πολυτελέστερον ζῇ τῆς κατὰ
 τὴν ἰδίαν ὑπαρξιν χορηγίας. πλὴν κατασταθεὶς 6
 ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἱππάρχης ἐν τοῖς
 προειρημένοις καιροῖς, καὶ παραλαβὼν
 τὰ συντάγματα τῶν ἱππέων παντὶ
 20 τρόπῳ κατεφθαρμένα καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν
 ἡττημένας, οὐ μόνον αὐτοὺς ἑαυτῶν βελτίους, 7
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὑπεναντίων κρείττους ἐν ὀλίγῳ
 χρόνῳ κατεσκεύασεν, πάντας εἰς ἀληθινὴν ἀσκη-
 σιν καὶ ζῆλον ἐπιτευκτικὸν ἐμβιβάσας. τῶν μὲν 8
 25 γὰρ ἄλλων οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν καθισταμένων ἐπὶ
 τὴν προειρημένην ἀρχήν, οἱ μὲν διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν
 αἰδυναμίαν ἐν τοῖς ἱππικοῖς οὐδὲ τοῖς πλησίον
 τολμῶσιν οὐδὲν ὧν καθήκει προσταττεῖν, οἱ δὲ 9
 τῆς στρατηγίας ὀρεγόμενοι διὰ ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς
 30 ἐξεριθεύονται τοὺς νέους καὶ παρασκευάζουσιν

He reformed the
 Achaean cavalry
 with great care
 and skill. B.C. 210.

εὖνους συναγωνιστὰς εἰς τὸ μέλλον, οὐκ ἐπιτιμῶν-
 τες τῷ δεομένῳ, δι' οὗ τρόπου σφύζεται τὰ κοινά,
 συμπεριστέλλοντες τὰς ἀμαρτίας καὶ μικρᾷ χάριτι
 10 μεγάλα βλάπτοντες τοὺς πιστεύοντας. εἰ δέ
 ποτε γένοιντο τῶν ἀρχόντων τινὲς τῇ τε κατὰ 5
 σῶμα χρεῖᾳ δυνατοὶ πρὸς τε τὸ τῶν κοινῶν ἀπέ-
 χεσθαι πρίθυμοι, πλείω κακὰ τῶν ὀλιγωρούντων
 διὰ τὴν κακοζηλωσίαν ἀπεργάζονται τοὺς πεζούς,
 ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον τοὺς ἵππεῖς.

* * * * *

BOOK XI. cc. ix. to xviii.

9 Μεγάλα μὲν ἔφη τὴν λαμπρότητα συμβάλ- 10
 λεσθαι πρὸς ἑκπληξιν τῶν ὑπεναντίων, πολλὰ δὲ
 συνεριγεῖν τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἐπισκευῆς ἀρμο-
 2 γὴν τῶν ὅπλων εἰς τὴν χρεῖαν. γί-
 νεσθαι δ' ἂν μάλιστα τὸ δέον, εἰ τὴν
 μὲν ἐπιμέλειαν, ἣν νῦν ποιοῦνται περὶ 15
 τὸν ἱματισμόν, ταύτην ποιήσαιεντο περὶ τῶν ὅπλων,
 τὴν δὲ πρότερον ὀλιγορίαν περὶ τῶν ὅπλων παρ'
 αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχουσαν, ταύτην μετενέγκαιεν ἐπὶ τὰς
 3 ἐσθῆτας· οὕτως γὰρ ἅμα τοὺς τε κατ' ἰδίαν βίους
 ὠφελήσεσθαι καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πράγμαθ' ὁμολογου- 20
 4 μένως αὐτοὺς δυνήσεσθαι σφύζειν. διόπερ ἔφη δεῖν
 τὸν εἰς ἐξοπλισίαν ἢ στρατείαν ἐκπορευόμενον,
 ὅτε μὲν τὰς κνημίδας περιτίθεται, σκοπεῖν ὅπως
 ἀραρυῖαί τε καὶ στίλβουσιν τῶν ὑποδεσμῶν καὶ
 5 κρηπίδων ὑπάρχωσιν αὐταὶ μᾶλλον, ὅταν δὲ 25

Philopoemen ur-
 ges the Achaeans
 to think more
 of discipline and
 arms than of fine
 dress

- τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸν θώρακα καὶ τὸ κράνος δια-
 λαμβάνη, περιβλέπειν ἵνα τῆς χλαμύδος καὶ τοῦ
 χιτῶνος καθαριώτερα ταῦθ' ὑπάρχῃ καὶ πολυτε-
 λέστερα· παρ' οἷς γὰρ τὰ πρὸς ἐπιφάνειαν αἶρε- 6
 5 τώτερά ἐστι τῶν πρὸς τὴν χρείαν, παρὰ τούτοις
 αὐτόθεν εὐθέως προφανὲς εἶναι τὸ συμβησόμενον
 ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις. καθόλου δ' ἡξίου διαλαμβάνειν 7
 ὡς ὁ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἱματίοις καλλωπισμὸς γυναικὸς
 ἐστι, καὶ ταύτης οὐ λίαν σῶφρονος, ἡ δ' ἐν τοῖς
 10 ὅπλοις πολυτέλεια καὶ σεμνότης ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν,
 προαιρουμένων ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τὰς πατρίδας ἐνδόξως
 σῶζειν. πάντες δ' οἱ παρόντες οὕτως ἀπεδέξαντο 8
 τὰ ῥηθέντα καὶ τὸν νοῦν τῆς παρακλήσεως ἐθαύ-
 μασαν, ὡς καὶ παραχρῆμα μὲν ἐκπορευόμενοι τὸ
 15 βουλευτήριον εὐθέως ἐνεδείκνυντο τοὺς κεκαλλω-
 πισμένους καὶ διακλίνειν ἐνίους ἠνάγκαζον τῆς
 ἀγορᾶς, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐν ταῖς ἐξοπλισίαις καὶ 9
 στρατείαις παρετήρουν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς προ-
 ειρημένοις.
- 20 Οὕτως εἰς λόγος εὐκαίρως ῥηθεὶς ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς 10
 ἀξιοπίστου πολλάκις οὐ μόνον ἀπο-
 τρέπει τῶν χειρίστων, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ-
 ὁρμᾷ πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα τοὺς ἀνθρώ-
 πους. ὅταν δὲ καὶ τὸν ἴδιον βίον ἀκόλουθον 2
 25 εἰσφέρηται τοῖς εἰρημένοις ὁ παρακαλῶν, ἀνάγκη
 λαμβάνειν τὴν πρώτην πίστιν τὴν παραίνεσιν. ὃ
 δὴ περὶ ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἄνδρα μάλιστ' ἂν τις ἴδοι
 γινόμενον. κατὰ τε γὰρ τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὴν 3
 σίτησιν ἀφελῆς καὶ λιτὸς ἦν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ
 30 τὰς τοῦ σώματος θεραπείας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐντεύξεις,

He set the ex-
 ample and his
 words had great
 effect.

- 4 εὐπερίκοπτος καὶ ἀνεπίφθονος· περί γε μὴν τοῦ
παρ' ὅλον τὸν βίον ἀληθεύειν μεγίστην ἐποιήσατο
σπουδὴν. τοιγάρτοι βραχέα καὶ τὰ τυχόντα
ἀποφαινόμενος μεγάλην ἐγκατέλειπε πίστιν τοῖς
5 ἀκούουσι· παράδειγμα γὰρ ἐν πᾶσι τὸν ἴδιον βίον 5
εἰσφερόμενος οὐ πολλῶν ἐποίει προσδεῖσθαι λόγων
6 τοὺς ἀκούοντας. διὸ καὶ πολλάκις λόγους μακροὺς
καὶ δοκοῦντας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιπολιτευομένων δεόντως
εἰρῆσθαι δι' ὀλίγων ῥημάτων τῇ πίστει καὶ ταῖς
ἐννοίαις τῶν πραγμάτων ὀλοσχερῶς ἐξέβαλεν. 10
- 7 Πλὴν τότε συντελεσθέντος τοῦ διαβουλίου
πάντες ἐπανήγον ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις, τὰ τε ῥηθέντα
καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα διαφερόντως ἀποδεδεγμένοι, καὶ
νομίζοντες οὐδ' ἂν παθεῖν οὐδὲν δεινὸν ἐκείνου
8 προεστῶτος. ὁ δὲ Φιλοποίμην εὐθέως ἐπορεύετο 15
εἰς τὰς πόλεις, ἐνεργῶς καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς ποιού-
9 μένος τὴν ἔφοδον. καῖπειτα συναγαγὼν τοὺς ὄχ-
λους ἅμα μὲν συνέταττε τοὺς νέους ἅμα δ' ἐγύμναζε,
καὶ τέλος οὐδ' ὅλους ὀκτῶ μῆνας χρησάμενος τῇ
τοιαύτῃ παρασκευῇ καὶ μελέτῃ συνῆγε τὰς δυ- 20
νάμεις εἰς Μαντίνειαν, διαγωνιούμενος πρὸς τὸν
τύραννον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπάντων Πελοποννησίων ἐλευ-
θερίας.
- 11 Ὁ δὲ Μαχανίδας κατατεθαρρηκώς, καὶ νομίζων
ὥσανεὶ κατ' εὐχὴν αὐτῷ γίνεσθαι τὴν 25
τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ὁρμήν, ἅμα τῷ γινῶναι
διότι συνηθροισμένοι τυγχάνουσιν εἰς τὴν Μαντί-
νειαν, παρακαλέσας ἐν Τεγέα τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους
τὰ πρέποντα τοῖς καιροῖς, εὐθέως εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν,
ἄρτι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιφαινούσης, προῆγεν ὥς ἐπὶ 30

B.C. 207. Machanidas marched on Mantinea.

τὴν Μαντίνειαν, τῆς μὲν φάλαγγος καθηγούμενος
 τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι, τοὺς δὲ μισθοφόρους ἐξ ἑκατέρου 3
 τοῦ μέρους τῆς πρωτοπορείας παραλλήλους ἄγων,
 ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ζεύγη πλήθος ὀργάνων καὶ βελῶν
 5 κομίζοντα καταπελτικῶν. κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν και- 4
 ρὸν Φιλοποίμην εἰς τρία μέρη διηρηκῶς τὴν δύναμιν
 ἐξῆγεν ἐκ τῆς Μαντινείας, κατὰ μὲν τὴν εἰς τὸ
 Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν φέρουσιν τοὺς Ἴλ- but was met by
 λυριοὺς καὶ θωρακίτας, ἅμα δὲ τὸ Philopoemen,
 10 ξενικὸν ἅπαν καὶ τοὺς εὐζώνους, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐξῆς
 ὡς πρὸς τὰς δύοσεις. τοὺς φαλαγγίτας, ἔτι δὲ κατὰ
 τὴν ἐχομένην τοὺς πολιτικούς ἵππεῖς. τοῖς μὲν 5
 οὖν εὐζώνοις κατελάβετο πρώτοις τὸν λόφον τὸν
 πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, ὅς ἀνατείνων ἱκανὸν ὑπὲρ τὴν
 15 ὁδὸν κεῖται τὴν Ξενίδα καὶ τὸ προειρημένον ἱερὸν·
 τοὺς δὲ θωρακίτας συνάπτων ἐπὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν
 κατέστησεν. τούτοις δὲ συνεχεῖς τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς
 παρενέβαλε. μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν 6
 εὐθείαν τὴν φάλαγγα κατὰ τέλη σπειρηδὸν ἐν
 20 διαστήμασιν ἐπέστησε παρὰ τὴν τάφρον τὴν φέ-
 ρουσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ποσειδίου διὰ μέσου τοῦ τῶν
 Μαντινέων πεδίου καὶ συνάπτουσιν τοῖς ὄρεσι
 τοῖς συντερμονοῦσι τῇ τῶν Ἑλισφασίων χώρα.
 πρὸς μὲν τούτοις ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἐπέστησε 7
 25 τοὺς Ἀχαϊκοὺς ἵππεῖς, ὧν Ἀρισταίνετος ἡγείτο
 Δυμαῖος· κατὰ δὲ τὸ λαιὸν αὐτὸς εἶχε τὸ ξενικὸν
 ἅπαν ἐν ἐπαλλήλοις τάξεσιν. ἅμα δὲ τῷ σύνοπτον 12
 ἤδη καλῶς εἶναι παραγενομένην τὴν
 τῶν ὑπεναντίων δύναμιν ἐπιπορευό- who advanced in
 30 μενος τὰ συστήματα τῶν φαλαγγιτῶν παρεκάλει
 battle array,

βραχέως μὲν, ἐμφαντικῶς δὲ τοῦ παρόντος κινδύνου. τὰ μὲν οὖν πλείστα τῶν λεγομένων ἀσαφῆ συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι· διὰ γὰρ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίαν καὶ πίστιν τῶν ὄχλων εἰς τοιαύτην ὁρμὴν καὶ προθυμίαν παρέστη τὸ πλήθος ὥστε παρα- 5 πλησίαν ἐνθουσιασμῷ τὴν ἀντιπαράκλησιν γίνεσθαι τῶν δυνάμεων, ἄγειν καὶ θαρρεῖν αὐτὸν 3 παρακελευομένων· τοῦτο μέντοι παράπαν ἐπιμελῶς ἐπειρᾶτο διασαφεῖν, ὅτε λάβοι καιρόν, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ὑπὲρ αἰσχυρῶς καὶ ἐπονειδίστου δουλείας, τοῖς 10 δ' ὑπὲρ ἀειμνήστου καὶ λαμπρᾶς ἐλευθερίας συνέστηκεν ὁ παρὼν κίνδυνος.

4 Ὁ δὲ Μαχανίδας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπέδειξεν ὡς ὀρθίᾳ τῇ φάλαγγι προσμίζων πρὸς τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν πολεμίων· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπλησίασε, λαβὼν σύμμετρον 15 ἀπόστημα περιέκλα τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ δόρυ, καὶ παρεκτείνας ἴσον ἐποίησε τὸ παρ' αὐτοῦ δεξιὸν τῷ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν εὐωνύμῳ, τοὺς δὲ καταπέλτας πρὸ πάσης ἐπέστησε τῆς δυνάμεως ἐν διαστήμασιν. 5 ὁ δὲ Φιλοποίμην θεασάμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιβολήν, 20 ὅτι τοῖς καταπέλταις ἐπενόει βαλὼν εἰς τὰς σπείρας τῶν φαλαγγιτῶν τραυματίζειν τοὺς ἄνδρας 6 and the cavalry on both sides engaged. καὶ θόρυβον ἐμποιεῖν τοῖς ὅλοις, οὐκέτι χρόνον ἔδωκεν οὐδ' ἀναστροφὴν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν Ταραντίνων ἐνεργῶς ἐχρήτο τῇ καταρχῇ 7 τοῦ κινδύνου κατὰ τοὺς περὶ τὸ Ποσείδιον τόπους, ὄντας ἐπιπέδους καὶ πρὸς ἵππικὴν εὐφυεῖς χρεῖαν. 7 ὁ δὲ Μαχανίδας ὁρῶν τὸ γινόμενον ἠναγκάζετο ποιεῖν τὸ παραπλήσιον καὶ συναφεῖναι τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ Ταραντίνους.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον αὐτῶν τούτων ἀνδρώδης ἦν 13

ἡ σύμπτωσις· κατὰ βραχὺ δὲ προσγι- The tyrant's mer-
cenaries fought
best,

νομένων τοῖς πιεζομένοις τῶν εὐζώνων,

ἐν πάννυ βραχεὶ χρόνῳ συνέβη τὸ παρ' ἑκατέρων

5 ξενικὸν ἀναμιξ γένεσθαι πάν. τῆς δὲ τούτων 2

συμπλοκῆς ἀθρόως καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα γινομένης ἐπὶ

πολὺν χρόνον πάριςος ἦν ὁ κίνδυνος οὕτως ὥστε

τὰς λοιπὰς δυνάμεις, καραδοκούσας καθ' ὁποτέρων

ὁ κονιορτὸς τραπήσεται, μὴ δύνασθαι συμβαλεῖν

10 διὰ τὸ μένειν ἀμφοτέρους ἐπὶ πολὺ διακατέχοντας

ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τόπον. χρόνου δὲ γινο- 3

μένου κατίσχυον καὶ τῷ πλήθει καὶ ταῖς εὐχειρίαις

διὰ τὴν ἔξιν οἱ παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου μισθοφόροι.

τοῦτο δ' εἰκότως καὶ τό γε παράπαν εἶωθε γίνεσθαι. 4

15 ὅσῳ γὰρ συμβαίνει τοὺς ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις 5

ὄχλους προθυμοτέρους ὑπάρχειν ἐν τοῖς πολεμι-

κοῖς ἀγῶσι τῶν τοῖς τυράννοις πολιτικῶν ὑποτατ-

τομένων, τοσοῦτῳ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς μονάρχοις ξενικὰ

τῶν ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις μισθοφορούντων εἰκὸς

20 ὑπεράγειν καὶ διαφέρειν. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐπ' ἐκείνων 6

οἷς μὲν ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἐστὶν οἷς δ' ὑπὲρ δου-

λείας ὁ κίνδυνος, οὕτως ἐπὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων

οἷς μὲν ὑπὲρ ὁμολογουμένης ἐπανορθώσεως, οἷς

δ' ὑπὲρ προδήλου βλάβης γίνεθ' ἡ φιλοτιμία.

25 δημοκρατία μὲν γάρ, ἐπανελομένη, τοὺς ἐπι- 7

βουλεύσαντας, οὐκέτι μισθοφόροις τηρεῖ τὴν ἑαυ-

τῆς ἐλευθερίαν· τυραννὶς δ' ὅσῳ μειζόνων ἐφίεται,

τοσοῦτῳ πλείονων προσδεῖται μισθοφόρων. πλεί- 8

ονας γὰρ ἀδικοῦσα πλείονας ἔχει καὶ τοὺς

30 ἐπιβουλεύοντας· ἡ δὲ τῶν μονάρχων ἀσφάλεια

τὸ παράπαν ἐν τῇ τῶν ξένων εὐνοίᾳ κεῖται καὶ δυνάμει.

- 14 Διὸ δὴ καὶ τότε συνέβαινε τὸ παρὰ τῷ Μα-
and drove their enemies back in hot flight, χανίδα ξενικὸν οὕτως ἐκθύμως ἀγωνί-
 ζεσθαι καὶ βιαίως ὥστε μηδὲ τοὺς 5
 ἐφεδρεύοντας τοῖς ξένοις Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ θωρακίτας
 δύνασθαι τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν ὑπομεῖναι, πάντας δ'
 ἐκπιασθέντας φεύγειν προτροπάδην ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς
 Μαντινείας, ἀπεχούσης τῆς πόλεως ἑπτὰ σταδίου.
 2 ἐν ᾧ δὴ καιρῷ τὸ παρ' ἐνίοις ἀπορούμενον τότε 10
 παρὰ πᾶσιν ὁμολογούμενον ἐγένετο καὶ συμφανές,
 ὅτι πλεῖστα τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον συντελουμένων
 παρὰ τὴν τῶν ἡγουμένων ἐμπειρίαν καὶ πάλιν
 3 ἀπειρίαν ἐπιτελεῖται. μέγα μὲν γὰρ ἴσως καὶ τὸ
 προτερήματος ἀρχὴν λαβόντα προσθεῖναι τ' ἀκό- 15
 λουθον, πολὺ δὲ μείζον τὸ σφαλέντα ταῖς πρώταις
 ἐπιβολαῖς μείναι παρ' αὐτὸν καὶ συνιδεῖν τὴν τῶν
 εὐτυχούντων ἀκρισίαν καὶ συνεπιθέσθαι τοῖς τού-
 4 των ἀμαρτήμασιν. ἰδεῖν γοῦν ἔστι πολλάκις τοὺς
 μὲν ἤδη δοκοῦντας πεπροτερηκέναι μετ' ὀλίγον 20
 τοῖς ὅλοις ἐσφαλμένους, τοὺς δ' ἐν ἀρχαῖς δόξαντας
 ἐπταικέναι πάλιν ἐκ μεταβολῆς παρὰ τὴν αὐτῶν
 5 ἀγχίνοιαν τὰ ὅλα παραδόξως κατωρθώκοντας. ὁ
 δὴ καὶ τότε προφανῶς ἐδόκει περὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας
 6 ἀμφοτέρους γεγενῆσθαι. τοῦ γὰρ ξενικοῦ παντὸς
 ἐγκεκλικότος τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ παραλελυμένου
 τοῦ λαιοῦ κέρως, ὁ μὲν Μαχανίδας ἀφέμενος τοῦ
pursued by Ma- μένειν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποκειμένων, καὶ τοὺς
chanidas himself. μὲν κατὰ κέρας ὑπεραίρειν τοῖς δὲ
 κατὰ πρόσωπον ἄγειν καὶ πειρᾶσθαι τῶν ὅλων,

τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν ἔπραξεν, ἀκρατῶς δὲ καὶ μεира- 7
κιωδῶς συνεκχυθεὶς τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μισθοφόροις ἐπέ-
κειτο τοῖς φεύγουσιν, ὥσπερ οὐκ αὐτὸν τὸν φόβον
ἱκανὸν ὄντα τοὺς ἅπαξ ἐγκλίναντας ἄχρι τῶν
5 πυλῶν συνδιώκειν.

Ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν στρατηγὸς ἕως μὲν τοῦ 15
δυνατοῦ διακατεῖχε τοὺς μισθοφόρους, ἐπ' ὀνόματος
καλῶν καὶ παροξύνων τοὺς ἡγεμόνας· ἐπεὶ δὲ 2
ῥά τούτους ἐκβιαζομένους, οὐ πτοη- The Spartan in-
fantry charged
rashly through
a trench which
broke their ranks,
10 θεὶς ἔφευγεν οὐδ' ἀθυμήσας ἀπέστη,
ἀλλ' ὑποστείλας αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὸ τῆς
φάλαγγος κέρας, ἅμα τῷ παραπεσεῖν τοὺς διώ-
κοντας καὶ τὸν τόπον γενέσθαι ἔρημον, καθ' ὃν ὁ
κίνδυνος ἦν, παραγγείλας εὐθέως τοῖς πρώτοις
15 τέλεσι τῶν φαλαγγιτῶν ἐπ' ἀσπίδα κλίνειν, προῆγε
μετὰ δρόμου, τηρῶν τὰς τάξεις. καταλαβόμενος 3
δὲ τὸν ἐκλειφθέντα τόπον ὀξέως, ἅμα μὲν ἀπε-
τέτμητο τοὺς διώκοντας, ἅμα δὲ ὑπερδέξις ἐγε-
γόνει τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων κέρατος. καὶ τοὺς μὲν 4
20 φαλαγγίτας αὐτοῦ παρεκάλει θαρρεῖν καὶ μένειν,
ἕως ἂν παραγγείλῃ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπαγωγὴν
ἀναμίξ'. Πολυβίῳ δὲ ἐπέταξε τῷ Μεγαλοπολίτῃ 5
τοὺς περιλειπομένους καὶ τοὺς διακεκλικότας τὴν
φυγὴν Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ θωρακίτας καὶ μισθοφόρους
15 συναθροίσαντι μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐφεδρεύειν τῷ κέρατι
τῆς φάλαγγος καὶ τηρεῖν τὴν ἐπάνοδον τῶν ἐκ
διώγματος ἀναχωρούντων. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι 6
χωρὶς παραγγέλματος, ἐπαρθέντες ταῖς διανοαῖς
ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν εὐζώνων προτερήματι, καταβαλόντες
20 τὰς σαρίσας ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπεναντίους. ὅτε 7

δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐπαγωγὴν προάγοντες ἤκον ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς τάφρου χεῖλος, τὰ μὲν οὐκέτι διδόντος τοῦ καιροῦ μεταμέλειαν, ὥστε ἐν χερσὶν ὄντας τῶν πολεμίων ἀναστρέφειν, τὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς τάφρου καταφρονήσαντες διὰ τὸ τὴν κατάβασιν ἔχειν ἐκ πολλοῦ· καὶ μήθ' ὕδωρ κατὰ τὸ τέλος ἐν αὐτῇ μήτε τιν' ἀγρίαν ὕλην ὑπάρχειν, ὥρμησαν ἀνεπιστάτως διὰ ταύτης.

- 16 Ὁ δὲ Φιλοποίμην ἅμα τῷ παραπεσεῖν κατὰ τῶν ὑπεναντίων τὸν ἐκ πολλοῦ προεωραμένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καιρόν, τότε πᾶσιν ὑπάγειν τοῖς φαλαγγίταις 10 καταβαλοῦσι τὰς σαρίσας παρήγγειλε. τῶν δ' Ἀχαιῶν ὁμοθυμαδὸν καὶ μετὰ κατα-
and were routed by the Achaean phalanx, πληκτικῆς κραυγῆς ποιησαμένων τὴν ἔφοδον, οἱ μὲν προδιαλελυκότες τὰς τάξεις τῶν 15 Λακεδαιμονίων ἐν τῇ τῆς τάφρου καταβάσει, πάλιν ἀναβαίνοντες πρὸς ὑπερδεξίους τοὺς πολεμίους 3 ἀποδειλιάσαντες ἐτρέποντο· τὸ δὲ πολὺ πλῆθος ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τάφρῳ διεφθείρετο, τὸ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν 4 Ἀχαιῶν τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων. συνέβαινε δὲ τὸ 20 προειρημένον οὐκ αὐτομάτως οὐδ' ἐκ τοῦ καιροῦ, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀγχίνοιαν τοῦ προεστῶτος. εὐθέως 5 γὰρ προεβάλετο τὴν τάφρον ὁ Φιλοποίμην, οὐ φυγομαχῶν, ὥς τινες ὑπελάμβανον, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν ἀκριβῶς καὶ στρατηγικῶς ἕκαστα συλλογι- 25 σάμενος, ὅτι παραγενόμενος ὁ Μαχανίδας, εἰ μὲν προσάξει τὴν δύναμιν οὐ προῖδόμενος τὴν τάφρον, οὕτω συμβήσεται παθεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν φάλαγγα τὸ προειρημένον νῦν, γινόμενον δὲ τότε ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλη- 6 θείας· εἰ δὲ συλλογισάμενος τὴν δυσχρηστίαν 30

τῆς τάφρου, ἅπειτα μεταμεληθεὶς καὶ δόξας ἀπο-
 δειλιᾶν, ἐκ παρατεταγμένων ἀπολύσει καὶ μακρὰν
 αὐτὸν ἐν πορείᾳ διαβαλεῖ, διότι χωρὶς ὀλοσχεροῦς
 ἀγῶνος αὐτῷ μὲν τὸ νικᾶν ἐκείνῳ δὲ τὰναντία
 5 περιέσται. πολλοῖς γὰρ ἤδη τοῦτο συμβέβηκεν, ἡ
 οὔτινες παραταξάμενοι μὲν οὐκ ἀξιοχρεως δὲ νομί-
 σαντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἶναι τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις ἀγωνί-
 ζεσθαι, τινὲς μὲν διὰ τόπους, οἱ δὲ διὰ πλήθος, οἱ 8
 δὲ δι' ἄλλας αἰτίας, μακρὰν ἑαυτοὺς δόντες ἐν
 10 πορείᾳ, κατὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν δι' αὐτῶν τῶν οὐρα-
 γούντων ἤλπισαν οἱ μὲν προτερήσειν οἱ δ' ἀσφαλῶς
 ἀπολυθῆσεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων. * * *

Πλὴν ὃ γε Φιλοποίμην οὐ διεψεύσθη τῇ προ- 17
 νοίᾳ τοῦ συντελεσθησομένου· τροπὴν <sup>thanks to the cool
forethought of</sup>
 15 γὰρ ἰσχυρὰν συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι τῶν ^{Philopoemen,}
 Λακεδαιμονίων. συνορῶν δὲ τὴν φάλαγγα νικῶ- 2
 σαν καὶ τὰ ὅλα καλῶς αὐτῷ προχωροῦντα καὶ
 λαμπρῶς, ἐπὶ τὸ καταλειπόμενον ὥρμησε τῆς ὅλης
 ἐπιβολῆς· τοῦτο δ' ἦν τὸ μὴ διαφυγεῖν τὸν Μα-
 20 χανίδα. εἰδὼς οὖν αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ διώγματος 3
 παράπτωσιν ἀποτετμημένον ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τὴν
 πόλιν μέρεσι τῆς τάφρου μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων μισθο-
 φύρων, ἐκαραδόκει τὴν τούτου παρουσίαν. ὁ δὲ 4
 Μαχανίδας, συνθεωρήσας κατὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν τὴν
 25 ἀπὸ τοῦ διώγματος φεύγουσαν τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν,
 καὶ συλλογισάμενος διότι προπέπτωκε καὶ διέ-
 ψευσται τῆς ὅλης ἐλπίδος, εὐθέως ἐπειρᾶτο συ-
 στραφεῖς μεθ' ὧν εἶχε περὶ αὐτὸν ξένων, ἄθρους
 διαπεσεῖν διὰ τῶν ἐσκεδασμένων καὶ διωκόντων.
 30 εἰς ἃ καὶ συνορῶντες ἔνιοι συνέμενον αὐτῷ τὰς 5

ἀρχάς, ταύτην ἔχοντες τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας.
 6 ὥς δὲ παραγενόμενοι συνείδον τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς τη-
 ροῦντας τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς τάφρου γέφυραν, τότε δὴ
 πάντες ἐξαθυμήσαντες ἀπέρρεον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ
 καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος ἐπορίζετο τὴν σωτηρίαν. 5
 7 καθ' ὃν δὴ καιρὸν ὁ τύραννος ἀπογνοὺς τὴν διὰ
 τῆς γεφύρας ὁδὸν παρήλαυνε παρὰ τὴν τάφρον
 ἐνεργῶς διάβασιν ζητῶν.

- 18 Ὁ δὲ Φιλοποίμην, ἐπιγνοὺς τὸν Μαχανίδα
 ἀπὸ τε τῆς πορφυρίδος καὶ τοῦ περὶ 10
 τὸν ἵππον κόσμου, τοὺς μὲν περὶ τὸν
 Ἀναξίδαμον ἀπολείπει, παρακαλέσας
 τηρεῖν ἐπιμελῶς τὴν δίοδον καὶ μη-
 δενὸς φεΐδεσθαι τῶν μισθοφόρων διὰ τὸ τούτους
 εἶναι τοὺς συναύξοντας αἰεὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ 15
 2 τυραννίδας· αὐτὸς δὲ παραλαβὼν Πολύαινον τὸν
 Κυπαρισσέα καὶ Σιμίαν, οἷς ἐχρήτο τότε παρ-
 ασπισταῖς, ἐκ τοῦ πέραν τῆς τάφρου τὴν ἀντι-
 παραγωγὴν ἐποιεῖτο τῷ τυράννῳ καὶ τοῖς μετ'
 3 αὐτοῦ· δύο γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ τότε τῷ Μαχανίδᾳ συμ- 20
 μίζαντες, Ἀρηξίδαμος καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων εἷς.
 4 ἅμα δὲ τῷ τὸν Μαχανίδα κατὰ τινα τόπον
 εὐβατον τῆς τάφρου, προσθέντα τοὺς μύωπας, βία
 τὸν ἵππον ἐπάγειν καὶ διαπερᾶν, συναγαγὼν ἐκ
 μεταβολῆς ὁ Φιλοποίμην αὐτῷ καὶ πατάξας τῷ 25
 δόρατι καιρίως, καὶ προσενεγκὼν τῷ σαυρωτῆρι
 πληγὴν ἄλλην ἐκ διαλήψεως, ἐν χειρῶν νόμφ
 5 διέφθειρε τὸν τύραννον. τὸ δὲ παραπλήσιον ἐγί-
 νετο καὶ περὶ τὸν Ἀρηξίδαμον ὑπὸ τῶν παρίππων.
 ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἀπογνοὺς τὴν διάβασιν διέφυγε τὸν 30

who also slew
 Machanidas with
 his own hand as
 he tried to cut his
 way through the
 ranks.

κίνδυνον κατὰ τὸν τῶν προειρημένων φόνον. πε- 6
 σόντων δὲ ἀμφοτέρων, εὐθέως οἱ περὶ τὸν Σιμίαν,
 σκυλεύσαντες τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ συναφελόντες ἅμα
 τοῖς ὅπλοις τὴν τοῦ τυράννου κεφαλὴν, ἠπειύοντο
 3 πρὸς τοὺς διώκοντας, σπεύδοντες ἐπιδεῖξαι τοῖς 7
 ὄχλοις τὴν ἀπώλειαν τοῦ τῶν ὑπεναντίων ἡγεμόνος
 χάριν τοῦ πιστεύσαντας ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀνυπόπτως
 καὶ τεθαρρηκότως ποιήσασθαι τὸν ἐπιδιωγμὸν
 τῶν ὑπεναντίων ἕως τῆς Τεγεατῶν πόλεως. ὁ καὶ 8
 10 μεγάλη συνεβάλετο πρὸς τὴν ὁρμὴν τῶν ὄχλων·
 οὐ γὰρ ἦκιστα διὰ τούτων τῆς μὲν Τεγέας ἐξ
 ἐφόδου κύριοι κατέστησαν, τῇ δ' ἐχομένη παρὰ
 τὸν Εὐρώταν ἐστρατοπέδευον, κρατοῦντες ἤδη τῶν
 ὑπαίθρων ἀναμφισβητήτως. καὶ πολλῶν χρόνων 9
 15 οὐ δυνάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας ἀπώ-
 σασθαι, τότε πᾶσαν ἀδεῶς ἐπόρθουν αὐτοὶ τὴν
 Λακωνικὴν, τῶν μὲν ἰδίων οὐ πολλοὺς ἀπολωλε- 10
 κότες ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, τῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπεκτα-
 κότες μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν τετρακισχιλίων, ζω-
 20 γρία δ' εἰληφότες ἔτι πλείους τούτων, ὁμοίως δὲ
 καὶ τῆς ἀποσκευῆς κεκυριευκότες ἀπάσης καὶ τῶν
 ὅπλων.

* * * * *

BOOK XIII. cc. vi. to viii.

- 6 Ὁ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τύραννος Νάβις,
a.c. 205. Nabis ruled in Sparta with outrageous tyranny and extortion, ἔτος ἤδη τρίτον ἔχων τὴν ἀρχήν,
 2 Μαχανίδου, καταβολὴν δ' ἐποιεῖτο καὶ θεμέλιον
 ὑπεβάλλετο πολυχρονίου καὶ βαρείας τυραννίδος.
 3 διέφθειρε γὰρ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἄρδην ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης,
 ἐφυγάδευσε δὲ τοὺς κατὰ πλεον πλούτῳ διαφέ-
 ροντας ἢ δόξῃ προγονικῇ, τὰς δὲ τούτων οὐσίας 10
 καὶ γυναῖκας διεδίδου τῶν ἄλλων τοῖς ἐπιφανε-
 4 στάτοις καὶ τοῖς μισθοφόροις. οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν
 ἀνδροφόνοι καὶ παρασχίσται, λωποδύται, τοιχω-
 ρύχοι. καθύλου γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ γένος ἤθροιζε πρὸς
 αὐτὸν ἐπιμελῶς ἐκ τῆς οἰκουμένης, οἷς ἄβατος ἦν 15
 5 ἡ θρέψασα δι' ἀσεβειαν καὶ παρανομίαν, ὧν
 προστάτην καὶ βασιλέα αὐτὸν ἀναδείξας, καὶ
 χρώμενος δορυφόροις καὶ σωματοφύλαξι τούτοις,
 δῆλον ὡς ἔμελλε πολυχρόνιον ἔχειν τὴν ἐπ' ἀσεβείᾳ
 6 φήμην καὶ δυναστείαν. ὅς γε χωρὶς τῶν προειρη- 20
 μένων οὐκ ἐξηρκεῖτο φυγαδεύειν τοὺς πολίτας,
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῖς φεύγουσιν οὐδεὶς τόπος ἦν ἀσφαλὴς
 7 οὐδὲ καταφυγὴ βέβαιος. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς
 ὁδοῖς ἐπαποστέλλων ἀνῆρει, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ τῶν τόπων
 8 ἐπαναγαγόντας ἐφόνευε. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ἐν ταῖς 25
 πόλεσι τὰς σύνεγγυς οἰκίας, ὅπου τις τυγχάνοι
 κατοικῶν τῶν φυγάδων, μισθούμενος δι' ἀνυπο-
 νοήτων ἀνθρώπων, εἰς ταύτας εἰσέπεμπε Κρήτας,

οἷτινες ῥήγματα ποιοῦντες ἐν τοῖς τοίχοις καὶ διὰ
 τῶν ὑπαρχουσῶν θυρίδων τοξεύοντες τοὺς μὲν
 ἐστῶτας τῶν φυγᾶδων τοὺς δ' ἀνακειμένους ἐν ταῖς
 ἰδίαις οἰκίαις διέφθειρον, ὥστε μήτε τόπον εἶναι 9
 5 μηδένα φύξιμον μήτε καιρὸν ἀσφαλῆ τοῖς ταλαι-
 πῶροις Λακεδαιμονίοις. καὶ δὴ τῷ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ 10
 τοὺς μὲν πλείστους αὐτῶν ἠφάνισε, κατεσκευάσατο
 δὲ καὶ τινα μηχανήν, εἰ μηχανὴν ταύτην χρή 7
 λέγειν. ἣν γὰρ εἰδῶλον γυναικεῖον, πολυτελέσιν 2
 10 ἱματίοις ἡμφιεσμένον, κατὰ δὲ τὴν μορφήν εἰς
 ὁμοιότητα τῇ τοῦ Νάβιδος γυναικὶ διαφόρως
 ἀπειργασμένον. ὁπότε δὲ τινὰς τῶν πολιτικῶν 3
 ἀνακαλέσαιο βουλόμενος εἰσπρᾶξαι χρήματα, τὰς
 μὲν ἀρχὰς διετίθετο λόγους πλείονας καὶ φιλαν-
 15 θρώπους, ὑποδεικνύων μὲν τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν 4
 ἐπικρεμάμενον τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τῇ πόλει φόβον,
 διασαφῶν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μισθοφόρων τὸ τρε-
 φόμενον τῆς ἐκείνων ἀσφαλείας χάριν, ἔτι δὲ τὰς
 εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὰς κοινὰς τῆς πόλεως δαπάνας.
 20 εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐντρέποντο διὰ τῶν τοιούτων λόγων, 5
 εἶχεν ἀποχρώντως αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ προκείμενον· εἰ 6
 δέ τινας ἐξαρνούμενοι διωθοῖντο τὴν ἐπιταγὴν,
 ἐπεφθέγγετο λόγον τοιούτον "ἴσως ἐγὼ μὲν οὐ
 δύναμαί σε πείθειν, Ἀπῆγαν μέντοι ταύτην δοκῶ
 25 σε πείσειν." τοῦτο δ' ἦν ὄνομα τῇ γυναικὶ τοῦ
 Νάβιδος. καὶ τοῦτ' ἔλεγε, καὶ παρὴν ὁ μικρῷ 7
 πρότερον ἔλεγον εἰδῶλον. καὶ δεξιωσάμενος ἐπει- 8
 δὰν ἐκ τῆς καθέδρας ἀνέστησε τὴν γυναῖκα, καὶ
 περιέπτυξε ταῖς χερσὶ προσήγετο κατὰ βραχὺ
 30 πρὸς τὰ στέρνα. τοὺς δὲ πῆχεις εἶχε καὶ τὰς 9

- χεῖρας πλήρεις σιδηρῶν γόμφων ὑπὸ τοῖς ἱματίοις,
 10 ὁμοίως καὶ κατὰ τοὺς μαστούς. ὅταν προσήρρισε
 ταῖς χερσὶ πρὸς τὰ νῶτα τῆς γυναικός, κᾷπειτα
 διὰ τῶν ὀργάνων ἐλκόμενον ἐπέτεινε καὶ προσήγε
 πρὸς τοὺς μαστούς κατ' ἐλάχιστον, πᾶσαν ἡνάγ- 5
 11 καζε φωνὴν προῖεσθαι τὸν πιεζόμενον. καὶ πολ-
 λούς δὴ τινὰς τῷ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ διέφθειρε τῶν
 ἐξαρνουμένων.
- 8 Καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ δ' ἦν τούτοις ὅμοια καὶ σύστοιχα
 2 ^{plundering the} κατὰ τὴν ἀρχήν. ἐκοινώνει μὲν γὰρ 10
^{Peloponnese,} τοῖς Κρησὶ τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν λη-
 στειῶν, εἶχε δὲ καθ' ὅλην τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἱερο-
 σύλους ὁδοιδόκους φονέας, οἷς μερίτης γινόμενος
 τῶν ἐκ τῆς ῥαδιουργίας λυσιτελῶν ὀρμητήριον
 καὶ καταφυγὴν παρείχετο τούτοις τὴν Σπάρτην. 15
 3 πλὴν κατὰ γε τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους ξένοι τῶν ἀπὸ
 τῆς Βοιωτίας εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα παρεπιδημή-
 σαντες ἐψυχαγώγησάν τινα τῶν τοῦ Νάβιδος
 ἵπποκόμων ὥστε συναποχωρῆσαι μεθ' ἑαυτῶν
 ἔχοντα λευκὸν ἵππον, ὃς ἐδόκει γενναιότατος εἶναι 20
 4 τῶν ἐκ τῆς τυραννικῆς ἵπποστάσεως. τούτου δὲ
 πεισθέντος καὶ πράξαντος τὸ προειρημένον, κατα-
 διώξαντες οἱ παρὰ τοῦ Νάβιδος εἰς τὴν Μεγάλην
 πόλιν καὶ καταλαβόντες τὸν μὲν ἵππον εὐθύς
 ἀπῆγον καὶ τὸν ἵπποκόμον, οὐδενὸς ἀντιποιοιμένου, 25
 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς ξένοις ἐπέβαλον τὰς χεῖρας.
 5 οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡξίουσι ἄγειν αὐτούς
 ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν· οὐδενὸς δὲ προσέχοντος ἀνεβόα
 6 τις τῶν ξένων “βοήθεια.” συνδραμόντων δὲ τῶν
 ἐγχωρίων καὶ μαρτυρομένων τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπανάγειν 30

ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, ἠναγκάσθησαν προϊέμενοι τοὺς
 ἀνθρώπους οἱ παρὰ τοῦ Νάβιδος ἀπ- ^{and so provoking}
 ελθεῖν. ὁ δὲ πάλαι ζητῶν ἀφορμὰς ^{war.} 7
 ἐγκλημάτων καὶ πρόφασιν εὐλογον διαφορᾶς, τότε
 5 λαβόμενος ταύτης εὐθέως ἤλαυνε τὰ Προαγόρου
 θρέμματα καὶ τινων ἐτέρων. ἐξ ὧν ἐγένετο ἀρχὴ
 τοῦ πολέμου.

* * * * *

BOOK XVI. cc. xxxvi., xxxvii.

Ὁ δὲ Φιλοποίμην ἐξελογίσατο τὰ διαστήματα 36
 τῶν Ἀχαϊκῶν πόλεων ἀπασῶν, καὶ
 10 ποῖαι δύνανται κατὰ τὰς αὐτὰς ὁδοὺς <sup>Philopomen by
 a device secretly
 assembled an
 army at Tegea,</sup>
 εἰς τὴν Τέγεαν παραγίνεσθαι. λοιπὸν 2
 ἐπιστολὰς ἔγραψε πρὸς πάσας τὰς πόλεις, καὶ
 ταύτας διέδωκε ταῖς πορρωτάτω πόλεσιν, μερίσας
 οὕτως ὥστε καθ' ἐκάστην ἔχειν μὴ μόνον τὰς ἑαυτῆς
 15 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων, ὅσαι κατὰ τὴν
 αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἔπιπτον. ἐγγέγραπτο δὲ ἐν ταῖς πρῶ- 3
 ταις τοῖς ἀποτελείοις τοιαῦτα. "ὅταν κομίσησθε
 τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, παραχρῆμα ποιήσασθε τοὺς ἐν
 ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἔχοντας τὰ ὅπλα καὶ πένθ' ἡμερῶν
 20 ἐφόδια καὶ πέντ' ἀργύριον, ἀθροίζεσθαι παραντίκα
 πάντας εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν. ἐπειδὰν δὲ συλληχθῶσιν 4
 οἱ παρόντες, ἀναλαβόντες αὐτοὺς ἄγετε εἰς τὴν
 ἐξῆς πόλιν· ὅταν δ' ἐκεῖ παραγέννησθε, τὴν ἐπι-
 στολὴν ἀπόδοτε. τὴν ἐπυγεγραμμένην τῷ παρ'

ἐκείνων ἀποτελείω καὶ πειθαρχεῖτε τοῖς ἐγγεγραμ-
 5 μένοις." ἐγγέγραπτο δ' ἐν ταύτῃ ταῦτὰ τοῖς
 πρόσθεν, πλὴν διότι τὸ τῆς ἐξῆς κειμένης ὄνομα
 πόλεως οὐ ταῦτὸν εἶχεν, εἰς ἣν ἔδει προάγειν.
 6 τοιούτου δὲ τοῦ χειρισμοῦ γενομένου κατὰ τὸ
 συνεχές, πρῶτον μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐγίνωσκε πρὸς τίνα
 πρᾶξιν ἢ πρὸς ποίαν ἐπιβολὴν ἐστὶν ἡ παρασκευή,
 εἶτα ποῦ πορεύεται, πλὴν τῆς ἐξῆς πόλεως, οὐδεὶς
 7 ἀπλῶς ᾔδει, πάντες δὲ διαποροῦντες καὶ παρα-
 λαμβάνοντες ἀλλήλους προῆγον εἰς τοῦμπροσθεν. 10
 8 τῷ δὲ μὴ τὸ ἴσον ἀπέχειν τῆς Τεγέας τὰς πορρω-
 τάτω κειμένας πόλεις οὐχ ἅμα πάσαις ἀπεδόθη
 τὰ γράμματα ταύταις, ἀλλὰ κατὰ λόγον ἐκάσταις.
 9 ἐξ ὧν συνέβη, μήτε τῶν Τεγεατῶν εἰδόντων τὸ
 μέλλον μήτε τῶν παραγινομένων, ἅμα πάντας 15
 τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ κατὰ πάσας τὰς πύλας εἰς τὴν
 37 Τέγεαν εἰσπορεύεσθαι σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις. ταῦτα
 δὲ διεστρατήγει καὶ περιεβάλλετο τῇ διανοίᾳ διὰ
 τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὠτακουστῶν καὶ κατασκόπων τοῦ
 τυράννου. 20
 2 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ συναθροίζεσθαι τὸ
 πλῆθος ἔμελλε τῶν Ἀχαιῶν εἰς Τέ-
 and drew the mercenaries of Nabis into an ambuscade. γεαν, ἐξαπέστειλε τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους,
 ὥστε νυκτερεύσαντας περὶ Σελλασίαν
 ἅμα τῷ φωτὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ἐπιτρέ- 15
 3 χεῖν τὴν Λακωνικὴν. ἐὰν δ' οἱ μισθοφόροι βοηθή-
 σαντες παρενοχλῶσιν αὐτούς, συνέταξε ποιεῖσθαι
 τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ἐπὶ τὸν Σκοτίταν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ
 πειθαρχεῖν Διδασκαλῶνδᾳ τῷ Κρητί· τούτῳ γὰρ
 ἐπεπιστεύκει καὶ διετέτακτο περὶ τῆς ὅλης ἐπι- 30

βολῆς. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν προῆγον εὐθαρσῶς ἐπὶ τὸ 4
 συντεταγμένον· ὁ δὲ Φιλοποίμην ἐν ὥρᾳ παραγ-
 γείλας δειπνοποιεῖσθαι τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐξήγε τὴν
 δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς Τεγέας, καὶ νυκτοπορήσας ἐνεργῶς
 5 περὶ τὴν ἐωθινὴν ἐνεκάθισε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐν τοῖς
 περὶ τὸν Σκοτίταν προσαγορευομένοις τόποις, ὅς
 ἐστι μεταξὺ τῆς Τεγέας καὶ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος.
 οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Πελλήνῃ μισθοφόροι κατὰ τὴν ἐπιούσαν 5
 ἡμέραν, ἅμα τῷ σημῆναι τοὺς σκοποὺς τὴν κατα-
 10 δρομὴν τῶν πολεμίων, ἐκ χειρὸς ἐβοήθουν, καθάπερ
 ἔθος ἦν αὐτοῖς, καὶ προσέκειντο τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις.
 τῶν δ' Ἀχαιῶν κατὰ τὸ συνταχθὲν ὑποχωρούντων 6
 εἶποντο κατόπιν ἐπικείμενοι θρασέως καὶ τετολ-
 μηκώτως. ἅμα δὲ τῷ παραβάλλειν εἰς τοὺς κατὰ 7
 15 τὴν ἐνέδραν τόπους, διαναστάντων τῶν Ἀχαιῶν
 οἱ μὲν κατεκόπησαν, οἱ δ' ἐάλωσαν αὐτῶν.

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BOOK XVIII. cc. XLV. 7 to XLVI.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑπ' Αἰτωλῶν ἐλέγετο κατακό- 45
 ρως· ὁ δὲ Τίτος ὀρμήσας ἐκ τῆς Ἑλα-
 τείας μετὰ τῶν δέκα, καὶ κατάρας εἰς
 20 τὴν Ἀντίκυραν, παραυτίκα διέπλευσεν
 εἰς τὸν Κόρινθον, κακεῖ παραγενόμενος
 συνήδρευε μετὰ τούτων καὶ διελάμβανε περὶ τῶν
 ὄλων. πλεοναζούσης δὲ τῆς τῶν Αἰτωλῶν διαβολῆς 8
 καὶ πιστευομένης παρ' ἐνίοις, πολλοὺς καὶ ποικίλους

Flamininus pleads
 with the ten com-
 missioners to
 leave the Greek
 towns free. B. C.
 196.

ἤναγκάζετο ποιεῖσθαι λόγους ὁ Τίτος ἐν τῷ συν-
 9 ἐδρίῳ, διδάσκων ὡς εἴπερ βούλονται καὶ τὴν τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων εὐκλειαν ὁλόκληρον περιποιήσασθαι,
 καὶ καθόλου πιστευθῆναι παρὰ πᾶσι διότι καὶ τὴν
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐποιήσαντο διάβασιν οὐ τοῦ συμφέρον- 5
 τος ἕνεκεν, ἀλλὰ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας,
 ἐκχωρητέου εἴη πάντων τῶν τόπων καὶ πάσας
 ἐλευθερωτέου τὰς πόλεις τὰς νῦν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου
 10 φρουρουμένας. ταύτην δὲ συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι τὴν
 ἀπορίαν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ διὰ τὸ περὶ μὲν τῶν 10
 ἄλλων ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ προδιειληφθαι καὶ ῥητὰς ἔχειν
 τοὺς δέκα παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου τὰς ἐντολάς, περὶ
 δὲ Χαλκίδος καὶ Κορίνθου καὶ Δημητριάδος ἐπι-
 τροπὴν αὐτοῖς δεδόσθαι διὰ τὸν Ἀντίοχον, ἵνα
 βλέποντες πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς βουλευῶνται περὶ 15
 τῶν προειρημένων πόλεων κατὰ τὰς αὐτῶν προαι-
 11 ρέσεις· ὁ γὰρ προειρημένος βασιλεὺς δῆλος ἦν
 ἐπέχων πάλαι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην πράγμασιν.
 12 οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν Κόρινθον ὁ Τίτος ἔπεισε τὸ
 συνέδριον ἐλευθεροῦν παραχρῆμα καὶ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς 20
 ἐγχειρίζειν διὰ τὰς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁμολογίας, τὸν δ'
 Ἀκροκόρινθον καὶ Δημητριάδα καὶ Χαλκίδα πα-
 ρακατέσχε.

46 Δοξάντων δὲ τούτων, καὶ τῆς Ἰσθμίων πανη-
 γύρεως ἐπελθούσης, καὶ σχεδὸν ἀπὸ 25
 πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης τῶν ἐπιφανε-
 στάτων ἀνδρῶν συνεληλυθότων διὰ τὴν
 προσδοκίαν τῶν ἀποβησομένων, πολλοὶ καὶ ποι-
 κίλοι καθ' ὅλην τὴν πανήγυριν ἐνέπιπτον λόγοι,
 2 τῶν μὲν ἀδύνατον εἶναι φασκόντων Ῥωμαίους 30

The proclamation
 of independence
 at the Isthmian
 games

ἐνίων ἀποστήναι τόπων καὶ πόλεων, τῶν δὲ δι-
 οριζομένων ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἐπιφανῶν εἶναι δοκούντων
 τόπων ἀποστήσονται, τοὺς δὲ φαντασίαν μὲν
 ἔχοντας ἐλάττω, χρεῖαν δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν παρέχεσθαι
 5 δυναμένους καθέξουσι. καὶ τούτους εὐθέως ἐπε- 3
 δέικνυσαν αὐτοὶ καθ' αὐτῶν διὰ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους
 εὐρεσιλογίας. τοιαύτης δ' οὔσης ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις 4
 τῆς ἀπορίας, ἀθροισθέντος τοῦ πλήθους εἰς τὸ
 στάδιον ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, προελθὼν ὁ κῆρυξ καὶ
 10 κατασιωπησάμενος τὰ πλήθη διὰ τοῦ σαλπικτοῦ
 τόδε τὸ κήρυγμα ἀνηγόρευσεν· “ ἡ σύγκλητος ἡ 5
 Ῥωμαίων καὶ Τίτος Κοῖντιος στρατηγὸς ὕπατος,
 καταπολεμήσαντες βασιλέα Φίλιππον καὶ Μακε-
 δόνας, ἀφίᾳσιν ἐλευθέρους ἀφρουρήτους ἀφορο-
 15 λογήτους, νόμοις χρωμένους τοῖς πατρίοις, Κο-
 ρινθίους, Φωκέας, Λοκρούς, Εὐβοεῖς, Ἀχαιοὺς
 τοὺς Φθιώτας, Μάγνητας, Θετταλοὺς, Περραιβοὺς.”
 κρότου δ' ἐν ἀρχαῖς εὐθέως ἐξαισίου ^{caused immense}
 γενομένου τινὲς μὲν οὐδ' ἤκουσαν τοῦ ^{surprise,} 6
 20 κηρύγματος, τινὲς δὲ πάλιν ἀκούειν ἐβούλοντο.
 τὸ δὲ πολὺ μέρος τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαπιστούμενον 7
 καὶ δοκοῦν ὥσανεὶ καθ' ὕπνον ἀκούειν τῶν λεγο-
 μένων διὰ τὸ παράδοξον τοῦ συμβαίνοντος, πᾶς 8
 τις ἐξ ἄλλης ὁρμῆς ἐβόα προάγειν τὸν κήρυκα καὶ
 15 τὸν σαλπικτὴν εἰς μέσον τὸ στάδιον καὶ λέγειν
 πάλιν ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν, ὥς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, βουλο-
 μένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων μὴ μόνον ἀκούειν ἀλλὰ καὶ
 βλέπειν τὸν λέγοντα διὰ τὴν ἀπιστίαν τῶν ἀνα-
 γορευομένων. ὥς δὲ πάλιν ὁ κῆρυξ, προελθὼν εἰς 9
 20 τὸ μέσον καὶ κατασιωπησάμενος διὰ τοῦ σαλπικτοῦ

- τὸν θόρυβον, ἀνηγόρευσε ταῦτα καὶ ὡσαύτως τοῖς
 πρόσθεν, τηλικούτον συνέβη καταρραγῆναι τὸν
 κρότον ὥστε καὶ μὴ ῥαδίως ἂν ὑπὸ τὴν ἔννοιαν
 10 ἀγαγεῖν τοῖς νῦν ἀκούουσι τὸ γεγονός. ὥς δέ
 ποτε κατέληξεν ὁ κρότος, τῶν μὲν ἀθλητῶν ἀπλῶς
 οὐδεὶς οὐδένα λόγον εἶχεν ἔτι, πάντες δὲ διαλα-
 λούντες, οἱ μὲν ἀλλήλοις οἱ δὲ πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς,
 11 οἶονεῖ παραστατικοὶ τὰς διανοίας ἦσαν. ἥ καὶ
 and gratitude to Flamininus. μετὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν
 τῆς χαρᾶς μικροῦ διέφθειραν τὸν Τίτον 10
 12 εὐχαριστοῦντες· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀντοφθαλμῆσαι κατὰ
 πρόσωπον καὶ σωτῆρα προσφωνῆσαι βουλόμενοι,
 τινὲς δὲ τῆς δεξιᾶς ἄψασθαι σπουδάζοντες, οἱ δὲ
 πολλοὶ στεφάνους ἐπιρριπτοῦντες καὶ λημνίσκους,
 13 παρ' ὀλίγον διέλυσαν τὸν ἄνθρωπον. δοκούσης 15
 δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ὑπερβολικῆς γενέσθαι, θαρρῶν
 ἂν τις εἶπε διότι πολὺ καταδεεστέρα εἶναι συνέ-
 14 βαινε τοῦ τῆς πράξεως μεγέθους. θαυμαστὸν
 γὰρ ἦν καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίους ἐπὶ ταύτης γενέσθαι τῆς
 προαιρέσεως καὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον αὐτῶν Τίτον, ὥστε 20
 πᾶσαν ὑπομεῖναι δαπάνην καὶ πάντα κίνδυνον
 χάριν τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας· μέγα δὲ καὶ
 τὸ δύναμιν ἀκόλουθον τῇ προαιρέσει προσενέγ-
 15 κασθαι· τούτων δὲ μέγιστον ἔτι τὸ μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς
 τύχης ἀντιπαῖσαι πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολήν, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς 25
 ἅπαντα πρὸς ἓνα καιρὸν ἐκδραμεῖν, ὥστε διὰ
 κηρύγματος ἑνὸς ἅπαντας καὶ τοὺς τὴν Ἀσίαν
 κατοικοῦντας Ἕλληνας καὶ τοὺς τὴν Εὐρώπην
 ἐλευθέρους ἀφρουρήτους ἀφορολογήτους γενέσθαι,
 νόμοις χρωμένους τοῖς ἰδίοις. * * * *

BOOK XXII. cc. III. to XVI.

Μετὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ Κομπασίῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων 3
ἐπαναίρεσιν δυσареστήσαντές τινες τῶν ἐν τῇ
Λακεδαίμονι τοῖς γεγονόσι, καὶ νομίσαντες ὑπὸ
τοῦ Φιλοποίμενος ἅμα τὴν δύναμιν
5 καὶ τὴν προστασίαν καταλελύσθαι Spartans com-
plain at Rome
of Philopoemen's
treatment of their
city in B.C. 188.
τὴν Ῥωμαίων, ἐλθόντες εἰς Ῥώμην
κατηγορίαν ἐποίησαντο τῶν διφκη-
μένων καὶ τοῦ Φιλοποίμενος, καὶ τέλος ἐξεπορί- 2
σαντο γράμματα πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς παρὰ Μάρκου
10 Λεπίδου τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα γενηθέντος, ἀρχιερέως,
τότε δὲ τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν εἰληφότος· ὃς ἔγραφε 3
τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς φάσκων οὐκ ὀρθῶς αὐτοὺς κεχειρι-
κέναι τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ὦν πρεσ- 4
βευόντων, εὐθέως ὁ Φιλοποίμην πρεσβευτὰς κατα-
15 στήσας τοὺς περὶ Νικόδημον τὸν Ἡλείου ἐξέπεμψεν
εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην. * * * * *

Κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα χρόνον, Ἀρισταίνου 10
στρατηγούντος, οἳ τε παρὰ Πτολε- Envoys from king
Ptolemaeus offers a
large sum for the
regular payment
of the members
of the Achaean
βουλὴ B.C. 187,
20 ἐν Μεγάλῃ πόλει τῆς συνόδου τῶν
Ἀχαιῶν ὑπαρχούσης· ἐξαπεστάλκει 3
δὲ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Εὐμένης πρεσβευτὰς, ἐπαγ-
γελλόμενος ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι τάλαντα δώσειν
τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐφ' ᾧ, δανειζομένων τούτων, ἐκ τῶν
25 τόκων μισθοδοτεῖσθαι τὴν βουλὴν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν
ἐπὶ ταῖς κοιναῖς συνόδοις. ἦκον δὲ καὶ παρὰ 4
Σελεύκου τοῦ βασιλέως πρεσβευταί, τὴν τε φιλίαν
ἀνανεωσόμενοι καὶ δεκανατὰν μακρῶν πλοίων

- 5 ἐπαγγελλόμενοι δώσειν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς. ἐχούσης
 δὲ τῆς συνόδου πραγματικῶς, πρῶτοι παρήλθον
 οἱ περὶ Νικόδημον τὸν Ἡλείου, καὶ τοὺς τε ῥηθέν-
 τας ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ λόγους ὑφ' αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς
 τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πόλεως διήλθον τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, 5
 6 καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἀνέγνωσαν, ἐξ ὧν ἦν λαμβάνειν
 ἐκδοχὴν ὅτι δυσареστοῦνται μὲν καὶ τῇ τῶν τει-
 χῶν καθαιρέσει καὶ τῇ καταλύσει τῶν ἐν τῷ Κομ-
 πασίῳ διαφθαρέντων, οὐ μὴν ἄκυρόν τι ποιεῖν.
 7 οὐθενὸς δ' οὐτ' ἀντειπόντος οὔτε συνηγορήσαντος, 10
 οὕτως πως παρεπέμφθη.
- 8 Μετὰ δὲ ταύτους εἰσῆλθον οἱ παρ' Εὐμένους
 πρέσβεις, καὶ τὴν τε συμμαχίαν τὴν πατρικὴν
 ἀνενεώσαντο καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν χρημάτων ἐπαγ-
 9 γελίαν διεσάφησαν τοῖς πολλοῖς, καὶ πλείω δὲ 15
 πρὸς ταύτας τὰς ὑποθέσεις διαλεχθέντες, καὶ
 μεγάλην εὐνοίαν καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν τοῦ βασιλέως
 ἐμφήναντες πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος, κατέπαυσαν τὸν λόγον.
- 11 μεθ' οὓς Ἀπολλωνίδας ὁ Σικυώνιος ἀναστὰς κατὰ
 μὲν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν διδομένων χρημάτων ἀξίαν 20
 2 ἔφη τὴν δωρεὰν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν προ-
 αἵρεσιν τοῦ διδόντος καὶ τὴν χρεῖαν
 εἰς ἣν δίδοται, πασῶν αἰσχίστην
 3 καὶ παρανομωτάτην. τῶν γὰρ νόμων κωλύόντων
 μηθένα μήτε ἰδιωτῶν μήτε τῶν ἀρχόντων παρὰ 25
 βασιλέως δῶρα λαμβάνειν κατὰ μηδ' ὅποιαν πρό-
 φασιν, πάντας ἅμα δωροδοκεῖσθαι προφανῶς,
 προσδεξαμένους τὰ χρήματα, πάντων εἶναι παρα-
 νομώτατον, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις αἰσχιστον ὁμολογού-
 4 μένως. τὸ γὰρ ὁψωνιάζεσθαι τὴν βουλήν ὑπ' 30

but strong pro-
 tests are raised,

Εὐμένους καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος, καὶ βουλευέσθαι
 περὶ τῶν κοινῶν καταπεπωκότας οἶονεὶ δέλεαρ,
 πρόδηλον ἔχειν τὴν αἰσχύνην καὶ τὴν βλάβην.
 νῦν μὲν γὰρ Εὐμένη διδόναι χρήματα, μετὰ δὲ 5
 5 ταῦτα Προυσίαν δώσειν, καὶ πάλιν Σέλευκον· τῶν 6
 δὲ πραγμάτων ἐναντίαν φύσιν ἔχόντων τοῖς βασι-
 λεῦσι καὶ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις, καὶ τῶν πλείστων
 καὶ μεγίστων διαβουλίων αἰεὶ γινομένων περὶ τῶν
 πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἡμῖν διαφερόντων, φανερώς 7
 10 ἀνάγκη δυοῖν θάτερον ἢ τὸ τῶν βασιλέων λυσι-
 τελὲς ἐπίπροσθεν γίνεσθαι τοῦ ἰδία συμφέροντος,
 ἢ τούτου μὴ συμβαίνοντος ἀχαρίστους φαίνεσθαι
 πᾶσιν, ἀντιπράττοντας τοῖς αὐτῶν μισθοδόταις.
 διὸ μὴ μόνον ἀπείπασθαι παρεκάλει τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, 8
 15 ἀλλὰ καὶ μισεῖν τὸν Εὐμένη διὰ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τῆς
 δόσεως.

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἀναστὰς Κάσσανδρος Αἰγινή- 9
 της ἀνέμνησε τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς τῆς Αἰγινήτων ἀκλη-
 ρίας, ἣ περιέπεσον διὰ τὸ μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν συμ-
 20 πολιτεύεσθαι, ὅτε Πόπλιος Σολπίκιος ἐπιπλεύσας
 τῷ στόλῳ πάντας ἐξηνδραποδίσατο τοὺς τάλαι-
 πώρους Αἰγινήτας· ὑπὲρ ὧν διεσαφῆσαμεν, τίνα 10
 τρόπον Αἰτωλοί, κύριοι γεγόμενοι τῆς πόλεως
 κατὰ τὰς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους συνθήκας, Ἀττάλῳ
 25 παραδοῖεν τριάκοντα τάλαντα παρ' αὐτοῦ λα-
 βόντες. ταῦτ' οὖν τιθεὶς τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς πρὸ ὀφ- 11
 θαλμῶν, ἡξίου τὸν Εὐμένη μὴ διάφορα προτείνοντα
 θηρεύειν τὴν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν εὖνοιαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πόλιν
 ἀποδιδόντα τυγχάνειν πάντων τῶν φιλανθρώπων
 30 ἀναντιρρήτως. τοὺς δὲ Ἀχαιοὺς παρεκάλει μὴ 12

δέχεσθαι τοιαύτας δωρεάς, δι' ὧν φανήσονται καὶ τὰς εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἐλπίδας ἀφαιρούμενοι τῆς Αἰγινητῶν σωτηρίας.

- 13 Τοιούτων δὲ γενομένων λόγων, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον παρέστη τὸ πλῆθος ὥστε μὴ τολμήσαι μηθένα 5
and the offer is rejected. συνειπεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ, πάντας δὲ μετὰ
 κραυγῆς ἐκβαλεῖν τὴν προτεινομένην
 δωρεάν, καίτοι δοκούσης αὐτῆς ἔχειν τι δυσαντο-
 φθάλμητον διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν προτεινομένων χρη-
 μάτων. * * * * *

- 13 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, τῆς πανηγύρεως ἀκμαζούσης, ἦλθε Κόιντος Καικίλιος ἐκ Μακεδονίας, ἀνακάμπ-
 των ἀπὸ τῆς πρεσβείας ἣς ἐπρέσβευσε
L. Caecilius blamed the Achaean
 2 Ministers for their dealings with Sparta, πρὸς Φίλιππον. καὶ συναγαγόντος
 Ἀρισταίνου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὰς ἀρχὰς 15
 εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων πόλιν, εἰσελθὼν ὁ Κόιντος
 ἐμέμφετο, φάσκων αὐτοὺς βαρύτερον καὶ πικρό-
 τερον τοῦ δέοντος κεχρῆσθαι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις,
 καὶ παρεκάλει διὰ πλειόνων διορθώσασθαι τὴν
 3 προγεγενημένην ἄγνοιαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀρίσταινος 10
 εἶχε τὴν ἡσυχίαν, δῆλος ὧν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ σιωπᾶν
 ὅτι δυσारेστεῖται τοῖς ὠκονομημένοις καὶ συνευ-
 4 δοκεῖ τοῖς ὑπὸ Καικιλίου λεγομένοις· ὁ δὲ Διο-
 φάνης ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης, ἄνθρωπος στρατιωτικώ-
 τερος ἢ πολιτικώτερος, ἀναστὰς οὐχ οἷον ἀπελογήθη 15
 τι περὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσυνέδειξε τῷ
 Καικίλιῳ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Φιλοποίμενα παρα-
 5 τριβὴν ἕτερον ἔγκλημα κατὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν. ἔφη
 γὰρ οὐ μόνον τὰ κατὰ Λακεδαίμονα κεχειρίσθαι
 6 κακῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κατὰ Μεσσήνην· ἦσαν δὲ 30

περὶ τῶν φυγαδικῶν τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἀντιρρήσεις
 τινὲς πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ τὸ τοῦ Τίτου διάγραμμα
 καὶ τὴν τοῦ Φιλοποίμενος διόρθωσιν. ὅθεν ὁ 7
 Καικίλιος δοκῶν ἔχειν καὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν αὐτῶν
 5 τινὰς ὁμογνώμονας, μᾶλλον ἡγανάκτει τῷ μὴ κατα-
 κολουθεῖν ἐτοίμως τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παρακαλουμένοις
 τοὺς συνεληλυθότας. τοῦ δὲ Φιλοποίμενος καὶ 8
 Αὐκόρτα, σὺν δὲ τούτοις Ἀρχωνος πολλοὺς καὶ
 ποικίλους διαθεμένων λόγους ὑπὲρ τοῦ καλῶς μὲν
 10 διωκῆσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Σπάρτην καὶ συμφερόντως
 αὐτοῖς μάλιστα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἀδύνατον δ'
 εἶναι τὸ κινήσαί τι τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἄνευ τοῦ
 παραβῆναι καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δίκαια
 καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὅσια, μένειν ἔδοξε τοῖς 9
 15 παρούσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποκειμένων καὶ ταύτην δοῦναι
 τῷ πρεσβευτῇ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν. ὁ δὲ Καικίλιος 10
 ὁρῶν τὴν τούτων προαίρεσιν, ἡξίου and asked to have
the assembly con-
vened,
 τοὺς πολλοὺς αὐτῷ συναγαγεῖν εἰς
 ἐκκλησίαν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἄρχοντες ἐκέλευον 11
 20 αὐτὸν δεῖξαι τὰς ἐντολὰς ὥς εἶχε παρὰ τῆς συγ-
 κλήτου περὶ τούτων, τοῦ δὲ παρασιωπῶντος οὐκ
 ἔφασαν αὐτῷ συνάξειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· τοὺς γὰρ 12
 νόμους οὐκ ἔαν, ἐὰν μὴ φέρῃ τις ἔγ- but they declined
this as being un-
constitutional.
 γραπτα παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου, περὶ ᾧ
 25 οἴεται δεῖν συνάγειν. ὁ δὲ Καικίλιος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον 13
 ὠργίσθη διὰ τὸ μηθὲν αὐτῷ συγχωρεῖσθαι τῶν
 ἀξιουμένων, ὥστ' οὐδὲ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἡβουλήθη
 δέξασθαι παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων, ἀλλ' ἀναπόκριτος
 ἀπῆλθεν. οἱ δ' Ἀχαιοὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἀνέφερον καὶ 14
 26 τῆς πρότερον παρουσίας ἅμα τῆς Μάρκου τοῦ

- Φολοῦίου καὶ τῆς τότε τῶν περὶ τὸν Καικίλιον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρίσταινον καὶ τὸν Διοφάνην, ὡς τούτους ἀντισπασαμένους διὰ τὴν ἀντιπολιτείαν τὴν πρὸς
 15 τὸν Φιλοποίμενα· καὶ τις ἦν ὑποψία τῶν πολλῶν πρὸς τοὺς προειρημένους ἄνδρας. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ 5 Πελοπόννησον ἐν τούτοις ἦν. * * * *
- 15 Μετὰ δὲ τούτους εἰσῆγον τοὺς ἀπὸ Πελοπον-
 6 νήσου παραγεγονότας. οἳ τε γὰρ Ἀχαιοὶ πρεσ-
 βευτὰς ἀπεστάλκεισαν τοὺς περὶ Ἀπολλωνίδα
 τὸν Σικυώνιον, δικαιολογησομένους πρὸς τὸν Και- 10
 κίλιον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπόκρισιν καὶ
 καθόλου διδάξοντας ὑπὲρ τῶν κατὰ Λακεδαίμονα
 7 πραγμάτων, ἐκ τε τῆς Σπάρτης Ἀρεὺς καὶ Ἀλκι-
 βιάδης ἐπρέσβευσαν· οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν
 τῶν ἀρχαίων φυγάδων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ 15
 Φιλοποίμενος καὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν νεωστὶ κατηγμένων
 8 εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν. ὁ καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς εἰς
 ὀργὴν ἤγε τῷ δοκεῖν, μεγάλης οὔσης καὶ προσ-
 φάτου τῆς εἰς τοὺς φυγάδας εὐεργεσίας, ἐξ αὐτῆς
 ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀχαριστεῖσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς ὥστε καὶ 20
 καταπρεσβεύειν καὶ κατηγορίαν ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς
 τοὺς κρατοῦντας τῶν ἀνελπίστως αὐτοὺς σωσάν-
 16 των καὶ καταγαγόντων εἰς τὴν πατρίδα. ποιη-
 σαμένων δὲ καὶ τούτων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐκ συγ-
 καταθέσεως τὴν δικαιολογίαν, καὶ διδασκόντων 25
 τὴν σύγκλητον τῶν μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἀπολλωνίδα
 τὸν Σικυώνιον ὡς ἀδύνατον εἶη τὸ παράπαν ἄμειον
 χειρισθῆναι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Σπάρτην ἢ νῦν κεχεί-
 ρισται διὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ διὰ Φιλοποίμενος,
 2 τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀρέα τὰναντία πειρωμένων λέγειν, 30

Spartan com-
 plaints are heard
 at Rome,

καὶ φασκόντων πρῶτον μὲν καταλελύσθαι τὴν τῆς
 πόλεως δύναμιν ἐξηγμένου τοῦ πλήθους μετὰ βίας,
 εἴτ' ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐπισφαλῇ καὶ ἀπαρρησίαστον κατα-
 λείπεσθαι τὴν πολιτείαν, ἐπισφαλῇ μὲν ὀλίγοις 3
 5 οὔσι καὶ τούτοις τῶν τειχῶν περιηρημένων, ἀπαρ-
 ρησίαστον δὲ διὰ τὸ μὴ μόνον τοῖς κοινοῖς δόγμασι
 τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πειθαρχεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν
 ὑπηρετεῖν τοῖς αἰεὶ καθισταμένοις ἄρχουσιν, δι- 4
 ακούσασα καὶ τούτων ἡ σύγκλητος ἔκρινε τοῖς
 10 αὐτοῖς πρεσβευταῖς δοῦναι καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐντολὰς,
 καὶ κατέστησε πρεσβευτὰς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοὺς
 περὶ Ἀππιον Κλαῦδιον.

Ἀπελογήθησαν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Καικίλιον 5
 ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρχόντων οἱ παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πρέσ-
 15 βεις ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ, φάσκοντες οὐθὲν
 ἀδικοῦν αὐτοὺς οὐδ' ἀξίους ἐγκλήματος
 ὑπάρχειν ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ συνάγειν τὴν
 ἐκκλησίαν· νόμον γὰρ εἶναι παρὰ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς 6
 μὴ συγκαλεῖν τοὺς πολλοὺς, εἰ μὴ περὶ συμ-
 20 μαχίας ἢ πολέμου δέῃ γίνεσθαι διαβούλιον ἢ
 παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου τις ἐνέγκῃ γράμματα. διὸ 7
 καὶ δικαίως τότε βουλεύσασθαι μὲν τοὺς ἄρχοντας
 συγκαλεῖν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, κωλύεσθαι
 δ' ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων διὰ τὸ μήτε γράμματα φέρειν
 25 αὐτὸν παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου μήτε τὰς ἐντολὰς
 ἐγγράπτους ἐθέλειν δοῦναι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν. ὦν 8
 ῥηθέντων ἀναστὰς Καικίλιος τῶν τε περὶ τὸν
 Φίλοποίμενα καὶ Λυκόρταν κατηγόρησεν, καὶ κα-
 θόλου τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας ἥ περὶ
 30 τῆς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκέχρητο πόλεως. ἡ δὲ 9

while the Achaeans send to justify their conduct before the Senate,

σύγκλητος διακούσασα τῶν λεγομένων ἔδωκε τοῖς
 Ἀχαιοῖς ἀπόκρισιν ὅτι περὶ μὲν τῶν κατὰ Λακε-
 10 δαίμονα πέμπει τοὺς ἐπισκεψομένους· τοῖς δὲ
 πρεσβευταῖς τοῖς αἰεὶ παρ' ἑαυτῶν ἐκπεμπομένοις
 which disapproves of the refusal to
 call a special as-
 5 παρήνει προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν καὶ κατα-
 δοχὴν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν,
 καθάπερ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι ποιοῦνται τῶν
 παραγινομένων πρὸς αὐτοὺς πρεσβευτῶν.
 * * * * *

BOOK XXIII. c. v.

5 Δεινοκράτης ὁ Μεσσήνιος παραγενόμενος εἰς
 τὴν Ῥώμην πρεσβευτής, καὶ καταλαβὼν τὸν Τίτον 10
 πρεσβευτὴν καθεσταμένον ὑπὸ τῆς
 Dinocrates the Messenian comes
 to Rome and pays
 court to Flamini-
 nus,
 2 Συλέυκον, περιχαρὲς ἐγενήθη, νομίζων
 τὸν Τίτον διὰ τε τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν (ἐγεγόνει
 γὰρ αὐτῷ συνήθης κατὰ τὸν Λακωνικὸν πόλεμον) 15
 καὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Φιλοποίμενα διαφοράν,
 παραγενόμενον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, χειριεῖν τὰ κατὰ
 τὴν Μεσσήνην πάντα κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ προαίρεσιν.
 3 διὸ καὶ παρεῖς τὰλλα προσεκαρτέρει τῷ Τίτῳ, καὶ
 πάσας εἰς τοῦτον ἀπηρείσατο τὰς ἐλπίδας. 20
 4 Δεινοκράτης ὁ Μεσσήνιος ἦν οὐ μόνον κατὰ
 who marvels at
 his levity,
 τὴν τριβὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν
 αὐλικὸς καὶ στρατιωτικὸς ἄνθρω-
 5 πος, τὸν δὲ πραγματικὸν τρόπον ἐπέφαινε μὲν

τέλειον, ἦν δὲ ψευδεπίγραφος καὶ ῥωπικός. ἔν τε 6
 γὰρ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς κατὰ μὲν τὴν εὐχέρειαν καὶ
 τὴν τόλμαν πολὺ διέφερε τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ λαμπρὸς
 ἦν ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἰδίαν κινδύνοις. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ 7
 5 κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην διάθεσιν ἐν μὲν ταῖς ὁμιλίαις
 εὐχαρις καὶ πρόχειρος ἦν, παρά τε τὰς συνουσίας
 εὐτράπελος καὶ πολιτικός, ἅμα δὲ τούτοις φιλέ-
 ραστος, περὶ δὲ κοινῶν ἢ πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων 8
 ἀτενίσαι καὶ προιδέσθαι τὸ μέλλον ἀσφαλῶς, ἔτι
 10 δὲ παρασκευάσασθαι καὶ διαλεχθῆναι πρὸς πλῆθος
 εἰς τέλος ἀδύνατος. καὶ τότε κεκινηκὼς ἀρχὴν 9
 μεγάλων κακῶν τῇ πατρίδι, τελείως οὐδὲν ᾤετο
 ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀγωγὴν ἤγε τοῦ βίου,
 προορώμενος οὐδὲν τῶν μελλόντων, ἐρῶν δὲ καὶ
 15 κωθωνιζόμενος ἀφ' ἡμέρας καὶ τοῖς ἀκροάμασι
 τὰς ἀκοὰς ἀνατεθεικῶς. βραχεῖαν δέ τινα τῆς 10
 περιστάσεως ἔμφασιν ὁ Τίτος αὐτὸν ἠνάγκασε
 λαβεῖν. ἰδὼν γὰρ αὐτὸν παρὰ πότον ἐν μακροῖς 11
 ἱματίοις ὀρχούμενον, παρ' αὐτὰ μὲν ἐσιώπησε, τῇ
 20 δ' αὖριον ἐντυγχάνοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τι περὶ τῆς
 πατρίδος ἀξιούντος “ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ Δεινοκράτη, πᾶν” 12
 ἔφη “ποιήσω τὸ δυνατόν· ἐπὶ δὲ σοῦ θαυμάζω
 πῶς δύνη παρὰ πότον ὀρχεῖσθαι, τηλικούτων
 πραγμάτων ἀρχὴν κεκινηκὼς ἐν τοῖς “Ἑλλησιν.”
 25 δοκεῖ δὲ τότε βραχὺ τι συσταλῆναι καὶ μαθεῖν ὥς 13
 ἀνοίκειον ὑπόθεσιν τῆς ἰδίας αἰρέσεως καὶ φύσεως
 ἀποδέδωκε. πλὴν τότε παρῆν εἰς τὴν ^{but encourages his} 14
 Ἑλλάδα μετὰ τοῦ Τίτου, πεπεισμένος ^{hopes,}
 ἐξ ἐφόδου τὰ κατὰ τὴν Μεσσήνην χειρισθήσεσθαι
 30 κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Φίλο- 15

ποίμενα σαφῶς ἐπεγνωκότες ὅτι περὶ τῶν Ἑλλη-
 νικῶν ὁ Τίτος οὐδεμίαν ἐντολὴν ἔχει παρὰ τῆς
 συγκλήτου, τὴν ἡσυχίαν εἶχον, καταδοκούντες
 16 αὐτοῦ τὴν παρουσίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καταπλεύσας εἰς
 Ναύπακτον ἔγραψε τῷ στρατηγῷ καὶ τοῖς δημιουρ- 5
 γοῖς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, κελεύων συνάγειν
 17 τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, ἀντέ-
 γραψαν αὐτῷ διότι ποιήσουσιν, ἂν
 γράψῃ περὶ τίνων βούλεται διαλεχθῆναι τοῖς
 Ἀχαιοῖς· τοὺς γὰρ νόμους ταῦτα τοῖς ἄρχουσιν 10
 18 ἐπιτάττειν. τοῦ δὲ μὴ τολμῶντος γράφειν, αἱ μὲν
 τοῦ Δεινοκράτους ἐλπίδες καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων λεγο-
 μένων φυγάδων, τότε δὲ προσφάτως ἐκ τῆς Λακε-
 δαίμονος ἐκπεπτωκότων, καὶ συλλήβδην ἢ τοῦ
 Τίτου παρουσία καὶ προσδοκία τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον 15
 διέπεσεν. * * * * *

9 Περὶ τῶν κατὰ Πελοπόννησον ὁ Μάρκιος τοι-
 8 αὐτὴν ἐπεποίητο τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν διότι τῶν Ἀχαιῶν
 οὐ βουλομένων ἀναφέρειν οὐδὲν ἐπὶ
 τὴν σύγκλητον, ἀλλὰ φρονηματιζομέ- 20
 νων καὶ πάντα δι' ἑαυτῶν πράττειν ἐπι-
 9 βαλλομένων, ἐὰν παρακούσωσι μόνον αὐτῶν κατὰ
 τὸ παρὸν καὶ βραχεῖαν ἔμφασιν ποιήσωσι δυσ-
 ρεστήσεως, ταχέως ἢ Λακεδαίμων τῇ Μεσσήνῃ
 10 συμφρονήσει. τούτου δὲ γενομένου μετὰ μεγάλης 25
 χάριτος ἤξειν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἔφη καταπεφευγότας
 11 ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους. διὸ τοῖς μὲν ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος
 ἀπεκρίθησαν τοῖς περὶ Σήριππον, βουλόμενοι μετέ-
 ωρον ἔασαι τὴν πόλιν, διότι πάντα πεποιήκασιν
 αὐτοῖς τὰ δυνατά, κατὰ δὲ τὸ παρὸν αὐὸ νομίζουσιν 30

The Senate uses
 language which
 encourages seces-
 sion from the
 League.

εἶναι τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα πρὸς αὐτούς. τῶν δὲ 12
 Ἀχαιῶν παρακαλούντων, εἰ μὲν δυνατόν ἐστιν,
 βοήθειαν αὐτοῖς πέμψαι κατὰ τὴν συμμαχίαν ἐπὶ
 τοὺς Μεσσηνίους, εἰ δὲ μή, προνοηθῆναι ἵνα μηθεὶς
 5 τῶν ἐξ Ἰταλίας μήθ' ὅπλα μήτε σῖτον εἰς τὴν
 Μεσσήνην εἰσαγάγῃ, τούτων μὲν οὐδενὶ προσεῖχον, 13
 ἀπεκρίθησαν δὲ διότι οὐδ' ἂν ὁ Λακεδαιμονίων ἢ
 Κορινθίων ἢ Ἀργείων ἀφίστηται δῆμος, οὐ δεήσει
 τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς θαυμάζειν ἐὰν μὴ πρὸς αὐτοὺς
 10 ἡγῶνται. ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἐκθέμενοι, 14
 κηρύγματος ἔχουσιν διὰ θεσιν τοῖς βουλομένοις
 ἕνεκεν Ῥωμαίων ἀφίστασθαι τῆς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν
 πολιτείας, λοιπὸν τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς παρακατεῖχον,
 καραδοκοῦντες τὰ κατὰ τὴν Μεσσήνην, πῶς προ-
 15 χωρήσει τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς. * * * *

Ὁ δὲ ἐξαναστὰς προῆγε, τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἄρρω- 12
 στίας τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἡλικίας βαρυνό- Philopoemen
hurries to Mes-
sene,
 μενος· εἶχε γὰρ ἑβδομηκοστὸν ἔτος.
 διαβιασάμενος δὲ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῇ συνηθείᾳ τῇ 2
 20 πρὸ τοῦ παρῆν ἐξ Ἀργους εἰς Μεγάλην πόλιν
 αὐθημερόν.

Φιλοποίμην ὁ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν στρατηγὸς συλ- 3
 ληφθεὶς ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων ἀνῆρέθη φαρ- is taken prisoner
and poisoned, B.C.
184.
 μάκῳ, ἀνὴρ γενόμενος οὐδενὸς τῶν πρὸ
 25 τοῦ κατ' ἀρετὴν δεύτερος, τῆς τύχης μέντοι γ'
 ἦττων, καίτοι δόξας ἐν παντὶ τῷ πρὸ τοῦ βίῳ
 συνεργὸν ἐσχηκέναι ταύτην. * * * *

Πάλαι μὲν οἱ Μεσσήνιοι καταπεπληγμένοι 16
 τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον τοὺς προεστῶτας, τότε μόλις
 30 ἐθάρρησάν τινες αὐτῶν φωνὴν ἀφιέναι, πιστεύ-

σαντες τῇ τῶν πολεμίων ἐφεδρεία, καὶ λέγειν
 ὅτι δεῖ πρεσβεύειν ὑπὲρ διαλύσεως.

- 3 The Messenians
hard pressed by
Lycortas make
their submission
A.C. 183, οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν Δεινοκράτην οὐκέτι
 δυνάμενοι πρὸς τὸ πλήθος ἀντοφθαλ-
 μεῖν διὰ τὸ περιέχεσθαι * * * τοῖς πράγμασιν 5
 4 εἷξαντες ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς τὰς ἰδίας οἰκήσεις· οἱ δὲ
 πολλοὶ παρακληθέντες ὑπὸ τε τῶν πρεσβυτέρων
 5 καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἐκ Βοιωτίας πρεσβευτῶν, οἱ
 πρότερον ἤδη παραγεγονότες ἐπὶ τὰς διαλύσεις,
 Ἐπαίνετος καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος, εὐκαίρως τότε παρέ- 10
 τυχον ἐν τῇ Μεσσήνῃ, ταχέως ἐπακολουθήσαντες
 ἐπὶ τὰς διαλύσεις οἱ Μεσσήνιοι κατέστησαν πρεσ-
 βευτὰς καὶ τούτους ἐξέπεμψαν, δεόμενοι τυχεῖν
 6 συγγνώμης ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμαρτημένοις. ὁ δὲ στρατη-
 γὸς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν παραλαβὼν τοὺς συνάρχοντας, 15
 καὶ διακούσας τῶν παραγεγονότων, μίαν ἔφη
 7 Μεσσηνίοις πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος εἶναι διάλυσιν, εἰὰν τοὺς
 μὲν αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως καὶ τῆς Φιλοποίμενος
 ἀναιρέσεως ἤδη παραδῶσιν αὐτῷ, περὶ δὲ τῶν
 ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἐπιτροπὴν δῶσι τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, εἰς 20
 δὲ τὴν ἄκραν εἰσδέξωνται παραχρῆμα φυλακὴν.
 8 ἀναγγελθέντων δὲ τούτων εἰς τοὺς ὄχλους, οἱ μὲν
 πάλοι πικρῶς διακείμενοι πρὸς τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ
 πολέμου πρόθυμοι τούτους ἦσαν ἐκδιδόναι καὶ
 συλλαμβάνειν, οἱ δὲ πεπεισμένοι μηδὲν πείσεσθαι 25
 δεινὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐτοίμως συγκατέβαινον
 9 εἰς τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων ἐπιτροπὴν. τὸ δὲ συνέχον,
 οὐκ ἔχοντες αἵρεσιν περὶ τῶν παρόντων ὁμοθυ-
 10 μαδὸν ἐδέξαντο τὰ προτεινόμενα. τὴν μὲν οὖν
 ἄκραν εὐθέως παραλαβὼν ὁ στρατηγὸς τοὺς πελ- 30

ταστάς εἰς αὐτὴν παρήγαγεν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα προσ- 11
 λαβὼν τοὺς ἐπιτηδεῖους ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου
 παρῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ συναγαγὼν τοὺς
 ὄχλους παρεκάλεσε τὰ πρέποντα τοῖς ἐνεστώσι
 5 καιροῖς, ἐπαγγελλόμενος ἀμεταμέλητον αὐτοῖς ἔσε-
 σθαι τὴν πίστιν. τῆς μὲν οὖν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων 12
 διαλήψεως τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔθνος ἐποιήσατο
 (καὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες συνέβαινε τότε πάλιν
 συνάγεσθαι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς εἰς Μεγάλην πόλιν
 10 ἐπὶ τὴν δευτέραν σύνοδον), τῶν δὲ ἐν ταῖς αἰτίαις 13
 ὅσοι μὲν μετέσχον τοῦ παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν
 ἐπανελέσθαι τὸν Φιλοποίμενα, τούτοις ἐπέταξε
 παραχρῆμα πάντας αὐτοὺς ἐξάγειν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν.

Οἱ Μεσσήνιοι διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἄγνοϊαν εἰς τὴν 17
 15 ἐσχάτην παραγενόμενοι διάθεσιν, ἀποκατέστησαν
 εἰς τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατάστασιν τῆς ^{and re-enter the}
 συμπολιτείας διὰ τὴν Λυκόρτα καὶ ^{Union,}
 τῶν Ἀχαιῶν μεγαλοψυχίαν. ἡ δ' Ἀβία καὶ 2
 Θουρία καὶ Φαραὶ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἀπὸ
 20 μὲν τῆς Μεσσήνης ἐχωρίσθησαν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ θέμεναι
 στήλην ἐκάστη μετεῖχε τῆς κοινῆς συμπολιτείας.
 Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ πυθόμενοι κατὰ λόγον κεχωρηκέναι 3
 τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς τὰ κατὰ τὴν Μεσσήνην, οὐδένα λόγον
 ποιησάμενοι τῆς πρότερον ἀποφάσεως, ἄλλην
 15 ἔδωκαν τοῖς αὐτοῖς πρεσβευταῖς ἀπό- ^{while Rome plays}
 κρισιν, διασαφούντες ὅτι πρόνοιαν πε- ^{a double part.}
 ποίηνται τοῦ μηθένα τῶν ἐξ Ἰταλίας μήθ' ὄπλα
 μήτε σίτον εἰσάγειν εἰς τὴν Μεσσήνην. ἐξ οὗ 4
 καταφανεῖς ἄπασιν ἐγενήθησαν ὅτι τοσοῦτον ἀπέ-
 30 χούσι τοῦ τὰ μὴ λῖαν ἀναγκαῖα τῶν ἐκτὸς πραγ-

μάτων ἀποτρίβεσθαι καὶ παρορᾶν, ὥς τοῦναντίον
 καὶ δυσχεραίνουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ πάντων τὴν ἀνα-
 φοράν ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς γίνεσθαι καὶ πάντα πράττεσθαι
 5 μετὰ τῆς αὐτῶν γνώμης. εἰς δὲ τὴν Λακεδαίμονα
 παραγενομένων τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης 5
 καὶ κομιζόντων τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, εὐθέως ὁ στρατηγὸς
 τῶν Ἀχαιῶν μετὰ τὸ συντελέσαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν
 Μεσσήνην, συνῆγε τοὺς πολλοὺς εἰς τὴν τῶν Σικυ-
 6 ωνίων πόλιν, ἀθροισθέντων δὲ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἀνεδίδου
 διαβούλιον ὑπὲρ τοῦ προσλαβέσθαι τὴν Σπάρτην 10
 7 Sparta too is in-
included in the U-
nion. εἰς τὴν συμπολιτείαν, φάσκων Ῥω-
 μαίους μὲν ἀποτρίβεσθαι τὴν πρότερον
 αὐτοῖς δοθεῖσαν ἐπιτροπὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης
 (ἀποκεκρίσθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς νῦν μὴθὲν εἶναι τῶν κατὰ
 8 Λακεδαίμονα πραγμάτων πρὸς αὐτούς), τοὺς δὲ 15
 κυριεύοντας τῆς Σπάρτης κατὰ τὸ παρὸν βούλεσθαι
 9 σφίσι μετέχειν τῆς συμπολιτείας. διὸ παρεκάλει
 προσδέχεσθαι τὴν πόλιν· εἶναι γὰρ τοῦτο κατὰ
 δύο τρόπους συμφέρον, καθ' ἓνα μὲν ὅτι τούτους
 μέλλουσι προσλήψεσθαι τοὺς διατετηρηκότας τὴν 20
 10 πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος πίστιν, καθ' ἕτερον δὲ διότι τῶν
 ἀρχαίων φυγάδων τοὺς ἀχαρίστως καὶ ἀσεβῶς
 ἀνεστραμμένους εἰς αὐτοὺς οὐχ ἔξουσι κοινωνοὺς
 τῆς πολιτείας, ἀλλ' ἑτέρων αὐτοὺς ἐκκεκλεικότων
 τῆς πόλεως, βεβαιώσαντες τὰς ἐκείνων προαιρέσεις 25
 ἅμα τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν αὐτοῖς χάριν ἀποδώσουσι
 11 μετὰ τῆς τῶν θεῶν προνοίας· ὁ μὲν οὖν Λυκόρτας
 ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγων παρεκάλει τοὺς
 12 Ἀχαιοὺς προσδέξασθαι τὴν πόλιν· ὁ δὲ Διοφάνης
 καὶ τινες ἕτεροι βοηθεῖν ἐπειρῶντο τοῖς φυγάσι, 30

καὶ παρεκάλουν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς μὴ συνεπιθέσθαι
 τοῖς ἐκπεπτωκόσιν, μηδὲ δι' ὀλίγους ἀνθρώπους
 συνεπισχῦσαι τοῖς ἀσεβῶς καὶ παρανόμως αὐτοὺς
 ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἐκβεβληκόσιν. τοιαῦτα μὲν ἦν τὰ 18
 5 ῥηθέντα παρ' ἐκατέρων· οἱ δ' Ἀχαιοὶ διακούσαντες
 ἀμφοτέρων ἔκριναν προσλαβέσθαι τὴν πόλιν, καὶ
 μετὰ ταῦτα στήλης προγραφείσης συνεπολιτεύετο
 μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἡ Σπάρτη, προσδεξαμένων τῶν 2
 ἐν τῇ πόλει τούτους τῶν ἀρχαίων φυγάδων, ὅσοι
 10 μηδὲν ἐδόκουν ἀγνωμόνως πεποιηκέναι κατὰ τοῦ
 τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνους. οἱ δ' Ἀχαιοὶ ταῦτα κυρώ- 3
 σαντες πρεσβευτὰς ἀπέστειλαν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην
 τοὺς περὶ Βίππον τὸν Ἀργεῖον, διασαφήσοντας
 τῇ συγκλήτῳ περὶ πάντων. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Λακε- 4
 15 δαιμόνιοι τοὺς περὶ Χαίρωνα κατέστησαν. ἐξ- 5
 ἀπέστειλαν δὲ καὶ οἱ φυγάδες τοὺς περὶ Κλήτιν
 Διακτόριον τοὺς καταστησομένους ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ
 πρὸς τοὺς παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πρεσβευτὰς.
 * * * * *

BOOK XXIV. c. II.

Κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον παραγενομένων ἐκ 2
 10 Ῥώμης τῶν ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος φυγάδων, καὶ
 κομιζόντων παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου γράμ-
 ματα τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ προνοη-
 θῆναι ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν καθόδου καὶ
 σωτηρίας εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, ἔδοξε τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς 2

The League
 deals leniently
 with Messene, and
 makes no change
 at Sparta.

- καὶ μήτε νόμον μήτε στήλην μήτ' ἄλλο μηθὲν
 7 τούτου νομίζειν ἀναγκαιότερον. τοιαύτης δ' οὔσης
 τῆς ἀντιλογίας ἔδοξε τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς πρεσβευτὰς
 ἐξαποστεῖλαι πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον τοὺς διδάζοντας
 8 ἃ Λυκόρτας λέγει. καὶ παραυτίκα κατέστησαν 5
 πρεσβευτὰς Καλλικράτην Λεοντήσιον, Λυδιάδαν
envoys are sent to
Rome B.C. 180, Μεγαλοπολίτην, Ἄρατον Σικυώνιον,
 καὶ δόντες ἐντολὰς ἀκολουθῶν τοῖς
 9 προειρημένους ἐξαπέστειλαν. ὧν καὶ παραγενο-
 μένων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, εἰσελθὼν ὁ Καλλικράτης 10
 εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχε τοῦ ταῖς
 ἐντολαῖς ἀκολουθῶς διδάσκειν τὸ συνέδριον, ὥστε
 τούναντίον ἐκ καταβολῆς ἐπεχείρησεν οὐ μόνον
 τῶν ἀντιπολιτευομένων κατηγορεῖν θρασέως, ἀλλὰ
 11 καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον νουθετεῖν. ἔφη γὰρ αὐτοὺς 15
 τοὺς Ῥωμαίους αἰτίους εἶναι τοῦ μὴ πειθαρχεῖν
where the traitor
Callicrates gives
advice, αὐτοῖς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀλλὰ παρα-
 κούειν καὶ τῶν γραφομένων καὶ τῶν
 12 παραγγελλομένων. δεῖν γὰρ οὐσῶν αἰρέσεων
 κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς δημοκρατικαῖς πολι- 20
 τεύειαι, καὶ τῶν μὲν φασκόντων δεῖν ἀκολουθεῖν
 τοῖς γραφομένοις ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ μήτε νόμον
 μήτε στήλην μήτ' ἄλλο μηθὲν προουργιάτερον
 3 νομίζειν τῆς Ῥωμαίων προαιρέσεως, τῶν δὲ τοὺς
 νόμους προφερομένων καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὰς 25
 στήλας, καὶ παρακαλούντων τὰ πλήθη μὴ ῥαδίως
 4 ταῦτα παραβαίνειν, ἀχαῖκωτέραν εἶναι παρὰ πάλιν
 ταύτην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν καὶ νικητικωτέραν ἐν τοῖς
 5 πολλοῖς, ἐξ οὗ τοῖς μὲν αἰρουμένοις τὰ Ῥωμαίων
 ἀδοξίαν συνεξακολουθεῖν παρὰ τοῖς ὄχλοις καὶ 30

διαβολήν, τοῖς δ' ἀντιπράττουσι τὰναντία. ἐὰν 6
 μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου γίνηται τις ἐπισημασία,
 ταχέως καὶ τοὺς πολιτευομένους μεταθήσεσθαι
 πρὸς τὴν Ῥωμαίων αἵρεσιν, καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς
 5 τούτοις ἐπακολουθήσειν διὰ τὸν φόβον. ἐὰν δὲ 7
 παροράται τοῦτο τὸ μέρος, ἅπαντας ἀπονεύσειν
 ἐπ' ἐκείνην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν· ἐνδοξοτέραν γὰρ εἶναι
 καὶ καλλίω παρὰ τοῖς ὄχλοις. διὸ καὶ νῦν ἤδη 8
 τινάς, οὐθὲν ἕτερον προσφερομένους δίκαιον πρὸς
 10 φιλοδοξίαν, δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο τῶν μεγίστων τυγχάνειν
 τιμῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἰδίῳις πολιτεύμασιν, διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν
 ἀντιλέγειν τοῖς ὑφ' ὑμῶν γραφομένοις χάριν τοῦ
 διαμένειν τοὺς νόμους ἰσχυροὺς καὶ τὰ δόγματα
 τὰ γινόμενα παρ' αὐτοῖς. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀδιαφόρως 9
 15 ἔχουσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πειθαρχεῖν αὐτοῖς τοὺς Ἕλληνας
 καὶ συννυπακούειν τοῖς γραφομένοις, ἄγειν αὐτοὺς
 ἐκέλευε τὴν ἀγωγὴν ἣν καὶ νῦν ἄγουσιν· εἰ δὲ 10
 βούλονται γίνεσθαι σφίσι τὰ παραγγελλόμενα καὶ
 ρηθέντα καταφρονεῖν τῶν γραφομένων, ἐπιστροφὴν
 20 ποιήσασθαι παρεκάλει τοῦ μέρους τούτου τὴν
 ἐνδεχομένην. εἰ δὲ μή, σαφῶς εἰδέναι δεῖν ὅτι 11
 τὰναντία συμβήσεται ταῖς ἐπινοίαις αὐτῶν· ὃ καὶ
 νῦν ἤδη γεγονέναι. πρῶτην μὲν γάρ, ἐν τοῖς Μεσση- 12
 νιακοῖς, πολλὰ ποιήσαντος Κοίντου Μαρκίου πρὸς
 25 τὸ μηδὲν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς βουλευσάσθαι περὶ Μεσ-
 σηνίων ἄνευ τῆς Ῥωμαίων προαιρέσεως, παρακού- 13
 σοντας καὶ ψηφισαμένους αὐτοὺς τὸν πόλεμον οὐ
 μόνον τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν καταφθεῖραι πᾶσαν ἀδίκως,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν πολιτῶν οὓς
 30 μὲν φυγαδεῦσαι, τινὰς δ' αὐτῶν ἐκδότους λαβόντας,

- αἰκισαμένους πᾶσαν αἰκίαν, ἀποκτείνειν, διότι
 προεκαλοῦντο περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητούμενων ἐπὶ
 14 Ῥωμαίους. νῦν δὲ πάλιν ἐκ πλείονος χρόνου
 γραφόντων αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς καθόδου τῶν ἐκ Λακε-
 δαίμονος φυγάδων, τοσοῦτον ἀπέχειν τοῦ πειθα- 5
 χεῖν ὡς καὶ στήλην τεθεῖσθαι καὶ πεποιῆσθαι
 πρὸς τοὺς κατέχοντας τὴν πόλιν ὅρκους ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 15 μηδέποτε κατελεύσεσθαι τοὺς φυγάδας. εἰς ἃ
 βλέποντας αὐτοὺς ἡξίου πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ
 μέλλοντος. 10
- 12 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Καλλικράτης ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτ'
 εἰπὼν ἀπῆλθεν, οἱ φυγάδες δ' ἐπεισελθόντες καὶ
 βραχέα περὶ αὐτῶν διδάξαντες καὶ τινα τῶν πρὸς
 3 τὸν κοινὸν ἔλεον εἰπόντες ἀνεχώρησαν. ἡ δὲ
 σύγκλητος δόξασα τὸν Καλλικράτην λέγειν τι 15
 τῶν αὐτῇ συμφερόντων, καὶ διδαχ-
which the Senate approves. θείσα διότι δεῖ τοὺς μὲν τοῖς αὐτῆς
 δόγμασι συνηγοροῦντας αὔξειν τοὺς δ' ἀντιλέγον-
 4 τας ταπεινοῦν, οὕτως καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἐπεβάλετο
 τοὺς μὲν κατὰ τὸ βέλτιστον ἵσταμένους ἐν τοῖς 20
 ἰδίῳις πολιτεύμασιν ἐλαττοῦν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ δικαίως
 5 καδίκως προστρέχοντας αὐτῇ σωματοποιεῖν. ἐξ
 ὧν αὐτῇ συνέβη κατὰ βραχύ, τοῦ χρόνου προ-
 βαίνοντος, κολάκων μὲν εὐπορεῖν φίλων δὲ σπανί-
 6 ζειν ἀληθινῶν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τότε περὶ μὲν τῆς 25
 καθόδου τῶν φυγάδων οὐ μόνον τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς
 ἔγραψε, παρακαλοῦσα συνεπισχύειν ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς καὶ τοῖς Ἑπειρώταις, σὺν δὲ τού-
 τοις Ἀθηναίοις Βοιωτοῖς Ἀκαρναῶσιν, πάντας ὥς-
 ἀνεῖ προδιαμαρτυρομένη χάριν τοῦ συντρίψαι 30

τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς. περὶ δὲ τοῦ Καλλικράτους αὐτοῦ 7
 κατ' ἰδίαν, παρασιωπήσασα τοὺς συμπρεσβευτάς,
 κατέταξεν εἰς τὴν ἀπόκρισιν διότι δεῖ τοιούτους
 5 ὑπάρχειν ἐν τοῖς πολιτεύμασιν ἄνδρας οἷός ἐστι
 Καλλικράτης. ὁ δὲ προειρημένος ἔχων τὰς ἀποκρί- 8
 σεις ταύτας παρῆν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα περιχαρής, οὐκ
 εἰδὼς ὅτι μεγάλων κακῶν ἀρχηγὸς γέγονε πᾶσι
 μὲν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς. ἔτι 9
 γὰρ τούτοις ἐξῆν καὶ κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους
 10 κατὰ ποσὸν ἰσολογίαν ἔχειν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους διὰ
 τὸ τετηρηκέσθαι τὴν πίστιν ἐν τοῖς ἐπισφαλεστάτοις
 καιροῖς, ἐξ οὗ τὰ Ῥωμαίων εἴλοντο, λέγω δὲ τοῖς
 κατὰ Φίλιππον καὶ Ἀντίοχον. * * * τοῦ δὲ τῶν 10
 Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνους ἡὔξημένου καὶ προκοπὴν εἰληφότος
 15 κατὰ τὸ βέλτιστον ἀφ' ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴστο- this had fatal con-
sequences.
 ροῦμεν χρόνων, αὕτη πάλιν ἀρχὴ τῆς
 ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἐγένετο μεταβολῆς, τὸ Καλλικράτους
 θράσος * * * Ῥωμαῖοι ὄντες ἄνθρωποι καὶ ψυχῇ 11
 χρώμενοι λαμπρᾷ καὶ προαιρέσει καλῇ, πάντας
 20 μὲν ἐλεοῦσι τοὺς ἐπταικότας καὶ πᾶσι πειρῶνται
 χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς καταφεύγουσιν ὡς αὐτοὺς· ὅταν 12
 μέντοι γέ τις ὑπομνήσῃ τῶν δικαίων, τετηρηκῶς
 τὴν πίστιν, ἀνατρέχουσι καὶ διορθοῦνται σφᾶς
 αὐτοὺς κατὰ δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις. ὁ δὲ 13
 25 Καλλικράτης πρεσβεύσας κατὰ τοὺς ἐνεστῶτας
 καιροὺς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην χάριν τοῦ λέγειν τὰ δίκαια
 περὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, χρησάμενος κατὰ τὸ ὑναντίον
 τοῖς πράγμασιν, καὶ συνεπισπασάμενος τὰ κατὰ
 Μεσσηνίους, ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐδ' ἐνεκάλουν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι,
 30 παρῆν εἰς Ἀχαΐαν προσανατεινόμενος τὸν ἀπὸ

- 14 Ῥωμαίων φόβον· καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀποπρεσβείαν κατα-
πληξάμενος καὶ συντρίψας τοὺς ὄχλους διὰ τὸ
μηδὲν εἰδέναι τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατ' ἀλήθειαν εἰρη-
μένων ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ τοὺς πολλούς, πρῶτον μὲν
ἤρεθθη στρατηγός, πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις κακοῖς καὶ 5
15 δωροδοκηθεῖς, ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις παραλαβὼν τὴν
ἀρχήν, κατήγε τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος καὶ τοὺς
ἐκ τῆς Μεσσήνης φυγάδας.
- 13 Φιλοποίμενα καὶ Ἀρίστεινον τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς
συνέβη οὔτε τὴν φύσιν ὁμοίαν σχεῖν οὔτε τὴν 10
2 Aristaeus, unlike αἵρεσιν τῆς πολιτείας. ἦν γὰρ ὁ μὲν
Philopoemen, was
for weak compli-
ance with Rome's
will. Φιλοποίμην εὖ πεφυκὼς πρὸς τὰς
πολεμικὰς χρεῖας καὶ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα
καὶ κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν, ὁ δ' ἕτερος πρὸς τὰ πολιτικὰ
3 τῶν διαβουλίων· τῇ δ' αἰρέσει κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν 15
τούτῳ διέφερον ἀλλήλων. τῆς γὰρ Ῥωμαίων ὑπερ-
οχῆς ἤδη τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς πράγμασιν ἐμπλεκομέ-
νης ὁλοσχερῶς κατὰ τε τοὺς Φιλιππικοὺς καὶ τοὺς
4 Ἀντιοχικοὺς καιροὺς, ὁ μὲν Ἀρίστεινος ἤγε τὴν
ἀγωγὴν τῆς πολιτείας οὕτως ὥστε πᾶν τὸ πρόσφο- 20
ρον Ῥωμαίοις ἐξ ἐτοίμου ποιεῖν, ἕνια δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἢ
5 προστάξαι ἐκείνους· ἐπειρᾶτο μέντοι γε τῶν νόμων
ἔχεσθαι δοκεῖν καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην ἐφείλκετο φαν-
τασίαν, εἰκὼν, ὅποτε τούτων ἀντιπίπτει τις προ-
6 δήλως τοῖς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων γραφομένοις. ὁ δὲ 25
Φιλοποίμην, ὅσα μὲν εἶη τῶν παρακαλουμένων
ἀκόλουθα τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τῇ συμμαχίᾳ, πάντα
7 συγκατήνει καὶ συνέπραττεν ἀπροφασίστως, ὅσα
δὲ τούτων ἐκτὸς ἐπιτάττειεν, οὐχ οἷός τ' ἦν ἐβελον-
τὴν συνυπακούειν, ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ἔφη δεῖν 30

δικαιολογεῖσθαι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν ἀξιούν, εἰ 8
δὲ μὴδ' οὕτως πείθοιεν, τέλος οἶον ἐπιμαρτυρομέν-
ους εἴκειν, καὶ τότε ποιεῖν τὸ παραγγελλόμενον.

* * * * *

BOOK XXVIII. cc. iii. to xiii.

Ἀὐλος κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἀντιστράτηγος 3
5 ὦν, καὶ παραχειμάζων ἐν Θετταλίᾳ μετὰ τῶν
δυνάμεων, ἐξέπεμψε πρεσβευτὰς εἰς Envoys from the
seat of war warn
the Greeks against
sympathy with
Perseus, B.C. 170,
τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τόπους Γάιον a
Ποπίλιον καὶ Γναῖον Ὀκταοῦιον· οἱ
πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Θήβας ἐλθόντες ἐπήνεσαν καὶ
10 παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς Θηβαίους διαφυλάττειν τὴν
πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εὐνοίαν, ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις ἐπιπορευό- 3
μενοι τὰς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεις ἐπιδεικνύειν
ἐπειρῶντο τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὴν τῆς συγκλήτου
πράότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν, προφερόμενοι τὰ
15 δόγματα τὰ μικρῶ πρότερον ῥηθέντα· ἅμα δὲ διὰ 4
τῶν λόγων παρενέφαινον ὡς εἰδότες τοὺς ἐν ἐκάσ-
ταις τῶν πόλεων παρὰ τὸ δέον ἀναχωροῦντας,
ὥσαύτως δὲ καὶ τοὺς προπίπτοντας, καὶ δῆλοι 5
πᾶσιν ἦσαν δυσαρεστούμενοι τοῖς ἀναχωροῦσιν
20 οὐχ ἦττον ἢ τοῖς ἐκφανῶς ἀντιπράττουσιν. ἐξ ὧν 6
τοὺς πολλοὺς εἰς ἐπίστασιν καὶ διαπόρησιν ἤγον
ὑπὲρ τοῦ τί ποτ' ἂν ἦ λέγοντες ἢ πράττοντες
εὐστοχοῖεν τῶν παρεστώτων καιρῶν. οἱ δὲ περὶ 7
τὸν Γάιον, συναχθείσης τῆς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐκκλησίας,

- 14 Ῥωμαίων φόβον· καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀποπρεσβείαν κατα-
 πληξάμενος καὶ συντρίψας τοὺς ὄχλους διὰ τὸ
 μηδὲν εἰδέναι τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατ' ἀλήθειαν εἰρη-
 μένων ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ τοὺς πολλοὺς, πρῶτον μὲν
 ἤρέθη στρατηγός, πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις κακοῖς καὶ 5
 15 δωροδοκηθεῖς, ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις παραλαβὼν τὴν
 ἀρχήν, κατήγε τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος καὶ τοὺς
 ἐκ τῆς Μεσσήνης φυγάδας.
- 13 Φιλοποίμενα καὶ Ἀρίσταινον τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς
 συνέβη οὔτε τὴν φύσιν ὁμοίαν σχεῖν οὔτε τὴν 10
 2 <sup>Aristaenus, unlike Philopoemen, was for weak compli-
 ance with Rome's will.</sup> αἵρεσιν τῆς πολιτείας. ἦν γὰρ ὁ μὲν
 Φιλοποίμην εὖ πεφυκῶς πρὸς τὰς
 πολεμικὰς χρείας καὶ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα
 καὶ κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν, ὁ δ' ἕτερος πρὸς τὰ πολιτικά
 3 τῶν διαβουλίῳν· τῇ δ' αἰρέσει κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν 15
 τούτῳ διέφερον ἀλλήλων. τῆς γὰρ Ῥωμαίων ὑπερ-
 οχῆς ἤδη τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς πράγμασιν ἐμπλεκομέ-
 νης ὀλοσχερῶς κατὰ τε τοὺς Φιλιππικοὺς καὶ τοὺς
 4 Ἀντιοχικοὺς καιροὺς, ὁ μὲν Ἀρίσταινος ἤγε τὴν
 ἀγωγὴν τῆς πολιτείας οὕτως ὥστε πᾶν τὸ πρόσφο- 20
 ρον Ῥωμαίοις ἐξ ἐτοίμου ποιεῖν, ἕνια δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἢ
 5 προστάξαι ἐκείνους· ἐπειρᾶτο μέντοι γε τῶν νόμων
 ἔχεσθαι δοκεῖν καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην ἐφείλκετο φαν-
 τασίαν, εἰκων, ὅποτε τούτων ἀντιπλήττοι τις προ-
 6 δήλως τοῖς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων γραφομένοις. ὁ δὲ 25
 Φιλοποίμην, ὅσα μὲν εἶη τῶν παρακαλουμένων
 ἀκόλουθα τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τῇ συμμαχίᾳ, πάντα
 7 συγκατῆνει καὶ συνέπραττεν ἀπροφασίστως, ὅσα
 δὲ τούτων ἐκτὸς ἐπιτάττοιεν, οὐχ οἷός τ' ἦν ἐβελον-
 τὴν συνυπακούειν, ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ἔφη δεῖν 30

δικαιολογεῖσθαι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν ἀξιούν, εἰ 8
δὲ μὴδ' οὕτως πείθοιεν, τέλος οἶον ἐπιμαρτυρομέν-
ους εἴκειν, καὶ τότε ποιεῖν τὸ παραγγελλόμενον.

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BOOK XXVIII. cc. III. to XIII.

Αὐλος κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἀντιστράτηγος 3
5 ὦν, καὶ παραχειμάζων ἐν Θερταλίᾳ μετὰ τῶν
δυνάμεων, ἐξέπεμψε πρεσβευτὰς εἰς Envoys from the
seat of war warn
the Greeks against
sympathy with
Perseus, B.C. 170, Γάιον
τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τόπους Ποπίλιον καὶ Γναῖον Ὀκταοῦιον· οἱ 2
πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Θήβας ἐλθόντες ἐπήνεσαν καὶ
10 παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς Θηβαίους διαφυλάττειν τὴν
πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εὐνοίαν, ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις ἐπιπορευό- 3
μενοι τὰς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεις ἐπιδεικνύειν
ἐπειρώντο τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὴν τῆς συγκλήτου
πραότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν, προφερόμενοι τὰ
15 δόγματα τὰ μικρῷ πρότερον ῥηθέντα· ἅμα δὲ διὰ 4
τῶν λόγων παρενέφαινον ὡς εἰδότες τοὺς ἐν ἐκάσ-
ταις τῶν πόλεων παρὰ τὸ δέον ἀναχωροῦντας,
ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τοὺς προπίπτοντας, καὶ δῆλοι 5
πᾶσιν ἦσαν δυσареστούμενοι τοῖς ἀναχωροῦσιν
20 οὐχ ἡττον ἢ τοῖς ἐκφανῶς ἀντιπράττουσιν. ἐξ ὧν 6
τοὺς πολλοὺς εἰς ἐπίστασιν καὶ διαπόρησιν ἤγον
ὑπὲρ τοῦ τί ποτ' ἂν ἢ λέγοντες ἢ πράττοντες
εὖστοχοῖεν τῶν παρεστώτων καιρῶν. οἱ δὲ περὶ 7
τὸν Γάιον, συναχθείσης τῆς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐκκλησίας,

ἐλέγοντο μὲν βεβουλευσθαι κατηγορήσειν τῶν
 περὶ τὸν Λυκόρταν καὶ τὸν Ἀρχωνα καὶ Πολύβιον,
 8 καὶ παραδείξειν ἄλλοτρίους ὑπάρχοντας τῆς τῶν
 and regard Ly- Ῥωμαίων αἰρέσεως, καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν
 cortas with sus- ἄγοντας κατὰ τὸ παρὸν οὐ φύσει τοι- 5
 picion. ούτους ὄντας, ἀλλὰ παρατηροῦντας τὰ συμβαί-
 9 νοντα καὶ τοῖς καιροῖς ἐφεδρεύοντας· οὐ μὴν ἐθάρ-
 ρησαν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν εὐλογον
 ἀφορμὴν ἔχειν κατὰ τῶν προειρημένων ἀνδρῶν.
 10 διὸ συναχθείσης αὐτοῖς τῆς βουλῆς εἰς Αἴγιον, 10
 ἀσπαστικὴν τε καὶ παρακλητικὴν ποιησάμενοι τὴν
 πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἔντευξιν ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν
 Αἰτωλίαν. * * * * *

6 Ἐδοξε τοῖς Ἑλλησι περὶ τῆς πρεσβείας ἐπι-
 2 στάσεως χρεῖαν ἔχειν τὸ γινόμενον. παραλα- 15
 A Caucus of
 Achaean politi- βόντες οὖν τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην
 cians holds de- πολιτείαν ὁμογνωμονοῦντας (οὗτοι δ'
 bates, ἦσαν Ἀρκεσίλαος Ἀρίστων Μεγαλο-
 πολῖται, Στράτιος Τριταίεϋς, Ξένων Πατρεϋς,
 Ἀπολλωνίδης Σικυνώνιος) ἐβουλευόντο περὶ τῶν 10
 3 ἐνεστώτων. ὁ μὲν οὖν Λυκόρτας ἔμεινεν ἐπὶ τῆς
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς προθέσεως, κρίνων μήτε Περσεῖ μήτε
 Ῥωμαίοις συνεργεῖν μηδέν, ὁμοίως μηδ' ἀντιπράτ-
 4 τειν μηδετέροις· τὸ μὲν γὰρ συνεργεῖν ἀλυσιτελὲς
 ἐνόμιζε πᾶσιν εἶναι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, προορώμενος 15
 τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἐσομένης ἐξουσίας περὶ τοὺς κρατή-
 5 σαντας, τὸ δ' ἀντιπράττειν ἐπισφαλὲς διὰ τὸ
 πολλοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις Ῥωμαίων ἀντω-
 φθαλμηκέναι περὶ τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων κατὰ
 6 τοὺς ἀνώτερον καιροὺς. ὁ δ' Ἀπολλωνίδης καὶ 30

Στράτιος ἀντιπράττειν μὲν ἐπίτηδες Ῥωμαίοις
οὐκ ᾔοντο δεῖν, τοὺς δ' ὑπερκυβιστῶντας καὶ διὰ
τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων ἰδίαν χάριν ἀποτιθεμένους
παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ τοῦτο πράττοντας παρὰ τοὺς
5 νόμους καὶ παρὰ τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον, τούτους
ἔφασαν δεῖν κωλύειν καὶ πρὸς τούτους ἀντοφθαλ-
μεῖν εὐγενῶς. ὁ δ' Ἄρχων ἀκολουθεῖν ἔφη δεῖν 7
τοῖς καιροῖς, καὶ μὴ διδόναι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀφορμὴν
εἰς διαβολήν, μηδὲ προέσθαι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν
10 αὐτὴν ἐλθεῖν διάθεσιν τοῖς περὶ Νίκανδρον, οἵτινες,
πρὶν ἢ λαβεῖν πείραν τῆς τούτων ἐξουσίας, ἐν τῇς
μεγίσταις εἰσὶ ταλαιπωρίαις. ταύτης δὲ τῆς 8
γνώμης μετέσχον Πολύαινος Ἀρκεσίλαος Ἀρίστων
Ξένων. διὸ καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἄρχωνα πρὸς and nominates 9
15 τὴν στρατηγίαν ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς εὐθέως candidates for the
προπορεύεσθαι, τὸν δὲ Πολύβιον πρὸς τὴν ἵππαρ-
χίαν.

Τούτων δὲ νεωστὶ γεγονότων καὶ προδιειληφό- 7
των τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἄρχωνα διότι δεῖ συμπράττειν
20 Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τοῖς τούτων φίλοις, τυχικῶς πως
συνέβη τὸν Ἀττάλον πρὸς ἐτοίμους ὄντας ποιή-
σασθαι τοὺς λόγους. διὸ καὶ προθύμως αὐτῷ 2
κατανεύσαντες ὑπέσχοντο συμπράξειν ὑπὲρ τῶν
παρακαλουμένων. τοῦ δ' Ἀττάλου πέμψαντος 3
15 πρεσβευτάς, καὶ παραγενομένων τούτων εἰς τὴν
πρώτην ἀγοράν, καὶ διαλεγομένων τοῖς
Ἀχαιοῖς περὶ τοῦ τὰς τιμὰς ἀπο- After debate in
κατασταθῆναι τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ παρακαλούντων the Assembly,
ποιῆσαι τοῦτο διὰ τῆς Ἀττάλου χάριτος, ὁ μὲν 4
30 ὄχλος ἄδηλος ἦν ἐπὶ τίνος ὑπάρχει γνώμης, πρὸς

- δὲ τὴν ἀντιλογίαν ἀνίσταντο πολλοὶ καὶ διὰ
 5 πολλὰς αἰτίας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς αἰτιοὶ γενό-
 μενοι τῆς ἀναιρέσεως τῶν τιμῶν βεβαιοῦν ἐβού-
 λοντο τὴν αὐτῶν γνώμην· οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν κατ' ἰδίαν
 ἐγκλημάτων ὑπέλαβον καιρὸν ἔχειν ἀμύνεσθαι τὸν
 βασιλέα· τινὲς δὲ διὰ τὸν πρὸς τοὺς συμπράττον-
 τας φθόνον ἐφιλοτιμοῦντο μὴ κρατῆσαι τὸν Ἄτ-
 6 ταλον τῆς ἐπιβολῆς. ὁ δὲ Ἄρχων ἀνέστη μὲν
 βοηθήσων τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς (ἐκάλει γὰρ τὰ πράγ-
 7 ματα τὴν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ γνώμην), βραχέα δ' 10
 εἰπὼν ἀνεχώρησε, διευλαβηθεὶς μὴ δόξῃ κέρδους
 τινὸς ἔνεκεν συμβουλεύειν διὰ τὸ πλήθος ἱκανὸν
 8 χρημάτων εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν δεδαπανηκέναι. πολλῆς
 δ' οὔσης ἀπορίας ὁ Πολύβιος ἀναστὰς
 ἐποίησατο μὲν καὶ πλείονας λόγους, 15
 μάλιστα δὲ προσέδραμε πρὸς τὴν τῶν πολλῶν
 γνώμην, ὑποδείξας τὸ γεγονὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ψήφισμα
 τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν τιμῶν, ἐν ᾧ γεγραμμένον
 ἦν ὅτι δεῖ τὰς ἀπρεπεῖς ἀρθῆναι τιμὰς καὶ τὰς
 9 παρανόμους, οὐ μὰ Δι' ἀπάσας. τοὺς δὲ περὶ 20
 Σωσιγένη καὶ Διοπίθην, δικαστὰς ὑπάρχοντας κατ'
 ἐκείνουν τὸν καιρὸν καὶ διαφερομένους ἐκ τινων
 ἰδίων πρὸς τὸν Εὐμένην, λαβομένους ἔφη τῆς
 ἀφορμῆς ταύτης πάσας ἀνατετροφέναι τὰς τιμὰς
 10 τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι παρὰ τὸ 25
 τῶν Ἀχαιῶν δόγμα καὶ παρὰ τὴν
 δοθείσαν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν, καὶ τὸ μέ-
 γιστον, παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ καλῶς
 11 ἔχον· οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἡδικημένους τι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς
 βουλεύσασθαι τὰς τιμὰς αἶρειν τὰς Εὐμένους, 30

in which Polybius
takes part,

It is decided to
restore the hon-
ours before voted
for Attalus which
were not uncon-
stitutional.

ἀλλὰ μείζους αὐτοῦ ζητοῦντος τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν,
 τούτῳ προσκόψαντας ψηφίσασθαι τὸ πλεονάζον
 παρελεῖν. διόπερ ἔφη δεῖν, καθάπερ οἱ δικασταὶ 12
 τὴν ἰδίαν ἔχθραν ἐπίπροσθεν πόιήσαντες τοῦ τῶν
 5 Ἀχαιῶν εὐσχήμονος ἀνέτρεψαν πάσας τὰς τιμὰς,
 οὕτως τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, κυριώτατον ἡγησαμένους τὸ
 σφίσι καθήκον καὶ πρέπον, διορθώσασθαι τὴν τῶν
 δικαστῶν ἀμαρτίαν καὶ καθόλου τὴν πρὸς τὸν
 Εὐμένη γεγενημένην ἀλογίαν, ἄλλως τε καὶ μέλ- 13
 10 λοντας μὴ μόνον ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα τὴν χάριν
 ἀπερείδεσθαι ταύτην, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον εἰς τὸν ἀδελφὸν
 Ἄτταλον. τοῦ δὲ πλήθους εὐδοκήσαντος τοῖς λε- 14
 γομένοις, ἐγράφη δόγμα προστάττον τοῖς ἄρχουσι
 πάσας ἀποκαταστήσαι τὰς Εὐμένους τοῦ βασιλέως
 15 τιμὰς, πλὴν εἴ τινες ἀπρεπές τι περιέχουσι τῷ
 κοινῷ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἢ παράνομον. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ 15
 τὸν τρόπον καὶ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν Ἄτταλος
 διορθώσατο τὴν γενομένην ἀλογίαν περὶ τὰς
 ὑπαρχούσας Εὐμένει τὰδελφῷ τιμὰς κατὰ τὴν
 20 Πελοπόννησον. * * * * *

Τοῦ Περσέως βουλομένου ἥξειν μετὰ δυνάμεως 12
 εἰς τὴν Θετταλίαν καὶ λήψεσθαι τὰ ὅλα κρίσιν ἐκ
 τῶν κατὰ λόγον, ἔδοξε τοῖς περὶ τὸν
 Ἄρχωνα δι' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων
 15 ἀπολογεῖσθαι πάλιν πρὸς τὰς ὑπο-
 νοίας καὶ διαβολάς. εἰσήνεγκαν οὖν
 εἰς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς δόγμα, διότι δεῖ πανδημεὶ ποιη-
 σαμένους τὴν ἔξοδον εἰς Θετταλίαν κοινωνῆσαι
 τῶν πραγμάτων ὁλοσχερῶς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. καὶ 3
 20 τούτου κυρωθέντος ἔδοξε τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς τὸν Ἄρχωνα

The Achaeans re-
 solve to send all
 their forces to join
 the Romans in
 Thessaly if the
 Consul desire it.

- γίνεσθαι περὶ τὴν συναγωγὴν τοῦ στρατεύματος
καὶ περὶ τὰς εἰς τὴν ἔξοδον παρασκευάς, πρὸς δὲ
τὸν ὕπατον πρεσβευτὰς πέμπειν εἰς Θετταλίαν
τοὺς τὰ δεδογμένᾱ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς διασαφήσοντας,
καὶ πευσομένους πότε καὶ ποῦ δεῖ συμμιγνύνειν 5
4. αὐτῷ τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ κατέστησαν πρεσ-
βευτὰς παραχρῆμα Πολύβιον καὶ
ἄλλους, καὶ ἐνετείλαντο τῷ Πολυβίῳ
φιλοτίμως, ἔὰν ὁ στρατηγὸς εὐδοκῇ τῇ παρουσίᾳ
τοῦ στρατοπέδου, τοὺς μὲν πρεσβευτὰς ἐξ αὐτῆς 10
πέμπειν διασαφήσοντας, ἵνα μὴ καθυστερῶσι τῶν
5 καιρῶν, αὐτὸν δὲ φροντίζειν ἵνα τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν
ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀγορὰς ἔχῃ, δι' ὧν ἂν πορεύηται,
καὶ μηδὲν ἐλλείπη τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τοὺς στρατιώτας.
6 ταύτας μὲν οὖν ἔχοντες οἱ πρῶτοι τὰς ἐν- 15
7 πολὰς ἐξώρμησαν· κατέστησαν δὲ καὶ πρεσβευτὰς
πρὸς Ἀτταλον τοὺς περὶ Τηλόκριτον, ἀποκομι-
ζοντας τὸ δόγμα· τὸ περὶ τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως
8 τῶν Εὐμένους τιμῶν. καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν
καὶ περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου προσπεσόντος 20
τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς διότι γέγονεν αὐτῷ τὰ νομιζόμενα
γίνεσθαι τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, ὅταν εἰς ἡλικίαν ἔλθω-
9 σιν, ἀνακλητήρια, νομίσαντες σφίσι καθήκειν
ἐπισημῆνασθαι τὸ γεγονός, ἐψηφίσαντο πέμπειν
πρεσβευτὰς ἀνανεωσομένους τὰ προϋπάρχοντα 25
τῷ ἔθνει φιλάνθρωπα πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ
παραντίκα κατέστησαν Ἀλκιθον καὶ Πασιάδαν.
13 Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Πολύβιον καταλαβόντες τοὺς
Ῥωμαίους ἐκ μὲν τῆς Θετταλίας κεινηκότας, τῆς
δὲ Περραιβίας στρατοπεδεύοντας Ἀζωρίου μεταξὺ 30

Envoys are sent
to him

- καὶ Δολίχης, τὴν μὲν ἔντευξιν ὑπερέθεντο διὰ 1
 τοὺς περιστῶτας καιροὺς, τῶν δὲ κατὰ as he is crossing
the mountains into
Macedonia, B.C.
169. τὴν εἴσοδον τὴν εἰς Μακεδονίαν κιν- 3
 δύνων μετεῖχον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ στρατεύ-
 5 ματος κατάραντος ἐπὶ τοὺς καθ' Ἡράκλειον τόπους
 ἔδοξε καιρὸς εἶναι πρὸς ἔντευξιν ἅτε τοῦ στρατη-
 γοῦ δοκοῦντος ἡνύσθαι τὸ μέγιστον τῶν προκει-
 μένων, τότε λαβόντες καιρὸν τὸ ψήφισμα τῷ 4
 Μαρκίῳ προσήνεγκαν, καὶ διεσάφουν τὴν τῶν
 10 Ἀχαιῶν προαίρεσιν, διότι βουλευθεῖεν αὐτῷ παν-
 δημεὶ τῶν αὐτῶν μετασχεῖν ἀγώνων καὶ κινδύνων.
 καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὑπέδειξαν διότι πᾶν τὸ γραφὲν ἢ
 παραγγελθὲν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων κατὰ
 τὸν ἐνεστῶτα πόλεμον ἀναντίρρητον γέγονεν. τοῦ 5
 15 δὲ Μαρκίου τὴν μὲν προαίρεσιν ἀποδεχομένου τὴν
 Ἀχαιῶν μεγαλωστί, τῆς δὲ κακοπα- He declines the
reinforcements,
 θείας αὐτοὺς καὶ τῆς δαπάνης παραλύ-
 οντος διὰ τὸ μηκέτι χρεῖαν ἔχειν τοὺς καιροὺς τῆς
 τῶν συμμάχων βοηθείας, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πρέσβεις 6
 20 ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν Ἀχαΐαν, ὃ δὲ Πολύβιος αὐτοῦ
 μείνας μετεῖχε τῶν ἐνεστώτων πραγμάτων, ἕως ὃ 7
 Μάρκιος ἀκούσας Ἀππιὸν τὸν Κέντωνα πεντακισ-
 χιλίους στρατιώτας αἰτεῖσθαι παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν
 εἰς Ἡπειρον, ἐξαπέστειλε τὸν προειρημένον, παρα-
 25 καλέσας φροντίζειν ἵνα μὴ δοθῶσιν οἱ στρατιῶται
 μηδὲ τηλικούτου δαπάνημα μάταιον γένηται τοῖς
 Ἀχαιοῖς· πρὸς οὐδένα γὰρ λόγον αἰτεῖν τοὺς
 στρατιώτας τὸν Ἀππιον. πότερά δὲ τοῦτ' ἐποίει 8
 κηδόμενος τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἢ τὸν Ἀππιὸν ἀπραγεῖν
 30 βουλόμενος, χαλέπον εἰπεῖν. πλὴν ὃ γε Πολύβιος 9

ἀναχωρήσας εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, ἥδη τῶν
 γραμμάτων ἐκ τῆς Ἡπείρου προσπεπτωκότων καὶ

and sends Polybius back with private instructions to refuse aid to

10 Appian.

μετ' οὐ πολὺ συναχθέντων εἰς Σικυῶνα
 τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, εἰς πρόβλημα παμ-

μέγεθες ἐνέπεσε. τοῦ γὰρ διαβουλίου 5

προτεθέντος ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ Κέντων ἦτι στρατιωτῶν,

ἃ μὲν ὁ Μάρκιος αὐτῷ φροντίζειν κατ' ἰδίαν ἐνε-

τείλατο, ταῦτα φωτίζειν οὐδαμῶς ἔκρινεν· τὸ δὲ

μηδεμιᾶς ὑπαρχούσης προφάσεως ἀντιλέγειν τῇ

11 βοηθείᾳ τελείως ἦν ἐπισφαλές. δυσχρήστου δὲ 10

καὶ ποικίλης οὔσης τῆς ὑποθέσεως, ἐχρήσατο

βοηθήματι πρὸς τὸ παρὸν τῷ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγ-

ματι τῷ κελεύοντι μηδένα προσέχειν τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν

στρατηγῶν γραφομένοις, ἐὰν μὴ τοῦτο ποιῶσι

12 κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῆς συγκλήτου· τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἦν 15

13 προσκείμενον τοῖς γράμμασι. διὸ καὶ κατεκράτησε

τοῦ τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἐπὶ τὸν ὕπατον γενέσθαι καὶ δι'

ἐκείνου παραλυθῆναι τῆς δαπάνης τὸ ἔθνος, οὔσης

14 ὑπὲρ ἑκατὺν εἴκοσι τάλαντα. μεγάλας γε μὴν

τοῖς βουλομένοις διαβάλλειν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν 20

Ἀππιον ἀφορμὰς ἔδωκεν, ὅτι διακόψαι τὴν ἐπι-

βολὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν περὶ τῆς βοηθείας.

* * * * *

BOOK XXIX. cc. xxiii. to xxv.

23 Κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἔτι κατὰ χειμῶνα
 πρεσβείας παραγενομένης παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων

ἀμφοτέρων, Πτολεμαίου καὶ Πτολεμαίου, περὶ
 βοηθείας, ἐγενήθη διαβούλια καὶ πλείω, Envoys from the
 two kings of Egypt
 ask for help. πολλὴν ἔχοντα φιλοτιμίαν. τοῖς μὲν ²
 γὰρ περὶ τὸν Καλλικράτην καὶ Διοφάνην καὶ σὺν
 5 τούτοις Ἑτέρβατον οὐκ ἤρεσκε διδόναι βοήθειαν,
 τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀρχωνα καὶ Λυκόρταν καὶ ³
 Πολύβιον ἤρεσκε τὸ διδόναι τοῖς βασιλεῦσι κατὰ
 τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν συμμαχίαν. ἤδη γὰρ συνέβαινε ⁴
 τότε τὸν νεώτερον Πτολεμαῖον ὑπὸ τῶν ὄχλων
 10 ἀναδεδεῖχθαι βασιλέα διὰ τὴν περίστασιν, τὸν δὲ
 πρεσβύτερον ἐκ τῆς Μέμφεως καταπεπορευῆσθαι
 καὶ συμβασιλεύειν τὰδελφῷ. καὶ δεόμενοι παν- ⁵
 τοδαπῆς ἐπικουρίας ἐξαπέστειλαν πρεσβευτὰς
 Εὐμένη καὶ Διονυσόδωρον πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς,
 15 αἰτοῦντες πεζοὺς μὲν χιλίους ἵππεῖς δὲ διακοσίους,
 ἡγεμόνα δὲ τῆς ὅλης συμμαχίας Λυκόρταν, τῶν
 δ' ἱππέων Πολύβιον. πρὸς δὲ Θεοδωρίδαν τὸν ⁶
 Σικυνώνιον διεπέμψαντο παρακαλοῦντες αὐτὸν
 συστήσασθαι ξενολόγιον χιλίων ἀνδρῶν. συνέ- ⁷
 20 βαινε δὲ τοὺς μὲν βασιλεῖς τὴν ἐπὶ πλείου σύστα-
 σιν ἔχειν πρὸς τοὺς εἰρημένους ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν
 πράξεων ὧν εἰρήκαμεν. τῶν δὲ πρεσβευτῶν παρα- ⁸
 γενομένων τῆς συνόδου τῶν Ἀχαιῶν οὔσης ἐν
 Κορίνθῳ, καὶ τὰ τε φιλάνθρωπα πρὸς τὴν βασι-
 25 λείαν ἀνανεωσαμένων ὄντα μεγάλα, καὶ τὴν περί-
 στασιν τῶν βασιλέων ὑπὸ τὴν ὄψιν ἀγόντων, καὶ
 δεομένων σφίσι βοηθεῖν, τὸ μὲν πλῆθος τῶν ⁹
 Ἀχαιῶν ἔτοιμον ἦν οὐ μέρει τινὶ πανδημεὶ δὲ
 συγκινδυνεύειν, εἰ δέοι, τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν (ἀμφοτέροι
 30 γὰρ εἶχον τό τε διάδημα καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν), οἱ δὲ ¹⁰

περὶ τὸν Καλλικράτην ἀντέλεγον, φάσκοντες δὲ
 καθόλου μὲν μὴ πραγματοκοπεῖν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς παρ-
 οῦσι καιροῖς μὴδ' ὅλως, ἀλλ' ἀπερι-
 σπάστους ὑπάρχοντας Ῥωμαίοις παρ-
 ἔχεσθαι χρείας· μάλιστα γὰρ ἦν τότε 5
 προσδόκιμος ὁ περὶ τῶν ὅλων κίνδυνος, ἅτε τοῦ
 Κοῖντου τοῦ Φιλίππου τὴν παραχειμασίαν ἐν τῇ
 24 Μακεδονίᾳ ποιουμένου. τῶν δὲ πολλῶν εἰς ἀπο-
 ρίαν ἐμπιπτόντων, μὴ δόξωσι Ῥωμαίων ἀστοχεῖν,
 μεταλαβόντες τοὺς λόγους οἱ περὶ τὸν Λυκόρταν 10
 καὶ Πολύβιον ἐδίδασκον ἄλλα τε καὶ πλείω προ-
 φερόμενοι, καὶ διότι τῷ πρότερον ἔτει ψηφισαμένων
 τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πανδημεὶ συστρατεῦειν τοῖς Ῥωμαί-
 οῖς, καὶ πεμφάντων πρεσβευτὴν τὸν Πολύβιον, ὁ
 Κόιντος ἀποδεξάμενος τὴν προθυμίαν 15
 ἀπέειπατο μὴ χρεῖαν ἔχειν τῆς βο-
 θείας; ἐπεὶ κεκράτηκε τῆς εἰς Μακε-
 3 δονίαν εἰσβολῆς. ἐξ ὧν ἀπεδείκνυσαν σκῆψιν
 οὖσαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων χρεῖαν πρὸς τὸ διαλυῖσαι τὸ
 4 βοηθεῖν. διὸ παρεκάλουν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, ὑποδεικ- 10
 νύοντες τὸ μέγεθος τῆς περιστάσεως ἐν ᾗ συνέ-
 βαινε τότε τὴν βασιλείαν ὑπάρχειν, μὴ παριδεῖν
 τὸν καιρὸν, ἀλλὰ μνημονεύοντας τῶν ὁμολογιῶν
 καὶ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν ὄρκων, ἐμπε-
 5 δοῦν τὰς συνθήκας. τῶν δὲ πολλῶν ἐπιφερομένων 15
 πάλιν βοηθεῖν, τότε μὲν οἱ περὶ τὸν Καλλικράτην
 ἐξέβαλον τὸ διαβούλιον, διασείσαντες τοὺς ἄρχον-
 τας ὥς οὐκ οὔσης ἐξουσίας κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἐν
 6 ἀγορᾷ βουλευέσθαι περὶ βοηθείας. μετὰ δέ τινα
 χρόνον συγκλήτου συναχθείσης εἰς τὴν τῶν Σικυ- 20

Callicrates pro-
 tests that they
 should reserve
 their help for
 Rome.

Lycortas urges
 that Rome does
 not want it and
 Egypt does.

ωνίων πόλιν, ἐν ᾗ συνέβαινε μὴ μόνον συμπορεύε-
 σθαι τὴν βουλὴν ἀλλὰ πάντας τοὺς ἀπὸ τριάκοντ'
 ἑτῶν, καὶ λόγων γινομένων πλειόνων, καὶ μάλιστα 7
 τοῦ Πολυβίου διοριζομένου πρῶτον μὲν περὶ τοῦ
 5 χρεῖαν μὴ ἔχειν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τῆς βοηθείας, καὶ
 δοκοῦντος οὐκ εἰκῇ ταῦτα λέγειν διὰ τὸ γεγονέναι
 τὴν παρελθούσαν θερείαν ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ παρὰ
 τῷ Φιλίππῳ, δεύτερον δὲ φάσκοντος, εἰ καὶ 8
 δέωνται Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς συμμαχίας, οὐ διὰ τοὺς δια-
 10 κοσίους ἱππεῖς καὶ χιλίους πεζοὺς τοὺς ἀποστα-
 λησομένους εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀδυνατήσῃ τοὺς
 Ἀχαιοὺς βοηθεῖν Ῥωμαίοις (καλῶς γὰρ ποιῶντας
 αὐτοὺς καὶ τρεῖς ἄγειν καὶ τέτταρας μυριάδας
 ἀνδρῶν μαχίμων), εὐδοκοῦντες τοῖς λεγομένοις 9
 15 ἔρρεπον οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς τὸ πέμπειν τὴν συμ-
 μαχίαν. τῇ δὲ δευτέρᾳ τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἐν ᾗ κατὰ 10
 τοὺς νόμους ἔδει τὰ ψηφίσματα προσφέρειν τοὺς
 βουλομένους, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Λυκόρταν προσή-
 νεγκαν διότι δεῖ πέμπειν τὴν βοήθειαν, οἱ δὲ περὶ
 20 τὸν Καλλικράτην διότι δεῖ πρεσβευτὰς ἐξαποστέλ-
 λειν τοὺς διαλύσοντας τοὺς βασιλεῖς The majority a-
 grees with Lycor-
 tas, πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον. πάλιν δὲ τῶν 11
 διαβουλίῶν προτεθέντων ἀγὼν ἐγένετο νεανικός,
 πολὺ γε μὴν ὑπερεῖχον οἱ περὶ τὸν Λυκόρταν. αἶ 12
 25 τε γὰρ βασιλεῖαι συγκρινόμεναι μεγάλῃν εἶχον
 διαφοράν· ὑπὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ἀντιόχου σπάνιον ἦν 13
 εὐρεῖν οἰκεῖόν τι γεγονὸς καθόλου πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλλη-
 νας ἔν γε τοῖς ἀνώτερον χρόνοις (καὶ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ τότε
 βασιλεύοντος μεγαλοψυχία διάδηλος ἐγένετο τοῖς
 30 Ἕλλησιν), ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Πτολεμαίου τοσαῦτα καὶ 14

- τηλικαῦτα τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐγεγόνει φιλάνθρωπα
 κατὰ τοὺς ἀνώτερον χρόνους ὥστ' ἂν μηδένα πλείον
 15 ἀξιοῦν. ἂ διατιθέμενος ὁ Λυκόρτας μεγάλην
 ἐποιεῖτο φαντασίαν, ἕτε τῆς παραθέσεως ὀλοσχερῇ
 16 τὴν διαφορὰν ἐχούσης· καθ' ὅσον γὰρ οὐκ ἐξαριθ-
 μήσασθαι ῥάδιον ἦν τὰς τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ βασι-
 λέων εὐεργεσίας, κατὰ τοσοῦτον ἀπλῶς οὐδὲν ἦν
 εὔρεῖν φιλάνθρωπον ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιόχου βασιλείας
 ἀπνηντημένον εἰς πραγμάτων λόγον τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς.
- 25 Ἔως μὲν τινος οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀνδρωνίδα καὶ 10
 Καλλικράτην ἐχρῶντο τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς διαλύσεως
 λόγοις, οὐδενὸς δὲ προσέχοντος αὐτοῖς ἐπεισήγαγον
 2 but at last decides to send envoys to
 mediate. μηχανήν. παρῆν γὰρ ἐκ πορείας εἰς
 τὸ θέατρον γραμματοφόρος φέρων
 ἐπιστολὴν παρὰ Κοῖντου Μαρκίου, δι' ἧς παρε- 15
 κάλει τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἀκολουθοῦντας τῇ Ῥωμαίων
 προαιρέσει πειρᾶσθαι διαλύειν τοὺς βασιλεῖς·
 3 συνέβαινε γὰρ καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον ἀπεσταλκέναι
 πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς περὶ Νεμέσιον διαλύσοντας τοὺς
 4 βασιλεῖς. ἦν δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ τῆς ὑποθέσεως· οἱ 20
 γὰρ περὶ τὸν Τίτον ἀδυνατήσαντες διαλύειν ἀνακε-
 χωρήκεισαν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἄπρακτοι τελείως.
 5 ἀλλ' οἱ περὶ τὸν Πολύβιον οὐ βουλόμενοι διὰ τὸν
 Μάρκιον πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀντιλέγειν, ἀνεχώ-
 ρησαν ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν 25
 6 βοήθειαν οὕτως διέπεσε τοῖς βασιλεῦσι, τοῖς δ'
 Ἀχαιοῖς ἔδοξε πρεσβευτὰς ἀποστέλλειν τοὺς δια-
 λύσοντας· καὶ κατεστάθησαν Ἀρχων Λίγειράτης,
 7 Ἀρκεσίλαος Ἀρίστων Μεγαλοπολίται. οἱ δὲ
 παρὰ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου πρεσβευταὶ διαψευσθέντες 30

τῆς συμμαχίας, ἀνέδωκαν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἐτοίμας ἔχοντες, ἐπιστολὰς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων, δι' ὧν ἠξίουں τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐκπέμπειν Λυκόρταν καὶ Πολύβιον ἐπὶ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα πόλεμον.

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BOOK XXX. c. xxiii.

- 5 Τοῦ περὶ Καλλικράτην μίσους καὶ Ἀνδρωνίδαν 23
καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τοὺς ὁμογνώμονας
τούτων οὕτως ἂν τις τεκμήραιτο. τῆς
γὰρ τῶν Ἀντιγονείων πανηγύρεως ἐν
τῷ Σικυῶνι συντελουμένης, καὶ τῶν
10 βαλανείων ἀπάντων ἐχόντων τὰς τε κοινὰς μάκτρας
καὶ πυέλους ταύταις παρακειμένας, εἰς αἷς οἱ κομ-
ψότεροι τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰώθασι κατ' ἰδίαν ἐμβαί-
νειν, εἰς ταύτας ὅτε τις καθεῖη τῶν περὶ τὸν 4
Ἀνδρωνίδαν καὶ Καλλικράτην, οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα τῶν
15 ἐφεστῶτων ἔτι καθιέναι πρὶν ἢ τὸν βαλανεῖτην τὸ
μὲν ὑπάρχον ὕδωρ ἀφεῖναι πᾶν, ἕτερον δὲ καθαρὸν
ἐγχέαι. τοῦτο δ' ἐποίουν ὑπολαμβάνοντες ὥσανεὶ 5
μαίνεσθαι καθιέντες εἰς ταῦτ' οἷς προειρημένοις
ὑδωρ. τοὺς δὲ συριγμοὺς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς 6
20 πανηγύρεσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τοὺς χλευασμοὺς,
ὅτε τις ἐπιβάλωτο κηρύττειν τινὰ τῶν προειρη-
μένων, οὐδ' ἂν ἐξηγήσαιτο ῥαδίως οὐδεὶς. ἐθάρρει 7
δὲ καὶ τὰ παιδάρια κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς, ἐκ τῶν
διδασκαλείων ἐπανάγοντα, κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοὺς

The traitors Cal-
licrates and An-
dronidas are the
objects of uni-
versal contempt
in Greece, B.C. 167.



προδότας ἀποκαλεῖν. τοιαύτη τις ὑπέδραμε προσκοπή καὶ μῖσος κατὰ τῶν προειρημένων.

* * * * *

BOOK XXXI. c. viii.

- 8 Μετά τινα χρόνον εἰσῆλθον οἱ παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πρέσβεις, ἔχοντες ἐντολὰς ἀκολουθῶσ
The Achaeans
 2 plead at Rome for
 their countrymen
 deported to Italy. ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν αἷς πρότερον ἔλαβον·
 αὐταὶ δ' ἦσαν διότι θαυμάζουσι πῶς,
 ὑπὲρ ὧν αὐτοὶ κεκρίκασιν, περὶ τούτων
 3 αὐτοὺς παρακαλοῦσι κρίνειν. διὸ τότε παρήσαν
 οἱ περὶ τὸν Εὐρέαν, πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐμφανίζοντες
 διότι τὸ μὲν ἔθνος οὔτε δικαιολογουμένων ἀκήκοε
 10 τῶν κατηγτιαμένων οὔτε κρίσιν οὐδεμίαν πεποιήται
 4 περὶ αὐτῶν, τὴν δὲ σύγκλητον ἀξιοῖ πρόνοιαν
 ποιήσασθαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἵνα κρίσεως τύχῃσι
 5 καὶ μὴ καταφθαρῶσιν ἄκριτοι, καὶ μάλιστα μὲν
 αὐτὴν ἐξετάσασαν διασαφῆσαι τοὺς ἐνόχους ὄντας
 15 τοῖς ἐγκλήμασιν, εἰ δὲ διὰ τοὺς περισπασμοὺς αὐτὴ
 μὴ δύναται τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐπιτρέψαι
 περὶ τοῦ πράγματος, οἳ πειράσσονται μισοπονήρως
 6 χρῆσασθαι τοῖς αἰτίοις. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος διακού-
 σασα τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ἀκολουθῶσ ταῖς ἐντολαῖς
 20 διαλεγομένων, καὶ δυσχρηστοῦσα διὰ τὸ παντα-
 7 χόθεν ἐξελέγχεσθαι (τό τε γὰρ κρίνειν οὐκ ἐνόμιζεν
 αὐτῇ καθήκειν, τό τε χωρὶς κρίσεως ἀπολύειν τοὺς
 ἀνδρας πρόδηλον ἔχειν ἐδόκει τὸν ὄλεθρον τοῖς

φίλοις αὐτῶν), διὕπερ ἀναγκαζομένη, καὶ βουλο- 8
 μένη παρελέσθαι καθόλου τὴν ἐλπίδα τῶν πολλῶν
 ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν κατεχομένων σωτηρίας, ἵνα συμ-
 μύσαντες πειθαρχῶσιν ἐν μὲν Ἀχαιᾶ τοῖς περὶ
 τὸν Καλλικράτην, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολιτεύμασι
 τοῖς δοκοῦσιν εἶναι Ῥωμαίων φίλοις, ἔγραψαν
 ἀποκρίσιν τοιαύτην, ὅτι ἡμεῖς οὐχ ὑπολαμβάνομεν 9
 συμφέρειν οὐθ' ἡμῖν οὔτε τοῖς ὑμετέροις δήμοις
 τούτους τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς οἶκον. ταύτης 10
 δὲ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως ἐκπεσούσης οὐ μόνον περὶ τοὺς
 ἀνακεκλημένους ἐγένετό τις ὀλοσχερῆς ἀθυμία καὶ
 παράλυσις τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοὺς Ἑλ-
 ληνας ὥσανεῖ κοινόν τι πένθος ἅτε δοκούσης τῆς
 ἀποκρίσεως ὀλοσχερῶς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὴν ἐλπίδα
 τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν ἀκληρούντων. κατὰ δὲ τὴν 11
 Ἑλλάδα διαγγελθείσης τῆς ἀποκρίσεως τῆς τοῖς
 Ἀχαιοῖς δεδομένης ὑπὲρ τῶν κατατιαιθέντων, τὰ
 μὲν πλήθη συνετρίβη ταῖς διανοίαις, καὶ τις οἶον
 ἀπελπισμὸς ὑπέδραμε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, οἱ δὲ περὶ 12
 τὸν Χάροπα καὶ Καλλικράτην καὶ πάντες οἱ τῆς
 αὐτῆς ὑποθέσεως προεστῶτες μετέωροι πάλιν ἐγε-
 νήθησαν.

* * * * *

BOOK XXXII. c. vii.

7 Ἦκον δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πρέσβεις 14
 οἱ περὶ Ξένωνα καὶ Τηλεκλῆν ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηγνια-

μένων, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ Πολυβίου καὶ τοῦ Στρατίου

- 15 Achæan envoys plead for the re-
turn of Polybius
and Stratius. χάριν· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ πλείστους σχεδὸν
ἅπαντας ὁ χρόνος ἤδη κατηναλώκει,
16 τοὺς γε δὴ καὶ μνήμης ἀξίους. παρή-
σαν δ' οἱ πρέσβεις ἐντολὰς ἔχοντες ἀπλῶς ἀξιο- 5
ματικός, χάριν τοῦ πρὸς μηδὲν ἀντιφιλονεικεῖν τῇ
17 συγκλήτῳ. εἰσπορευθέντων δὲ καὶ ποιησαμένων
τοὺς ἀρμόζοντας λόγους οὐδ' ὥς οὐδὲν ἡνύσθη, τὰ
δ' ἐναντίον ἔδοξε τῇ συγκλήτῳ μένειν ἐπὶ τῶν
ὑποκειμένων.

* * * * *

10

BOOK XXXV. c. vi.

- 6 Ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν ἐξ Ἀχαΐας φυγάδων ἐντευχθεὶς
διὰ Πολύβιον ὑπὸ Σκιπίωνος, ὡς πολλὺς ἐν τῇ
συγκλήτῳ λόγος ἐγένετο τῶν μὲν δι-
1 The Senate de-
cides to let the
Achæan exiles go
home. B.C. 151. δόντων κάθοδον αὐτοῖς τῶν δ' ἐνι-
2 σταμένων, ἀναστὰς ὁ Κάτων “ὥσπερ 15
οὐκ ἔχοντες” εἶπεν “ὁ πράττωμεν, καθήμεθα τὴν
ἡμέραν ὅλην περὶ γεροντίων Γραικῶν ζητοῦντες,
πότερον ὑπὸ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἢ τῶν ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ
3 νεκροφόρων ἐκκομισθῶσι.” ψηφισθείσης δὲ τῆς
καθύδου τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἡμέρας ὀλίγας οἱ περὶ τὸν 20
Πολύβιον διαλιπόντες αὐθις ἐπεχείρουν εἰς τὴν
σύγκλητον εἰσελθεῖν, ὅπως ἂς πρότερον εἶχον ἐν
Ἀχαΐᾳ τιμὰς οἱ φυγάδες ἀναλάβοιεν, καὶ τοῦ
4 Κάτωνος ἀπεπειρῶντο τῆς γνώμης. ὁ δὲ μειδιάσας

ἔφη τὸν Πολύβιον, ὥσπερ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά, βούλεσθαι
 πάλιν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Κύκλωπος σπήλαιον εἰσελθεῖν,
 τὸ πιλίον ἐκεῖ καὶ τὴν ζώνην ἐπιλεησμένον.

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BOOK XXXVIII. c. vii.—xi.

Παραγενομένων ἐκ Πελοποννήσου τῶν περὶ 7
 5 τὸν Αὐρήλιον πρεσβευτῶν, καὶ διασαφούντων
 τὰ συμβεβηκότα περὶ αὐτοῦς, ὅτι παρ'
 ὀλίγον τοῖς ὕλοις ἐκινδύνευσαν, καὶ Roman envoys
complain in tem-
perate terms of
the insult to
Orestes, B.C. 147. 2
 λεγόντων μετ' αὐξήσεως καὶ καινο-
 λογίας (οὐ γὰρ ὡς κατὰ περιπέτειαν
 10 ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦκοντος τοῦ δεινοῦ διεσάφουν, ἀλλ' ὡς
 κατὰ πρόθεσιν ὠρμηκώτων τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπὶ τῷ
 παραδειγματίζειν αὐτούς), ἡ σύγκλητος ἡγανάκ- 3
 τησε μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσιν ὡς οὐδέποτε, καὶ
 παραχρῆμα πρεσβευτὰς κατεστήσατο τοὺς περὶ
 15 τὸν Ἰούλιον, καὶ τούτους ἔπεμπε δοῦσα τοιαύτας
 ἐντολάς, διότι δεῖ μετρίως ἐπιτιμήσαντας καὶ 4
 μεμψαμένους ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσι τὸ πλεῖον παρα-
 καλεῖν καὶ διδάσκειν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς μήτε τοῖς ἐπὶ
 τὰ χεῖριστα παρακαλοῦσι προσέχειν μήτ' αὐτοὺς
 20 λαθεῖν εἰς τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀλλοτριότητα
 διεμπεσόντας, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν ποιήσασθαί τινα 5
 διόρθωσιν τῶν ἡγνοημένων, ἀπερειαμένους τὴν
 ἄγνοιαν ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς ἀμαρτίας. ἐξ ὧν 6
 καὶ λίαν δῆλον ἐγένετο διότι καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν
 25 Αὐρήλιον ἔδωκε τὰς ἐντολάς οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ διασπάσαι

- τὸ ἔθνος, ἀλλὰ πτοῆσαι καὶ καταπλήξασθαι βου-
 λομένη τὴν αὐθάδειαν καὶ τὴν ἀπέχθειαν τῶν
 7 Ἀχαιῶν. τινὲς μὲν οὖν ὑπελάμβανον καθ' ὑπό-
 κρισιν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους οὕτως χειρίζειν τὰ κατὰ τὴν
 Ἀχαιᾶν διὰ τὸ μένειν ἀτελῇ τὰ κατὰ Καρχηδόνα· 5
 8 τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς οὐχ οὕτως εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ παραδεδεγμένοι
 τὸ ἔθνος ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου, καὶ νομίζοντες ἔχειν
 αὐτὸ πίστιν μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, ἀνασοβῆσαι
 μὲν ἔκριναν διὰ τὸ φρονηματίζεσθαι πέρα τοῦ
 δέοντος, πόλεμον δ' ἀναλαβεῖν ἢ διαφορὰν ὀλοσχερῇ 10
 πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς οὐδαμῶς ἐβούλοντο.
- 8 * Οἱ περὶ τὸν Σέξτον προάγοντες ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης
 εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἀπήντησαν τοῖς περὶ
 2 τὸν Θεαρίδαν, οἳ ἦσαν πρεσβευταὶ πεμφθέντες
 ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν παραιτησόμενοι καὶ διδάζοντες 15
 τὴν σύγκλητον ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰς τοὺς περὶ τὸν
 3 Αὐρήλιον γενομένων ἀλογημάτων. οἷς καὶ συμ-
 μίξαντες οἱ προειρημένοι παρεκάλεσαν αὐτοὺς
 ἀνακάμπτειν πρὸς τὴν Ἀχαιᾶν, ὅτι περὶ πάντων
 τούτων ἔχουσιν ἐντολὰς αὐτοὶ διαλέγεσθαι τοῖς 10
 4 Ἀχαιοῖς. παραγενομένων δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν Σέξτον
 εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, καὶ διαλεγομένων τοῖς Ἀ-
 χαιοῖς ἐν τῇ τῶν Αἰγίεων πόλει, καὶ προφερομένων
 5 πολλοὺς καὶ φιλανθρώπους λόγους, καὶ τὸ περὶ
 τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς ἔγκλημα παραπεμπόντων, καὶ 15
 σχεδὸν οὐδὲν προσδεομένων δικαιολογίας ἀλλὰ
 βέλτιον ἐκδεχομένων τὸ γεγονός αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀ-
 χαιῶν, καθόλου δὲ παρακαλούντων μὴ πορρωτέρω
 προβῆναι τῆς ἀμαρτίας μήτε τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς μήτε
 6 τῆς εἰς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, τὸ μὲν σωφρονοῦν 20

μέρος ἀσμένως ἀπεδέχετο τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ λίαν
ἐντρέπετο, συνειδὸς αὐτῷ τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ
πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν λαμβάνον τὰ συμβαίνοντα τοῖς
πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀντιταττομένοις, τὸ
5 δὲ πλήθος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀντιλέγειν The people listen
sullenly. 7
μὲν οὐδὲν εἶχε τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Σέξτον
λεγομένοις δικαίοις, ἀλλ' ἤγε τὴν ἡσυχίαν,
ἔμενε δὲ νοσοῦν καὶ διεφθαρμένον. οἱ δὲ περὶ 8
τὸν Δίαϊον καὶ Κριτόλαον, καὶ πάντες οἱ με-
10 τέχοντες αὐτοῖς τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης (οὗτοι δὲ
ἦσαν, ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες, ἐξ ἐκάστης πόλεως κατ'
ἐκλογὴν οἱ χεῖριστοι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐχθροὶ καὶ
λυμωνευόμενοι τὸ ἔθνος), καθάπερ ἐν παροιμίᾳ 9
φασίν, οὐ μόνον τὰ διδόμενα τῇ δεξιᾷ παρὰ
15 Ῥωμαίων ἐδέχοντο τῇ λαιᾷ χειρὶ, καθόλου δὲ καὶ
συλλήβδην παρέπαιον τοῖς λογισμοῖς. ὑπέλαβον 10
γὰρ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διὰ τε τὰς ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ καὶ
τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν πράξεις, δεδιότας τὸν ἀπὸ
τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πόλεμον, πᾶν ὑπομένειν καὶ πᾶσαν
20 προῖεσθαι φωνήν. διὸ νομίσαντες ἴδιον τὸ παρόν, 11
ἀπεκρίθησαν φιλανθρώπως τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς τοὺς
μὲν περὶ τὸν Θεαρίδαν ὅμως ἀποστέλλειν εἰς τὴν
σύγκλητον, αὐτοὶ δὲ παρακολουθή-
σαντες εἰς τὴν Τέγεαν καὶ κοινολογη-
25 θέντες τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις φροντιεῖν
ἵνα γένηται τις ὁμολογημένη λύσις τοῦ πολέμου.
ταῦτα δ' ἀποκριθέντες ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς ἤγουν ἐπὶ τὴν 12
πάλαι προκειμένην αὐτοῖς ἄγνοιαν τὸ ταλαίπωρον
ἔθνος. καὶ τοῦτ' εἰκότως συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι δι' 13
30 ἀπειρίαν καὶ κακίαν τῶν κρατούντων.

Critolaus pro-
poses a confer-
ence at Tegea
with the Spartans,

- 9 Τὸ δὲ τέλος τῆς ἀπωλείας ἡνύσθη τοιῶδέ τινα
 2 τρόπῳ. παραγενομένων γὰρ εἰς τὴν Τέγεαν τῶν περὶ
 τὸν Σέξτον, καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπισπασα-
 μένων χάριν τοῦ σύμφωνον αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι πρὸς
 τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς τὴν τε περὶ τῶν προγεγονότων ἐγ- 5
 κλημάτων δικαιοδοσίαν καὶ τὴν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον
 ἐποχήν, ἕως ἂν πέμψωσι Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς περὶ τῶν
 3 ὅλων ἐπισκεψομένους, συνεδρεύσαντες οἱ περὶ τὸν
 Κριτόλαον ἔκριναν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους διακλίνειν τὴν
 ἀπάντησιν, τὸν δὲ Κριτόλαον προάγειν εἰς τὴν 10
 4 Τέγεαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν προειρημένος ἤδη σχεδὸν
 5 ἀπηλπικότων τῶν περὶ τὸν Σέξτον ἦλθε, γενομένης
 δὲ συγκαταστάσεως πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους εἰς
 but arrives late οὐδὲν συγκατέβαινε, φήσας οὐκ ἔχειν
 and says he has
 no powers to act. ἐξουσίαν οὐδὲν οἰκονομεῖν ἄνευ τῆς 15
 τῶν πολλῶν γνώμης· ἐπανοίσειν δὲ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς
 εἰς τὴν ἐξῆς ἔφη σύνοδον, ἣν ἔδει γενέσθαι μετὰ
 6 μῆνας ἕξ. διὸ σαφῶς ἐπιγνόντες οἱ περὶ τὸν
 Σέξτον ἐβелоκακοῦντα τὸν Κριτόλαον, καὶ δυσχε-
 ραίνοντες ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπαντωμένοις, τοὺς μὲν Λακε- 20
 δαιμονίους ἀπέλυσαν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, αὐτοὶ δ'
 ἐπανῆγον εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατεγνωκότες ἄγνοιαν
 7 καὶ μανίαν τοῦ Κριτολάου. ὁ δὲ Κριτόλαος
 χωρισθέντων τούτων ἐπιπορευόμενος κατὰ τὸν
 χειμῶνα τὰς πόλεις ἐκκλησίας συνῆγε, προφάσει 25
 μὲν χρώμενος ὅτι βούλεται τὰ ῥηθέντα πρὸς τοὺς
 Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Τεγέᾳ διασα-
 8 φεῖν αὐτοῖς, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ κατηγορίαν ποιούμενος
 Ῥωμαίων, καὶ πᾶν τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἐπὶ
 9 τὸ χεῖρον ἐκδεχόμενος, ἐξ ὧν δυσμένειαν καὶ μῖσος 30

ἐνεργάζεται τοῖς ὄχλοις. ἅμα δὲ τούτοις παρήγ- 10
 γειλε τοῖς ἄρχουσι μὴ πράττειν τοὺς ὀφειλέτας,
 μηδὲ παραδέχεσθαι τοὺς ἀπαγομένους To curry favour
 at home he sus-
 pends the laws of
 debt.
 εἰς φυλακὴν πρὸς τὰ χρέα, τοὺς δ' 11
 5 ἐράνους ἐπιμόνους ποιεῖν, ἕως ἂν
 λάβῃ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου κρίσιν. λοιπὸν ἐκ τῆς 11
 τοιαύτης δημαγωγίας πᾶν τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
 πιστὸν ἐγίνετο, καὶ πρὸς πᾶν τὸ παραγγελλόμενον
 ἔτοιμον ἦν τὸ πλήθος περὶ μὲν τοῦ μέλλοντος
 10 ἀδυνατοῦν προνοεῖσθαι, τῇ δὲ παρ' αὐτὰ χάριτι καὶ
 ῥαστώνῃ δελεαζόμενον.

Ὁ δὲ Κόιντος ὁ Καικίλιος ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ 10
 τάδε πυνθανόμενος καὶ τὴν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ γενο-
 μένην ἀκρισίαν καὶ ταραχὴν, ἐξέπεμψε
 15 πρεσβευτὰς Γναῖον Παπεῖριον καὶ τὸν Metellus sends
 envoys to urge
 moderation,
 νεώτερον Ποπίλιον Λαινᾶτον, σὺν δὲ
 τούτοις Αὐλὸν Γαβίνιον καὶ Γάιον Φάννιον· οἱ 2
 καὶ συνηγμένων τῶν Ἀχαιῶν εἰς Κόρινθον, κατὰ
 τύχην ἐλθόντες εἰς τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν καὶ παραχ-
 20 θέντες εἰς τὰ πλήθη, διετίθεντο πολλοὺς οὗτοι
 καὶ φιλανθρώπους λόγους, παραπλησίους τοῖς
 περὶ τὸν Σέξτον, πᾶσαν ἐνδεικνύμενοι φιλοτιμίαν 3
 χάριν τοῦ μὴ προβῆναι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς εἰς ὀλο-
 σχереστέραν ἀπέχθειαν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους μῆτ' ἐκ
 25 τῆς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους προφάσεως μήτε διὰ
 τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ἀλλοτριότητος. ὧν οἱ
 μὲν πολλοὶ διακούοντες οὐδαμῶς ἀνείχοντο, χλευά- 4
 ζοντες δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις μετὰ θορύβου καὶ κραυγῆς
 ἐξέβαλον. καὶ γὰρ συνηθοῖσθαι πλήθος ἐργασ- 5
 30 τηριακῶν καὶ βαναύσων ἀνθρώπων ὅσον οὐδέποτε·

πᾶσαι μὲν γὰρ ἐκορύζων αἱ πόλεις, πανδημεὶ δὲ
 6 καὶ μάλιστα πῶς ἢ τῶν Κορινθίων. ὀλίγοις δὲ
 τισι καὶ λίαν ἤρεσκε τὰ λεγόμενα διὰ τῶν πρεσ-
 7 βευτῶν. ὁ δὲ Κριτόλαος, ὥσπερ κατ' εὐχὴν
 ὑποθέσεως ἐπειλημμένος καὶ θεάτρου συνενθου- 5
 σιῶντος καὶ παρεστηκότος ταῖς διανοαῖς, κα-
 τανίστατο μὲν τῶν ἀρχόντων, διέσυρε δὲ τοὺς
 ἀντιπολιτευομένους, ἐνεπαρρησιάζετο δὲ τοῖς τῶν
 8 Ῥωμαίων πρεσβευταῖς, φάσκων βούλεσθαι μὲν
 Ῥωμαίων φίλος ὑπάρχειν, δεσπότης δ' οὐκ ἂν 10
 9 εὐδοκῆσαι κτησάμενος. καθόλου δὲ παρῆναι,
 λέγων ὥς ἂν μὲν ἄνδρες ὦσιν, οὐκ ἀπορήσουσι
 but Critolaus is *συμμάχων, ἂν δ' ἀνδρόγυντοι, κυρίων.*
 10 *violent and head-* καὶ πολλὰ δὴ τινα πρὸς ταύτην τὴν
strong, ὑπόθεσιν ἐμπορεύων καὶ μεθοδευόμενος ἐκίνει 15
 11 καὶ παρώξυνε τοὺς ὄχλους. ἐποίει δ' ἐμφάσεις
 καὶ περὶ τοῦ μὴ τυχόντως χρῆσθαι ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν βασιλέων τινας καὶ τῶν πολιτευ-
 11 μάτων ἕνια κοινωνεῖν αὐτῷ τῆς προθέσεως. τῶν
 δὲ τῆς γερουσίας βουλομένων ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι 20
 καὶ κωλύειν αὐτὸν τῶν τοιούτων λόγων, περι-
 σπασάμενος τοὺς στρατιώτας κατανίστατο, κελεύων
 προσελθεῖν, ἐγγίσει, τολμῆσαί τινα μόνον ἄψασθαι
 2 τῆς χλαμύδος. καθόλου δ' ἔφη πολλὴν ἤδη χρόνον
 παρακατεσχηκῶς αὐτὸν οὐκέτι δύνασθαι καρτερεῖν, 25
 3 ἀλλ' ἐρεῖν τὸ φαινόμενον. δεῖν γὰρ οὐ Λακε-
 δαιμονίους οὐδὲ Ῥωμαίους ἀγωνιᾶν οὕτως ὥς τοὺς
 ἐξ αὐτῶν συνεργοῦντας τοῖς ἐχθροῖς· εἶναι γὰρ
 τινὰς τοὺς πλείον Ῥωμαίοις εὐνοοῦντας καὶ Λακε-
 4 δαιμονίοις ἢ τοῖς σφετέροις πράγμασιν. καὶ 30

τούτων πίστιν ἔφερεν· ἔφη γὰρ Εὐαγόραν τὸν
 Αἰγία καὶ τὸν Τριταῖα Στράτιον πάντα τὰ
 λεγόμενά δι' ἀπορρήτων ἐν ταῖς συναρχίαις δια-
 σαφεῖν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Γναῖον. τοῦ δὲ Στρατίου 5
 5 συμμεμιχέναι μὲν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὁμολογοῦντος
 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συμμίξειν φάσκοντος φίλοις οὔσι
 καὶ συμμάχοις, ἀνηγγελκέναι δὲ διο- and urges rash
 ριζομένου μηδὲν τῶν ἐν ταῖς συν- steps which lead
 to war.
 αρχίαις εἰρημένων, ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες ἐπίστευον,
 10 οἱ δὲ πλείους προσεδέχοντο τὰς διαβολάς. ὁ δὲ 6
 Κριτόλαος παροξύνας τοὺς ὄχλους διὰ τῆς τούτων
 κατηγορίας ἔπεισε τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς πάλιν ψηφί-
 σασθαι λόγῳ μὲν τὸν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πόλε-
 μον, ἔργῳ δὲ τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους· καὶ προσ- 7
 15 ἐπεμέτρησεν ἕτερον ψήφισμα παράνομον, ὥστε
 κυρίους εἶναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὓς ἐπὶ στρατηγίαν
 αἵρήσονται· διὸ τρόπον τινὰ μοναρχικὴν ἀνέλαβεν
 ἐξουσίαν.

Οὗτος μὲν οὖν ταῦτα διοικησάμενος ἐγίνετο 8
 20 περὶ τὸ πραγματοκοπεῖν καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιβάλλειν
 τὰς χεῖρας, οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τοῦτο πράττων, ἀλλὰ
 πάντων ἀσεβειάτοις καὶ παρανομωτάτοις ἐπι-
 βαλλόμενος· τῶν δὲ πρέσβων ὁ μὲν Γναῖος εἰς 9
 Ἀθήνας ἀπῆρε καθεῖθεν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα προσ-
 25 εδρεύσων τοῖς καιροῖς, ὁ δ' Αὔλος εἰς Ναύπακτον,
 οἱ δὲ δύο μέχρι τῆς τοῦ Καικιλίου παρουσίας
 ἔμειναν ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν
 Πελοπόννησον ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

* * * * *

BOOK XXXIX. cc. VIII. to XI.

- 8 Τοῦ Κριτολάου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν
μετηλλαχὸς, καὶ τοῦ νόμου κελεύοντος, ἐπὰν
Dicaeus steps into
the place of Cri-
tolaus and tries
to raise men and
money for the
war
συμβῇ τι περὶ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα στρα-
τηγόν, τὸν προγεγονότα διαδέχεσθαι
τὴν ἀρχήν, ἕως ἂν ἡ καθήκουσα σύν- 5
odos γένηται τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἐπέβαλε
τῷ Διαιφ χειρίζειν καὶ προεστάναι τῶν κοινῶν
πραγμάτων. διόπερ ἐκπέμψας εἰς τὰ Μέγαρα,
καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἄργος, ἔγραψε ταῖς πόλεσι
πάσαις τῶν οἰκογενῶν καὶ παρατρόφων τοὺς 10
ἀκμάζοντας ταῖς ἡλικίαις εἰς μυρίους καὶ δι-
σχιλίους ἐλεύθεροῦν καὶ καθοπλίσαντας πέμπειν
4 εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον. ἐμέρισε δὲ ταῖς πόλεσι τὴν
ἐπιβολὴν τῶν σωμάτων εἰκῇ καὶ ἀνίσως, καθάπερ
5 καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔπραττεν. οἷς δ' ἂν ἐλλείπη 15
τὸ τῶν παρατρόφων πλῆθος, ἀναπληροῦν ἔδει τὴν
ἐκάστοις καθήκουσαν μοῖραν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων οἰ-
6 κετῶν. θεωρῶν δὲ τὴν ἀπορίαν τὴν ἐκ τοῖς κοινοῖς
ἰσχυρὰν οὔσαν διὰ τὸν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους
γεγονότα πόλεμον, ἐπαγγελίας ποιεῖσθαι συνη- 20
νάγκαζε καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν εἰσφέρειν τοὺς εὐπόρους,
οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας.
7 ἅμα δὲ τούτοις παρήγγειλε πανδημεὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς
ἡλικίαις ἀθροίζεσθαι μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων εἰς τὴν
8 Κόρινθον. ἐξ ὧν συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι τὰς πόλεις 25
9 πλήρεις ἀκρισίας ταραχῆς δυσθυμίας. καὶ τοὺς
μὲν ἀπολωλότας ἐπήνουν, τοὺς δ' ἐκπορευομένους
ἠλέουν καὶ προσκατεκλαίοντο πάντες ὥσανεὶ προ-

ορώμενοι τὸ μέλλον· τὴν δὲ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀνάτασιν 10
 καὶ τὸν ἐπισυρμὸν βαρέως ἔφερον ὡς ἂν τῶν μὲν
 ἡλευθερωμένων ἄρτι, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν πρὸς τὴν
 ἐλπίδα ταύτην μεμετεωρισμένων. ἅμα δὲ τούτοις 11
 οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες εἰσφέρειν ἠναγκάζοντο παρὰ τὴν
 αὐτῶν προαίρεσιν ὃ τι τις ἔχειν δόξειεν, αἱ δὲ
 γυναῖκες ἀφαιρούμεναι σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἰδίων
 τέκνων τὸν κόσμον ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν
 ὄλεθρον εἰσέφερον. ἀπάντων δὲ τούτων ἐν ἐνὶ 9
 καιρῷ συμβαινόντων, ἢ τῶν κατὰ μέρος αἰὲ προσ-
 πιπτόντων κατάπληξιν ἀφηρείτο τῶν ἀνθρώπων
 τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων ἐπίστασιν καὶ ^{amid general con-}
 διάληψιν, δι' ἧς ἔμελλον προνοεῖσθαι ^{fusion and de-}
 ὅτι πάντες εἰς πρόδηλον ὄλεθρον ἄγονται μετὰ
 τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν. λοιπόν, οἶον ὑπὸ χει- 2
 μάρρου τινὸς λάβρου προωθούμενοι καὶ φερόμενοι
 μετὰ βίας, ἐπηκολούθουν τῇ τοῦ προεστῶτος
 ἀγνοίᾳ καὶ παρακοπῇ. Ἡλεῖοι μὲν γὰρ καὶ 3
 Μεσσήνιοι κατὰ χώραν ἔμειναν, προσδοκῶντες
 τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόλου κίνδυνον. οὓς οὐδὲν ἂν τῶν
 παρόντων ὦνησεν, εἶπερ ἐφάνη τὸ νέφος ἐκεῖνο
 κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρόθεσιν. Πατρεῖς δὲ καὶ τὸ 4
 μετὰ τούτων συντελικὸν βραχεῖ χρόνῳ πρότερον
 ἐπταίκει κατὰ τὴν Φωκίδα, καὶ ἦν τὸ συμβαῖνον
 πολλῶ τῶν κατὰ Πελοπόννησον ἐλεεινότερον. οἱ 5
 μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν παραλόγως αὐτοὺς ἐξήγουν, οἱ
 δὲ ἔφευγον ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἀνοδαίαις, πρὸς οὐδὲν
 ὠρισμένον ποιούμενοι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν διὰ τὴν
 ἔκπληξιν τῶν γινομένων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν. καὶ οἱ 6
 μὲν ἦγον ἐκδώσοντες ἀλλήλους τοῖς πολεμίοις ὡς

- ἀλλοτριίους γεγονότας Ῥωμαίων, οἱ δὲ ἐμήνουν καὶ
 κατηγοροῦν τῶν πέλας, οὐδενὸς ἐπιζητοῦντος κατὰ
 τὸ παρὸν τὴν τοιαύτην χρεῖαν· οἱ δὲ μεθ' ἱκε-
 τηρίας ἀπήντων, ὁμολογοῦντες παρεσπονδηκέναι
 καὶ πυνθανόμενοι τί δεῖ πάσχειν, μηδέπω μηδενὸς 5
 7 ἐπιζητοῦντος λόγον ὑπὲρ τούτων. πάντα δ' ἦν
 πλήρη παρηλλαγμένης φαρμακείας τῶν ῥιπτοῦν-
 των ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὰ φρέατα καὶ κατὰ κρημνῶν,
 ὥστε κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν κἂν ἐχθρὸν ἐλεῆσαι
 θεασάμενον τὴν τότε περιπέτειαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος. 10
 8 τὸν μὲν γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον ἐσφάλλοντο καὶ τοῖς
 ὅλοις ἔπταιον ἐνίοτε ποτὲ μὲν ὑπὲρ πραγμάτων
 διαφερόμενοι, ποτὲ δὲ παρασπονδούμενοι διὰ τῶν
 9 μονάρχων· κατὰ δὲ τοὺς νῦν λεγομένους καιροὺς
 ἠτύχησαν ἀτυχίαν ὁμολογουμένην διὰ τὴν τῶν 15
 προεστώτων ἀβουλίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἄγνοιαν.
 10 οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἐκλιπόντες πανδημεὶ τὴν πόλιν
 ἔρημον τελέως κατέλιπον· ἐν οἷς καὶ Πυθέας εἰς
 Πελοπόννησον ἀποχωρήσας μετὰ γυναικὸς καὶ
 τῶν τέκνων ἤλατο κατὰ τῆς χώρας. * * * 20
 10 Ἄρτι τοῦ Διαίου παρόντος εἰς τὴν Κόριν-
 θον, καθεσταμένου στρατηγοῦ διὰ τῶν πολλῶν,
 ἤκον οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀνδρωνίδα παρὰ
 τοῦ Καικιλίου· καθ' ὧν προδιαδοὺς
 τὴν φήμην ὡς συμφρονούντων τοῖς 25
 ἐχθροῖς, παρέβαλε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοῖς ὄχλοις,
 ὥστε μετὰ πάσης ὕβρεως συλληφθέντας ἀναχ-
 3 θῆναι δεδεμένους. ἦκε δὲ καὶ Φίλων ὁ Θετταλὸς
 4 πολλὰ φιλάνθρωπα τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς προτείνων· ὧν
 ἀκούοντες συνέπραξάν τινες τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας, 30

Metellus makes
 overtures and
 wiser spirits coun-
 sel submission,

ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Στράτιος ἤδη γηραιὸς ὢν, ὃς ἐμπλε-
 κόμενος καὶ λιπαρῶν ἐδεῖτο τοῦ Διαίου πεισθῆναι
 τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Καικιλίου προτεινομένοις. οἱ δὲ 5
 συνεδρεύσαντες τοῖς μὲν ὑπὸ ταῦ Φίλωνος λεγο-
 μένοις οὐ προσεῖχον· οὐκ ἐνόμισαν γὰρ κοινὴν 6
 εἶναι τὴν σωτηρίαν, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ τὸ σφέτερον συμ-
 φέρον καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀσφάλειαν ἐν πλείστῳ
 τιθέμενοι τοιαύτ'. ἔλεγον καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν
 σκοπὸν ἐβουλεύσαντο περὶ τῶν ἐνεστῶτων, εἰ καὶ
 10 πάντων ἅμα διήμαρτον. σαφῶς γὰρ σφίσι τὰ 7
 πεπραγμένα συνειδότες οὐδαμῶς ἐδύναντο πιστεῦ-
 σαι διότι τύχοιεν ἂν τινος ἐλέου παρὰ Ῥωμαίων.
 τὸ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς τῶν πολλῶν 8
 σωτηρίας παθεῖν ὃ τι δέοι γενναίως οὐδ' ἐν νῶ
 15 καθάπαξ ἐλάβανον· ὅπερ ἦν ἀνδρῶν φιλοδόξων
 καὶ προστατεῖν φασκόντων τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ἀλλὰ 9
 γὰρ πῶς ἔμελλε καὶ πόθεν παραστήσεσθαι τοῦτο
 τὸ φρόνημα τοῖς προειρημένοις; ἦσαν γὰρ αἱ
 βουλευόμενοι Δίαιος καὶ Δαμόκριτος, ἄρτι τῆς
 20 καθόδου τετεινχότες διὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἀκρισίαν,
 σὺν δὲ τούτοις Ἀλκαμένης Θεοδέκτης Ἀρχικρά-
 τῆς, ὑπὲρ ὧν, τίνες ἦσαν καὶ τίνα φύσιν ἕκαστος 10
 εἶχε καὶ τίνα προαίρεσιν καὶ βίον, εἴρηται διὰ
 πλείονων.
 25 Ὅθεν ἐν τοιούτοις ὄντος τοῦ διαβουλίου καὶ 11
 τὸ τέλος ἀκόλουθον ἐξέβη τῶν δοξάντων. παρ-
 αὐτίκα μὲν οὖν συνέκλεισαν οὐ μόνον but are arrested
by Diaeus and
his partisans,
 τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀνδρωνίδα καὶ Λάγιον
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ὑποστράτηγον Σωσικράτην, ἐπε-
 30 νέγκαντες αἰτίαν ὅτι προστατῆσαι τοῦ διαβουλίου
 καὶ συναποφῆναιτο πέμπειν πρὸς τὸν Καικίλιον

καὶ συλλήβδην πάντων εἴη τῶν κακῶν αἴτιος·
 3 εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπαύριον καθίσαντες δικαστὰς τοῦ μὲν
 Σωσικράτους κατεδίκασαν θάνατον, καὶ δήσαντες
 καὶ στρεβλοῦντες προσεκαρτέρουν, ἕως διέφθειραν
 τὸν ἄνθρωπον, οὐδὲν εἰπόντα τῶν ἐκείνοις προσ- 5
 4 δοκωμένων, τὸν δὲ Λάγιον καὶ τὸν Ἀνδρωνίδα
 καὶ τὸν Ἀρχίππον ἀφήκαν, ἅμα μὲν τοῦ πλήθους
 εἰς ἐπίστασιν παραγενομένου. διὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν
 Σωσικράτη παρανομίαν, ἅμα δὲ τοῦ Διαίου λα-
 βόντος παρὰ μὲν Ἀνδρωνίδου τάλαντον παρὰ δ' 10
 5 Ἀρχίππου τετταράκοντα μνᾶς· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ
 σκάμματος ὢν, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον, ἐδύνατο λῆξαι
 τῆς περὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἀναισχυντίας καὶ παρα-
 6 νομίας ὃ προειρημένος. παραπλήσια δὲ τούτοις
 ἔπραξε καὶ βραχεῖ χρόνῳ πρότερον εἰς Φιλῖνον 15
 τὸν Κορίνθιον· προθεὶς γὰρ αἰτίαν ὅτι διαπέμ-
 πεται πρὸς Μεναλκίδα καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων φρονεῖ,
 τὸν τε Φιλῖνον καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ μαστιγῶν
 καὶ στρεβλῶν ἐν συνόψει πάντας ἀλλήλων οὐ
 πρότερον ἔληξε πρὶν ἢ διέφθειρε τὰ μεираκια καὶ 20
 7 τὸν Φιλῖνον. τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς ἀνοίας καὶ τῆς
 whose mad policy
 causes speedy
 ruin. ἀκρισίας συμβαινούσης περὶ πάντας
 οἷαν οὐδ' ἂν ἐν βαρβάροις εὖροι τις
 ῥαδίως, δῆλον ὡς εἰκότως ἂν τις ἐπιζητήσῃ πῶς
 8 οὐκ ἄρδην ἀπώλοντο πάντες. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἂν εἴποιμι 25
 διότι δοκεῖ μοι καθαπερανεῖ τύχη τις ἀντερεῖσαι
 πανοῦργος καὶ τεχνικὴ πρὸς τὴν ἀνοιαν καὶ μα-
 νίαν τῶν ἡγουμένων, ἥτις ἐξωθουμένη πάντα καὶ
 πάντως ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγνοίας τῶν προεστώτων, βου-
 λομένη δὲ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον σῶζειν τοὺς Ἀχαι- 30
 οὺς, ἐπὶ τὸ καταλειπόμενον ἦλθεν ὥσπερ ἀγαθὸς

παλαιστής. τοῦτο δ' ἦν τὸ ταχέως σφῆλαι καὶ 9
 ῥαδίως ἡττῆσαι τοὺς "Ελληνας· ὅπερ ἐποίησε.
 διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο συνέβη μήτε τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων 10
 ὀργὴν καὶ θυμὸν ἐκκαυθῆναι πορρωτέρω, μηδ'
 5 ἐλθεῖν τὰς ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης δυνάμεις, μήτε τοὺς
 προεστῶτας, ὄντας οἷους εἶπον, ἐπιλαβομένους δὲ
 προτερήματος, ἀποδείξασθαι τὴν αὐτῶν ἀσέβειαν
 εἰς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους. τί γὰρ εἰκὸς ἦν πρᾶξαι 11
 τούτους κατὰ τῶν ιδίων, ἐπιλαβομένους ἀφορμῆς
 10 τινος ἢ προτερήματος, δῆλόν ἐστιν ἐκ τῶν προ-
 ειρημένων διὰ τὸ κατὰ λόγον. ἅπαντες δὲ τότε 12
 τὴν παροιμίαν ταύτην διὰ στόματος ἔσχον, ὥς εἰ
 μὴ ταχέως ἀπωλόμεθα, οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθημεν. * * *

Πολύβιος δὲ τὰ συμβάντα περὶ τὴν ἄλωσιν 13
 15 ἐν οἴκτου μέρει λέγων, προστίθῃσι καὶ τὴν στρα-
 τιωτικὴν ὀλιγωρίαν τὴν περὶ τὰ τῶν Polybius witness-
 τεχνῶν ἔργα καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα. φησὶ indifference to 2
 γὰρ ἰδεῖν παρῶν ἐρριμμένους πίνακας Greek works of
 ἐπ' ἐδάφους, πεττεύοντας δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπὶ
 20 τούτων. ὀνομάζει δ' αὐτῶν Ἀριστείδου γραφὴν
 τοῦ Διονύσου, ἐφ' οὗ τινες εἰρήσθαι φασὶ τὸ 3
 οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον, καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τὸν
 καταπονούμενον τῷ τῆς Δηιανείρας χιτῶνι. * *

Μετὰ τὴν κατὰστασιν τῶν δέκα ἦν ἐποιήσαντο 15
 25 ἐν τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ, οὗτοι οἱ δέκα τῷ ταμίᾳ τῷ μέλλοντι
 πωλεῖν τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ Διαίου συνέταξαν, ὃ τι
 πότ' ἂν ἐκλέξασθαι βουλευθῇ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὁ
 Πολύβιος, ὑφελόντα καὶ δόντα δωρεάν, τᾶλλα
 πωλεῖν τοῖς ὠνουμένοις. ὁ δὲ προει- Polybius declined 2
 30 ρημένος τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχε τοῦ προσ- the liberal offers
 δέξασθαι τι τῶν τοιούτων ὥς καὶ τοὺς φίλους of the Romans.

παρεκάλεσε καθόλου μηθενὸς ἐπιθυμῆσαι τῶν ὑπὸ
 3 τοῦ ταμίου πωλουμένων· συνέβαινε γὰρ τοῦτον
 ἐπιπορευόμενον τὰς πόλεις πάντων τῶν τῷ Διαίῳ
 κοινωνησάντων πωλεῖν τὰς οὐσίας, τῶν καὶ κατα-
 4 κριθέντων, ὅσοι μὴ παῖδας ἢ γονεάς εἶχον. ὧν 5
 τινες μὲν οὐ προσέσχον, οἳ δὲ κατακολουθήσαντες
 τῇ συμβουλίᾳ καλλίστην δόξαν ἐξηνέγκαντο παρὰ
 τοῖς πολίταις.

- 16 Ταῦτα δὲ διοικήσαντες ἐν ἑξ μῆσιν οἱ δέκα,
 καὶ τῆς ἐαρινῆς ὥρας ἐνισταμένης, ἀπέπλευσαν 10
 εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καλὸν δεῖγμα τῆς
 The ten commis- ¹ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καλὸν δεῖγμα τῆς
 sioners establish- ² 'Ρωμαίων προαιρέσεως ἀπολελοιπό-
 ed order and left ³ τες πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. [ἐνετείλαντο
 Polybius to settle ⁴ δὲ τῷ Πολυβίῳ χωριζόμενοι τὰς πόλεις ἐπιπορευ-
 the details. ⁵ θῆναι, καὶ περὶ ὧν ἂν ἀμφιβάλλωσι διευκρινῆσαι, 15
 μέχρ' οὐ συνήθειαν ἔχωσι τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τοῖς
 3 νόμοις. ὃ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τινα χρόνον ἐποίησε
 πρῶτον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους στέρξαι τὴν δεδομένην
 πολιτείαν καὶ μηδὲν ἀπόρημα μήτε κατ' ἰδίαν
 μήτε κατὰ κοινὸν ἐκ τῶν νόμων γενέσθαι περὶ 20
 4 μηδενός. διὸ καὶ καθόλου μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀποδε-
 χόμενοι καὶ τιμῶντες τὸν ἄνδρα, περὶ δὲ τοῖς
 ἐσχάτους καιροὺς καὶ τὰς προειρημένας πράξεις
 εὐδοκούμενοι κατὰ πάντα τρόπον, ταῖς μεγίσταις
 τιμαῖς ἐτίμησαν αὐτὸν κατὰ πόλεις καὶ ζῶντα καὶ 25
 5 μεταλλάξαντα. πάντες δ' ἔκριναν κατὰ λόγον
 τοῦτο ποιεῖν· μὴ γὰρ ἐξεργασαμένου τούτου καὶ
 γράψαντος τοὺς περὶ τῆς κοινῆς δικαιοδοσίας
 νόμους, ἄκριτα πάντ' ἂν ἦν καὶ πολλῆς γέμοντα
 6 ταραχῆς. διὸ καὶ τοῦτο κάλλιστον Πολυβίῳ 30
 πεπραῆχθαι νομιστέον πάντων τῶν προειρημένων.]

NOTES. II. 37.

37 9. πολλῶν ἐπιβαλομένων. After the legendary dynasty of Agamemnon, Sparta and Argos had tried with varying success to form national unions. The Arcadian league had risen in the centre of the Peloponnese under the protection of Thebes, and Alexander and his successors had at times united nearly the whole within the range of their influence. For the sense of ἐπιβ. cf. note on ἐπιβολῆς, 2, 38, 8.

10. ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς καιροῖς. He refers especially to the inclusion of Elis, Messene, and above all Sparta in the Union soon after the proclamation of Greek independence at the Isthmian games 196 B.C. Its power indeed was overshadowed by the practical sovereignty of Rome, but it seemed a triumph of federal principles.

προκοπήν. Here absolutely for 'progress': while in 5, 16, 9 it is used for a 'change for the worse'. The verb προκόπτειν for the work of the pioneers in the advance of an army, and hence generally for 'making way', is common in earlier Greek: the opposite being ἐγκόπτειν 'to break up a road' (hence τίς ὑμᾶς ἐνέκοψεν, Ep. Gal. 5. 7). Phrynichus, while accepting the verb, rejects προκοπή as un-Attic, and it was said to have been introduced by the Stoics (Lobeck, *Phryn.* 85).

τοῦτο τὸ μέρος, 'this endeavour', i.e. ἐπὶ ταῦτὸ σύμφερον ἀγαγεῖν π. Cf. note on 2, 42, 4.

συμμαχικὴν κοινωνίαν. Such as that of the Peloponnesian confederacy under the hegemony of Sparta, the lowest stage of union.

σταθμοῖς καὶ μέτροις. Such metric unions had been formed by neighbouring cities in Sicily and Magna Graecia, and common coinages were current in their territory. This implied however only a monetary convention, and no federation.

νομίσμασι. "It was no light thing for cities of old civilization to give up the types and monetary standards to which for centuries they had been attached and to strike money to pass interchangeably with that of rivals and lately hostile neighbours. The name of the mint city alone belongs to it on the coin. Corinth abandons Aphrodite, Argos Hera, and even Elis the great Olympian Zeus, in order to accept the effigies of the Demeter of the League, though of far less account and less antiquity. They gave up local customs and the trust of their ancestors in the hope of uttering a utilitarian coinage to match a utilitarian Union." Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, p. 34.

The formula adopted on the copper currency consists in giving the collective name of the Achaeans followed by that of the town itself, thus Ἀχαιῶν Κορινθίων. The figures of Zeus Homagyrus and Demeter Panachaea appear on the copper coins. The purely local currencies did not however wholly cease in the larger cities of the league.

ἀρχονσι, especially στρατηγός, ὑποστρατηγός, γραμματεῖς, ἑπάρχης and δημοουργοί.

βουλευταῖς, the 120 members of the federal council which was a committee of the Assembly.

δικασταῖς. A federal court probably to decide suits between the citizens of different communities, but nothing is known as to details. Cf. note on 28, 7, 9.

11. τοῦ μὴ μᾶς πόλεως. Experience soon proved the weakness of the Union from the separate interests of Messene, Sparta and others, but political parties had often been as dangerous to the peace of individual cities.

διάθεσιν, technically used in the Aristotelian school for a temporary condition as distinct from a habitual state (ἔξῃς). Cf. 2, 41, 2. It bears also in P. the sense of 'morbid state',

to which it passes by an easy transition (cf. note on 2, 70, 6) : and also of ' declamation '.

- 38 1. *πῶς...καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ*. Pleonasms like this characterize the style of P. So *πῶς καὶ διὰ τι* in § 4; *περὶ ταῦτα καὶ πρὸς τοῦτοις ἦν*, 5, 4, 3; *ἐπὶ κεφαλαίου καὶ διὰ βραχέων*, 1, 65, 5.

κατὰ πάντων. It is simplest to take this as an example of the use of *κατά* for extent or range of an action which is common in P. and the N.T. Cf. v. 5, *ἐσκεδασμένοι κατὰ τῆς χώρας* (1, 17, 10); *ἐξῆλθεν καθ' ὅλης τῆς περιχώρου*, Luke 4. 14.

2. *χώρας καὶ πόλεων*. Plutarch (Aratus 9, 4) notes with special emphasis that the cities of Achaia were small, the soil poor and scanty, and foreign trade discouraged by the want of harbours. "That narrow line of coast—sometimes pushing into the folds of the mountains, and spreading its small village states beneath the shelter of the woods, sometimes reduced to a strip of beach by the pressure of the great mountain spurs advancing peremptorily behind—was all that constituted the power which succeeded to the supremacy of Athens, Lacedæmon and Thebes." Sir Thos. Wyse, *Excursion in the Peloponn.* II. p. 235.

οἱ πατέριον ἐξ ἀρχῆς...ταύτην, 'They whose title to the name they bore was derived from their forefathers of old.' Strabo (8, 7) repeats the traditional account that the early name was *Αἰγιαλεῖς*, from the narrow strip of lowland on the coast which they occupied, changed to *Ἴωνες* as invaders pushed in from the East, and later to *Ἀχαιοί* when the former masters of Laconia retired northward under pressure from the Dorians. These Achaeans were regarded as *Φθιώται* or traced to earlier homes in Thessaly.

ἀπεραῖς. Except in the pictures of Homeric society, when they held sway in the south of the Peloponnese. They long held aloof from the Olympian contests from their aversion to the Dorian races. Yet the enterprise of its colonists in the early centuries was remarkable, when it transplanted its local names (e.g. Selinus, Crathis) to Magna Graecia.

3. *Ἀρκάδων*. Early traditions pointed to a wide extension of the Arcadians in the Peloponnese when they sent their colonies across the seas. But Argolis, Achaia, Elis seem to

have grown at their expense and confined them to the mountains of the centre, where there was no level plain of any size to lead to union and concentration. The several tribes lived therefore apart, here in village groups, here clustering round a city which had grown up in some valley wider than the rest. Hardy and vigorous as a race they took kindly to the soldier's life, and, as 'the Swiss of Greece', served often as mercenaries in neighbouring lands: but they never combined for any national enterprise, and the attempt at union when Megalopolis was founded came too late and was short-lived. Ἀρκάδες μαχιμώτατοι Ἑλλήνων γεγόμενοι ἰδίᾳ ἐνίκησαν μὲν οὐδένα, ἐτέροις δὲ συμμαχοῦντες πολλούς, Suidas ap. Curtius *Pel.* 1. 184.

Λακωνῶν. Strabo speaks of the hundred cities of Laconia, which had dwindled into 30 petty townships in his time (8, 4, 11). After the conquest of Messenia the southern half of the Peloponnese was under Spartan lordship.

οὐδὲ παρὰ μικρὸν ὑπ., 'far excels'.

ἀνδραγαθίας. Cf. Xenophon, *de rep. Lac.* 13, 5, Λακεδαιμονίους μόνους τῷ ὄντι τεχνίτας τῶν πολεμικῶν.

The Arcadians, brave as they were, were less self-conscious, and appeal was seldom made to the spirit of the race as a whole, as when Lycomedes ἐπέπλησε φρονήματος τοὺς Ἀρκάδας, λέγων ὡς...πλείστον τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν φύλον τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν εἶη καὶ σώματα ἐγκρατέστατα ἔχει. So inspiring, we read, was this address that when they went forth to war οὐ νύξ, οὐ χειμὼν, οὐ μῆκος ὁδοῦ, οὐκ ὄρη δύσβατα ἀπεκώλυεν αὐτοὺς (Xen. *Hell.* 7, 1, 25).

οἰοί τε. Instead of the earlier use for fitness or ability, Polybius often uses οἶος both with and without τε to express readiness or consent.

4. **εὐδοκοῦσιν.** This word of later usage is often found in P. in the sense of 'acquiesce' with a dative case, or with the prep. ἐν as in St Matth. 3. 17, or with a participle.

πολιτεῖαν. This term seems to cover (1) the purely federal institutions such as the common Assembly, Senate and Magistrates, (2) the rights of intermarriage and acquisition of landed property, which the Romans expressly forbade afterwards (Pausan. 7, 16, 9), (3) the tendency to uniformity of Republican

type, which could coexist however with much variety of local customs and offices.

5. *προσηγορίαν*. Curtius distinguishes four uses of the name, for (1) the strip of coast only, (2) the same together with Corinth, Sicyon and Phlius, (3) the whole Peloponnese, (4) the later Roman provinces, which included Northern Greece and Thessaly (*Pelop.* 1. 419).

τύχην. P. uses this word in two different ways: one a looser and a lower sense, of the chance to which men in their ignorance or heedlessness refer events which depend on moral causes for which they are responsible (*ἵνα μὴ τὴν τύχην λέγοντες μόνον μακαρίζωμεν τοὺς κρατοῦντας ἀλόγως καθάπερ οἱ μάταιοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' εἰδότες τὰς ἀληθεῖς αἰτίας ἐπαινώμεν κατὰ λόγον τοὺς ἡγουμένους*, 18, 11, 5): but more frequently the term implies a Ruling Providence (*τύχη πανουργος καὶ τεχνική*) which often works in ways above our ken (*δέλ ποθ' ἡ τύχη τὰ μέγιστα τῶν πραγμάτων παρὰ λόγον εἴωθε κρίνειν*, 2, 70, 2), thus frustrating human plans (*νέμειν μερίδα τῷ παραδόξῳ*, 2, 4, 5) and changing the course of the world's history (*ὥσανει κεκαινοποιοῦν κέαι πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην*, 4, 2, 4).

For this power he has other names *αὐτόματον*, *εἰμαρμένη*, *δαιμόνιον*, as well as *τὸ θεῖον*, *θεός*, or *θεοί*: but he means no blind fatality, but a Providence which deals Justice (*ἐκείνοις μὲν ἐπέθηκε τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν δίκην...κάλλιστον ὑπόδειγμα πρὸς ἐπαρόρθωσιν*, 15, 20, 5), brings down insolent offenders, and saves the helpless in their extremest need (40, 5, 12). Suidas sums up the matter *τύχη παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἀπρονόητος κόσμον διοίκησις...οἱ δὲ χριστιανοὶ θεὸν ὁμολογοῦμεν διοικεῖν τὰ πάντα καὶ Πολύβιος φησὶν*.

τῶν κατὰ λόγον, frequently in P. for that which we expect or hope, and which seems therefore to turn out reasonably, as *τὰ παρὰ λόγον* is 'the unforeseen' which baffles calculation.

6. *ἰσηγορίας*, used for 'equality' generally, as in Hdt. *δηλοὶ δὲ...ἡ ἰσηγορία ὡς ἐστὶ χρῆμα σπουδαῖον* (5, 78, 1) of the young democracy of Athens. So too *παρρησία* stands for 'liberty', it being characteristic of the talkative Greeks to lay unique stress on the rights of speech. Aristotle would use the wider terms *ἰσότης* and *ἐλευθερία* (cf. *Pol.* 6, 4): these two

catchwords being implied in some form or other in most of the definitions of democracy.

δημοκρατίας δλ. Isocrates and Polybius use the term always in a good sense, but Aristotle uses *πολιτεία* in this sense, and *δημοκρατία* as a degradation of it. The practical statesmen took the common language of their day; the philosopher disliking such forms of popular government stamped a bad meaning on it, as did Plato. The league was a democracy in principle, since its sovereign power was vested in a public assembly in which every citizen had equal right to speak and vote: but two important limitations must be kept in view, which follow from the area covered by the league and the absence of a representative system. (1) The Assembly, meeting rarely as it did, allowed far more power to remain in the hands of the chief officials than was usual with Greek democracies. (2) The poorer classes, who were seldom able to spend time and money in travelling to the distant places of assembly, left politics chiefly to the well-to-do except in urgent crises. But Polybius would not regard these as drawbacks. It may be also noted that some of the later members like Megalopolis, and perhaps Corinth, had subject districts under them; but the league respected the local rights of its members.

7. **τινὲς μὲν ἐθ.**, e.g. Sicyon, Corinth, Aegina, Hermione. Cf. Plutarch, Aratus 34.

σὺν καιρῷ, nearly equal to **ἐν καιρῷ**. The **σὺν** of poetry and the earlier language is little used in prose, other than that of Xenophon, except in composition and in idiomatic phrases. Its place is taken by **μετά** and **ἄμα**, to which P. adds **ὁμόσε** and **ἀναμύξ**.

ἐθελοντήν seems to have been an Ionic form at home in Herodotus, as 1, 5, 3; 6, 25, 3; and borrowed by Xenophon (Mem. 2, 1, 3). Thucydides has **ἐθελοντί** and **ἐθελοντηδόν**. The common dialect reverted to the older form, if we may trust the Vatican MS. of P.

ἀπεριστῆς, 'partisans'. P. has **ἀλρεσις** in the sense of 'party spirit', but does not use the verb **ἀλπερίζω** from which this subst. is formed. Cf. St Matth. **ἰδοὺ ὁ παῖς μου ὃν ἡγρέισα** (12. 18).

εὐδοκεῖν. Yet Sparta was not long content, and the attempt to coerce was fatal.

8. οὐδέν πλεονέκτημα, 'no privilege': yet some allowance must be made for the fact that each of the petty states of old Achaia had equal voting power in the federal assembly with Corinth or Sicyon. Another possible grievance of holding the Assembly always at the distant Aegion was remedied by Philopoemen, and then they met in every city of the League in turn. No other state of the old world seemed to think of annexation as of any value without some special profit to the central power. The rival league of Aetolia reserved all real political power in the hands of the older members at the centre, extending little more than protection to the rest.

ἴσα δὲ πάντα...προσλαμβανόμενοις, 'putting the new members as they came in quite on the same footing'.

ἐπιβολῆς, frequently used by P. for 'enterprise' or 'aim', in which sense it occurs also in Thucyd. 3, 45, 5. It is connected with the use of ἐπιβάλλεσθαι, 'to apply oneself to', 'attempt'; so possibly in St Mark 14. 17, ἐπιβαλὼν ἐκλαίει, we may supply εαυτὸν or διάνοιαν.

συνεργοῖς. For this personification cf. the story in Hdt. of Themistocles coming with two great divinities Πειθῶ and Ἀναγκαίη to Andros, which was already occupied by the two powers of Πενίη and Ἀμνηχανίη, 8, 111, 2.

φιλανθρωπία, 'kindly sympathy', like the 'fraternité' of modern democracy. Cf. note on 2, 70, 1.

9. ἀρχηγὸν καὶ αἷτιον. The first term had been used of other than persons as early as Euripides, κακῶν ἀρχηγὸν ἐκφαίνει λόγον (Hippol. 881), and by Plato who has both terms of the text, αἷτιον καὶ ἀρχηγὸν εἶναι τὸ ὥρθουν, Crat. 401 D. P. repeatedly combines them in the inverted order.

τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν. Naber proposes to insert νῦν before ὑπ., which would be more in accordance with the style of P. elsewhere.

εὐδαιμονίαν. P. refers to the state of things between 196 and 167 B.C., when he and others were deported into Italy. His first plan was to write the history of the 53 years ending with the victory of Pydna 168 B.C., and though he afterwards

extended his design to 146 B.C. the language in the text belongs to the first draft of the work.

10. *προαιρέτως*. This favourite term of Aristotle passes on from the ethical sense of 'intention' to that of 'state policy' in P.

ἰδίωμα, 'characteristic', a later equivalent for the *ἰδιότης* of Xenophon and Plato. It appears in Dionysius Halic. as the 'idiom' of grammarians.

11. *ἢ ἢ καὶ δεύτερον*, 'a single or perhaps a second', equivalent to 'one or two': there is a like use of *δύοτερον* in place of *δύο* in 3, 108, 4, *οὐχ ἢ οὐδὲ δεύτερον, καὶ πλεῖω δ' ἢ εὔροι τις αἰτία*. Cf. also Ignat. Ep. ad Ephes. 5, *ἐνὸς καὶ δευτέρου προσευχῇ*.

39 1. *κατὰ...κατὰ*. An extended use of the prepositions, especially of *κατὰ*, characterises the style of P., and its repetition in explanatory phrases like this is a common form with him.

τὴν μεγάλην Ἑλλάδα. This name seemed justified by the wide extent of territory held in subjection by the Achaean and Dorian settlements formed towards the end of the 8th century B.C. in the south of Italy. Unlike most of the Greek colonies they spread a civilizing influence far inland, and ruled over wide domains tenanted by Oenotrian tribes.

τὰ συνέδρια τῶν Ἰλ. The *συνέδριον* of Croton, copied by the neighbouring cities, was the earliest known example of a Conservative Club. Towards the end of the 6th century B.C. the Pythagorean influence spread rapidly through Magna Graecia. Its mystical fervour, ascetic rigour, and lofty morality found numerous adherents, especially among the ruling classes. These consisted of a nobility of birth and riches, which was now to be converted into an aristocracy of character and talents. Some turned to a quiet life of study, while more active spirits organized in the club of the 300 a social propaganda, which was combined with a sort of caucus for political wire-pullers. But their hypercritical tones and proud reserve soon produced a natural reaction, of which party leaders were not slow to take advantage, and an explosion of popular mistrust swept the clubs away, and drove the foremost adherents into exile.

2. **κινήματος.** An age of revolution followed. Power had been wrested from the hands of the privileged classes, which tried to regain by violence what they had lost, and to reinstate the exiles. For nearly 30 years the rich cities of Southern Italy were scenes of strife and bloodshed, and the arbitration of the Achaeans helped probably to reconcile the jarring factions when the Pythagorean school resumed its influence in 480 B.C.

δλοσχεροῦς, from **δλος** and **σχερός**, which is found only in the form **ἐν σχερῶ**, 'in a row', 'in succession'. The compound is found in the prose of Hippocrates and the verse of Theocritus, but it is an especial favourite of P. as more emphatic than **δλος**.

ὥς ἄν: here, as in § 8, used elliptically, 'as might be naturally expected', somewhat as in **ὥς ἄν εἰ, ὥσπερ ἄν εἰ**: the **ἄν** belongs to some verb left to be understood in the apodosis.

4. **τῇ τούτων πίστει συν.** It might have been noticed, though it would have weakened the argument, that the peoples mentioned here were for the most part of Achaean stock, and that they naturally turned in their distress to the mother state, as Greek usage suggested.

πρεσβευόντων. In Thucydides, as in other Attic, the middle voice is generally used in this sense.

συνεχρήσαντο. Cf. note on 4, 6, 2.

5. **ἀπεδέξαντο τ. δ.,** 'showed their liking for the institutions of'. Cf. **τὸ μεγαλόψυχον τῆς Ῥωμαίων αἰρέσεως**, 1, 20, 7.

μετὰ τινος χρόνου. Nearly a century later, for the league referred to seems to have been formed at the beginning of the 4th century B.C. under pressure of danger from Dionysius of Syracuse and his Lucanian confederates. The coinage of the period bore the figure of the young Heracles strangling the serpents which symbolised the dreaded foes. Cf. F. Lenormant, *La Grande Grèce*, II. 121.

ἐπὶ τὸ μμηταί. The noun which should be in the accusative is attracted to the subject of the verb **ᾤρμησαν** outside its own clause. Cf. Plato, *Euthydem.* 273 A, **ὑβριστῆς διὰ τὸ νέος εἶναι**. It is common in P.

παρακαλίσαντες σφᾶς, 'after mutual overtures'.

6. **συνφρονήσαντες.** There is evidence* of a coinage of a common standard current at an earlier date among most of the cities of Magna Graecia, due probably to Pythagorean influence; but this was a monetary union rather than a formal league.

Κροτωνιάται. The name of this city seems identical with that of the Tyrrhenian Cortona, and the Cretan Gortyna, which point to a common origin with *χόρτος*, hortus, gorudu &c. Founded towards the end of the 8th century by colonists from the Achaean Rhypae, and favoured by the fertility of its soil, the neighbourhood of a good port, and the produce of its silver mines, it grew rapidly in wealth and numbers and stretched its power in S. Italy from sea to sea. It was famous first as a training school for athletes who carried off repeated prizes at Olympia, then as a centre of Pythagorean influence, and lastly for the disastrous struggle which ruined its sister city, Sybaris, and gave a fatal blow to Greek supremacy in Magna Graecia.

Συβαρίται. The wealthy and luxurious Sybaris, once the foremost of the Achaean settlements in Italy, had been completely destroyed by Croton in 510 B.C., and no city was rebuilt upon the old site to bear its name till 452, and that soon fell again before the hatred of its great rival; but in 443 Athens sent colonists to Thurii, not far off, who combined with the descendants of the ancient Sybarites. This later settlement is probably referred to in the text.

Καυλωνιάται. Colonists from Croton together with Achaeans from the mother country had occupied Caulonia on the Helorus, which long owned the supremacy of Croton.

Διὸς ὁμαρίον. This temple was probably raised in imitation of that of the Ζεὺς Ὀμαγύριος at Aegion, to which tradition pointed as the gathering place of Agamemnon's army (Pausanias 7, 24, 2), and which Strabo probably mentions under the name of Ὀμάριον (corrupted into *Αλδάριον*) as the federal meeting place τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἄλσος ὅπου συνήεσαν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ βουλευσόμενοι (8, 7, 5). With the form of the word in the text in the sense of 'the god of union' Welcker compares Ὀμῆρος from ὁμοῦ and εἰρω or ἄρω and so=collector (Ep. C. 120): as

against this view, however, it should be noted that in a decree of the Achaean league of 199 B.C. inscribed on a slab found at Orchomenus (*Le Bas, Voy. Arch.* 2, 6, 353) we read Διὰ Ἀμάριον, and Foucart explains this as 'the god of day', from ἀμάρα, an Aeolo-Dorian form of ἡμέρα. He supposes that the α was afterwards pronounced as ο, and that the later form suggested the explanation given by Pausanias. The deity was represented on the federal coins.

διαβούλια. A word of later usage often found in P. and with different shades of meaning, as (1) the process of deliberation, (2) its result or the resolution formed, (3) the consulting body. There is probably no distinction implied here between the federal congress (σύνοδος) and senate (βουλή), but δ. refers to the action of both assemblies, though more specially to the latter.

Διονυσίου. The ruinous defeat of the allied forces near Caulonia in 390 B.C. broke up the league, and after the surrender of the rest Croton had at last to submit to the tyrant's power.

7. **βαρβάρων.** These were of Sabellian race. First the Lucanians were encouraged by Dionysius to attack the Greeks; then the swarms of mixed adventurers called Bruttians formed a compact power under cover of the forest range of Sila, and lorded it as masters over the old cities of the South. Strabo says of this region, νυνὶ...ἐκβαρβαρώσθαι συμβέβηκεν ἅπαντα (6, 1, 2).

8. **παραδόξως.** Epaminondas at the Congress of Sparta in 371 B.C. had claimed for Thebes supremacy in Boeotia by the same right as that of Sparta in Laconia. The Spartans regarded this as an insult and defiance and marched straight upon Thebes in the confidence of speedy victory, but the brilliant strategy of Epaminondas at Leuctra routed the more numerous forces of the Spartans and caused universal surprise in Greece, where Sparta had been long paramount and Thebes of slight account. The Theban hegemony lasted only a few years till the fall of Epaminondas at Mantinea, but it was marked by the revival of Messenia and the union of Arcadia.

ἀνεπίστως, 'unexpectedly'. Xenophon, who sympathised

with the Spartans, sums up thus, *εἰς τὴν μάχην τοῖς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίοις πάντα τὰναντία ἐγένετο, τοῖς δὲ* (sc. *Θηβαίοις*) *πάντα καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης κατωρθοῦτο* (Xen. *Hell.* 6, 4, 7).

ἀκρισία, used by Polybius both for 'confusion', as here, and also for the 'indiscretion' or 'rashness' which may be its cause. Xenophon employs it to describe the state of things at this date: *ἀκρισία καὶ παραχῇ ἐτι πλεῖων μετὰ τῆς μάχης ἐγένετο*, *Hell.* 7, 5, 27.

9. *περὶ τῶν ἀμφ. ἐπέτρ.* This verb nearly always in P. takes *περὶ* with the gen. instead of a simple acc. of the object.

ἐπέτρεψαν. The reference to arbitration was one of the oldest international usages in Greece. Sometimes a neutral state was chosen, for its authority or impartiality, or sympathy with both the disputants: sometimes a prominent statesman or philosopher.

11. *ψιλῶς ἀπὸ...παρ' αὐτοῖς*, 'they had merely their high principles to show'. *τὰ κατὰ τὴν πρ.*, a characteristic pleonasm for *προαίρεσις*.

ἀποτέλεσμα, 'result', a word of rare occurrence. P. often has *ἀποτελεῖν* in the same sense as the more usual *ἐπιτελεῖν*.

πράξις δὲ...πραγμάτων, 'notable achievement tending to the furtherance of their interests', a somewhat wordy phrase.

12. *τὸν ὑποδείξαντα*, sc. *ἑαυτόν*, 'offered himself as champion'.

Λακεδαιμονίων. They held aloof from the Peloponnesian confederacy under Spartan headship from antipathy of race; they long abstained even from the Olympic contests, and were shut out by Sparta from the colony of Heraclea (Thuc. 3, 92, 7). After the Peloponnesian war Sparta strengthened the oligarchic factions in the Achaean cities (Thuc. 5, 82, 1), and these again were put down by Thebes in later days.

ἐπισκοτεῖσθαι, 'overshadowed': thus metaph. Arist. *Rhet.* 1, 1, 7, *ἐπισκοτεῖν τῇ κρίσει τὸ ἴδιον ἢ οὐδ' ἢ λυπηρόν*.

40 1. *ἀξιώχρεως*, 'of adequate talents'. P. commonly prefers as here the Attic forms of the declension, but in 4, 23, 3 we have *ἀξιώχρεους*.

εὖπεν. No singular nominative appears in the text for

many lines, but the league ἡ τῶν Ἀχ. πολιτεία is implied in the Ἀχαιοῖς above.

2. Ἄρατον. Cf. the description of his character in note on 8, 14, 8.

ἀγωνιστήν, 'its champion' in many trials.

τελειουργόν, lit. 'bringing a work to completion': a rare word found once in Plato as the verb is in Aristotle.

Φιλοπολίμνα. Cf. note on 28, 12, 3.

βεβαιωτήν δέ κ. τ. λ., 'while Lycortas and others who adopted the same policy made it stable and durable for a while'. βεβ. is scarcely found elsewhere.

Λυκόρταν. His son Polybius says of him with natural pride that he was scarcely inferior in virtue to Philopoemen, whom he succeeded as general and avenged his death. He adopted also the same line of policy, keeping to what show he could of independence in the councils of the Union, without needlessly provoking the overwhelming power of Rome. Even so he did not escape suspicion and was of course included in the list of the proscribed for exile.

3. τίνα δ' ἦν...καὶ πῶς... The direct interrog. forms are generally preferred by P. in such dependent clauses.

δὲ κατὰ τὸ πρότερον κ. τ. λ., 'dwelling on them in each case as fully as the plan of my work may require'.

ἐπιστάσιν. A favourite word with P. in the sense of 'attention', derived from the earlier meaning of 'halting', 'delay', as in the φροντίδων ἐπιστάσεις of Soph. Ant. 225. Isocrates had used the verb in this sense καθ' ὅτι ἂν ἐπιστήσω τὴν διάνοιαν. Phrynichus found the substantive in common use in the Stoic school in the sense of ἀπορία, but has doubts as to the propriety of the usage. Cf. Lobeck, *Phryn.* 282.

4. ἐπι κεφαλαιούμενοι μν., 'we shall deal only summarily'.

ἀληθινούς. Yet note what is admitted in 2, 47, 11 as to suppressions of fact in them.

ὑπομνηματισμούς, 'memoirs', like ὑπομνήματα, which P. has more frequently, or the ἀπομνημονεύματα of others. Plutarch often refers to these memoirs of Aratus as a sort of Apology for his political career.

5. ἀκριβεστέραν, 'with more detail'.

διαστολῆς, 'distinctness': little used by earlier authors. It occurs in St Paul, Ep. Rom. 3. 22, οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ διαστολή.

τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν, 'my readers', as often in P. He has also ἀναλαμβάνειν βύβλον in the same sense 3, 9, 3.

εὐπαρακολούθητον τ. μ., 'its lessons will be more easily gathered'.

τῶν ἐκ Μακεδονίας. Tempting as it is to suppose that ἐκ points to the fact that some of these disturbers of the peace were only pretenders to the throne and not recognised Kings, the analogy of other phrases like οἱ ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου, οἱ ἐκ τῆς γεροντίας, and many others, leads to the conclusion that it is simply a periphrasis for 'Macedonian'.

ἀρχῇ καὶ σύννευσι: equivalent to ἀρχῇ τῆς συννέσεως, 'first began to combine together again'.

6. ὑπέρ: here, as frequently in P., equivalent to περὶ. So too in the N. T.

κατὰ μέρος, 'in some degree', 'partly', not 'in detail'.

- 41 1. Ὀλυμπιάς. For a general history requiring synchronistic treatment it was important to secure chronological accuracy, but this was very difficult for an ancient writer, owing to the variety of eras and local standards.

The arrangement of Olympiads, which had been lately introduced, probably by Timaeus, was not generally received, and, beginning as it did in the summer, did not agree with the limits of the civil year in many states. Polybius refers therefore sometimes to natural epochs as the equinoxes, more often to the chief official appointments as of the Achaean, Aetolian and Boeotian leagues, especially of course the first. From Ol. 141 his year seems to begin in October, at which time the Achaean general was elected, and the three months preceding were reckoned in the year of the Olympiad which had technically closed in the summer. Cf. Nissen in *Rhein. Mus.* 1871, and A. Mommsen, *Philol.* 24, 18.

πρὸς ταῖς. P. adopts this mode of expressing compound numbers by the prep. πρὸς, especially when he is reckoning by Olympiads; for ordinary numbers he sometimes uses σύν, avoiding ἐπί for fear of hiatus. In earlier writers this use of πρὸς was chiefly poetic. Cf. Krebs, *Prep.* 117.

2. **Πτολεμαῖος**. He had carried out with eminent success in Egypt Alexander's favourite policy of influencing the older civilizations of the world by a large admixture of Hellenic elements: the powerful monarchy which he founded there rested for support on a well-filled treasury, a strong standing army, and a carefully organized Civil Service, while its new capital Alexandria became a centre of literary activity, and the chief emporium of the world's commerce.

Λυσίμαχος. L. was distinguished by his bodily strength and prowess among the many gallant followers of Alexander (Justin 15, 3), and at the division of the conquered world received Thrace and the Bosphorus for his share, which he enlarged by craft and force. Like the other rulers of his time he was unscrupulous and greedy, but he had no genius for organization and founded no dynasty. His later years were clouded by sordid avarice, and the mean suspicions with which he sacrificed his son Agathocles to the jealous intrigues of his young wife Arsinoë.

Σέλευκος. In the partition of Alexander's conquests the Satrapy of Babylon was assigned to S., where by his gentle policy and talents he conciliated the native races and annexed wide regions in the far East; but after the victory over Antigonus at Ipsus in 301 B.C. he founded a new capital on the Orontes, called Antiochia after his father. In consequence of this the power and influence of his dynasty gravitated westwards, and his unwieldy and heterogeneous dominions dwindled into a Syrian kingdom.

The name, if equivalent to *σελα-λευκος*, would mean 'bright light'. Cf. Fich in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. 22, p. 234.

ὁ κεραυνός. The eldest son of Ptolemy Lagides by Eurydice, called the Thunderbolt from his reckless violence (cf. Hamilcar Barcas and Bajazet), being passed over in the succession to the throne in favour of the younger Philadelphus, sought a home with his half sister Arsinoë at the court of Lysimachus, where he helped to compass the death of Agathocles; soon after he found a refuge with Seleucus, whom he basely murdered, and then to secure Macedonia he assassinated the children of Arsinoë, and finally perished in an invasion of the Getae, but

not in the 124th Olympiad if Porphyry is right (sp. Euseb. 285).

περὶ τὴν πρ. ὄλ. This seems only approximately true, but even so the synchronism is striking, as the great successors of Alexander passed away together.

τὴν προειρημμένην. The recurrence of this word, as our 'aforesaid', gives a somewhat tedious and official tone to the style.

4. κάτεσχε. According to the legend in Pausanias (7, 1, 3) Tisamenus died in the battle with the Ionians of the coast which his followers occupied, and Sparta sent to Helice to recover his bones.

ἀπὸ τούτου, pleonastic, to resume the thread after the relative sentence inserted.

5. κατὰ τὸ συνεχές καὶ κ. τ. γ., 'in regular succession in the same dynasty', or 'in natural succession'.

ὥς Ὀλύγγευ. The use of ὥς with a person is rare even in P. who especially affects this adverb in a prepositional sense, and has it in a great variety of phrases where μέχρ' and ἔχρ' might have been employed.

ἐπὶ τῷ, 'on the ground that', the motive alleged being regarded as the support on which they rested their claims to change the constitution.

μετέστησαν εἰς δημο. The abrupt change from the old monarchy to democracy if real was unusual, as most of the states of Greece passed through stages of transition in various forms of aristocracy, and so P. himself describes the succession in 6, 7, 9; though he lays much stress on the moral decline of the kings, and makes the change sudden instead of gradual, as seems to have been often the case. The δημο. of P. is however wide enough to include such influence of prominent families, and probably means here 'republic'.

6. ἄλλοτε μὲν ἄλλως. The petty states were bound together by a loose federation, which kept aloof from the general Greek movements from aversion probably to the Dorian elements which were foremost; hence at the outset of the Peloponnesian war none but Pellene took part on either side (Thuc. 2, 9, 2), though others were gradually drawn in. At

the close of the war the Spartans tampered with their constitutions (Thuc. 5, 82, 1), while the Thebans interfered on the other side.

περιστάσεις, 'circumstances', a word much employed by P. in this sense, and passing into that of 'bad hap', in which Phrynichus notes its later use (*ἀντὶ τοῦ συμφορὰ τιθέασιν οἱ στωικοὶ φιλόσοφοι*). He illustrates its earlier meaning 'crowd' by a verse of Teleclides *τίς ἦδε κραυγὴ καὶ δόμων περιστάσις* (Lobeck, *Phryn.* 376). Cf. the use of *εὐπερίστατος* in Ep. to Hebrews 12. 1.

τό γε μὴν κοινὸν κ.τ.λ., 'they endeavoured to keep the whole state together in the form of a democracy'. **πολιτευμα** like **πολιτεία** means in P. (1) the state, (2) its special constitution, (3) the management of public affairs.

7. **ἐκ δώδεκα πόλεων**. This division into 12 distinct communities is ascribed by Strabo to the earlier Ionian inhabitants (8, 7, 1), who dwelt however in villages (*κωμηδόν*, 8, 7, 4), while the later invaders first built cities, drawing together seven or eight demes to form each (8, 7, 5).

ἃς ἔτι συμβαίνει δ., 'which still remain in existence'; this pleonastic use of **συμβ.** with an infinitive constantly recurs in P., and even with a dat. instead of an acc.

᾽Ωλένου. The *᾽Ωλενίη πέτρη ποταμοῦ παρ' ὀχθας εὐρείας Πείριοι* of Hesiod in the extreme West was taken in the legendary age by the *᾽Επειοί*; it was but a *πόλισμα μικρὸν* in historic times (Paus. 18, 1), and was broken up into the hamlets of which it had been first composed (*ἐκλιπεῖν ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας*, Paus. *ibid.*). Thirlwall (8, 82) infers that this had taken place before the league was reformed in 281, but Leake (*Pel.* 208) argues that the words of Strabo (*δώδεκα πλὴν ᾽Ωλένου καὶ ᾽Ελίκης τῆς μὲν οὐ συνελθούσης, τῆς δ' ἀφανισθείσης ὑπὸ κύματος*, 8, 7, 1) imply refusal rather than inability. Possibly Strabo only expands the statement of Polybius which he could not explain. Curtius (*Pel.* 1. 451) suggests that he may have written *τῆς μὲν οὐ συνεστῶσης*, i.e. was then resolved into its elements. The old name has however lingered on to present days.

᾽Ελίκης: notable in Homeric times (*ἄμφ' ᾽Ελίκην εὐρείαν*, *Il.* 2, 474), and the greatest of Achaean cities (Diod. 15, 48). The

sudden destruction in 373 B.C. sent a thrill of horror through Greece, for when the neighbouring peoples streamed on the morrow from all sides they found that the sea had wholly swallowed up the city and the strip of coast $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile broad. History has recorded a long series of catastrophes by flood or earthquake on the same coast, cf. Curtius, *Pel.* 1. 489.

8. αὐταὶ δ' εἰσι. Of the towns in this list Leontion and Carynea do not appear in the corresponding list in Hdt. 1, 145.

Λέοντιον: in the mountainous region between Φαρά and Αἴγιον. Cf. below, P. 5, 94.

Αἴγιον: about seven stades from the sea ἐπὶ λόφων ἐρυμνῶν καὶ δυσβάτων. For the description of the night attack of the Aetolians cf. Pol. 4, 57.

Πελλήνη: the most eastern of the Achaean towns and most exposed to foreign influence. It often took a line of action independent of the league as in the Peloponnesian war. From its cold and rugged site need was felt of the cloaks for which it was famous (II. χλαῖναι εὐδόκιμοι, Poll. ap. Curtius 1. 453). The other towns mentioned in the list are spoken of below.

9. καχεῖαν, 'morbid state'. The adjective καχέκτης is generally applied to cases of revolutionary feeling and is coupled with κινητικός and στασιώδης.

τῶν ἐκ Μακεδονίας βασιλέων. This phrase includes Antigonus and Demetrius who were not undisputed rulers of Macedonia, though they claimed the royal title. The attack on their liberties began when Chaeron was set up by Alexander as tyrant of Pellene. Cassander held down several of the cities, and when his garrisons were driven by the general of Antigonus out of Patrae, Aegion and Dyme, and by Demetrius from Bura, under the pretence of restoring independence, the freedom regained was only nominal, and the intrigues of the rival claimants to the throne of Macedonia broke up the league and set the towns at variance. Revolutions naturally followed fast upon each other in Greece, when the oligarchic interests were fostered first by Antipater and Cassander, while Polysperchon tried a counter-appeal to the democratic parties, and Antigonus and his son Demetrius Poliorcetes proclaimed delusive promises of civic independence.

10. ἀπ' αὐτῶν, in the sense of ἀπ' ἀλλήλων as frequently in P.

Δημητρίον. The Poliorcetes whose life was written by Plutarch was the son of Antigonus one of Alexander's greatest generals. He combined the cultivated interests of an Athenian with the rude energy of a soldier of fortune and the fitful extravagance of an Eastern sultan.

Κασσάνδρου: the son of the Antipater whom Alexander left as his vice-regent in Europe. His father chose his old comrade Polysperchon to succeed him, but Cassander relied on the oligarchs who had been his father's partisans, and for many years played the foremost part in Greece and Macedonia. The royal family found their most fatal enemy in the energetic and unscrupulous Cassander, who swept out of the path of his ambition Olympias, Roxana and her child, and Barsine's son, and restored even Thebes, which Alexander had destroyed, in his hatred of the great conqueror's name.

Ἀντιγόνου. He kept his hold on Greece after the wreck of the ambitious hopes of his father Demetrius Poliorcetes and his death in Asia in 284 B.C., but his claim to Macedonia was long disputed by various pretenders and by the Gallic hordes.

His cautious and clear-sighted policy at last prevailed, and he firmly planted his dynasty in the North while he reduced Athens to submission, and subsidized partisans in the cities of the Peloponnese, till his influence was checked by the rise of the Achaean league.

Γοναῦ. The origin of this name is uncertain. Porphyry derives it from the Thessalian town Gonni, but at the time of his birth Thessaly was in the hands of Cassander, his father's enemy. Niebuhr thinks it a Macedonian word like the modern Greek γονατάς, 'an iron plate on the knee'. (*Lect. Anc. H.* 3. 228.)

τυραννεύειν. The tyrants of the earlier ages of Greek history had grasped the sovereign power by violence or fraud in a period of transition between the rule of the oligarchies and the full-grown republicanism of later days. They were usurpers who could never make their claims appear legitimate, but they were often rulers of large aims and liberal policy, fostering

art and trade, and forwarding the interests of civilized life. The tyrants of this age were of a different stamp. They were the outcome of a state of political corruption and decay. They rose in a society distracted for 50 years by the intrigues of foreign potentates, who traded on the jealousies of rival factions, and quartered their soldiers on the towns or let them loose as marauders in the country. The peoples were paralyzed by mutual distrust, and any resolute adventurer could find soldiers ready for a *coup d'état*, and a Macedonian patron on whose support he might rely. The power won by violence was often cruelly abused; citizens of mark were murdered or driven to flight, and the reign of terror lasted till the tyrant fell. But their rule was commonly short-lived, for the old Hellenic sentiment in favour of tyrannicide revived in its intensest form. Their constant sense of danger may be illustrated by the story of the Argive Aristippus, who laid his bed on the trap-door which formed the only access to the loft in which he slept, and out of which he crept "like a reptile from its hole" (Plutarch, Aratus 26).

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the Attic writers did not add the prep. to words which already implied partnership (Lobeck, *Phryg.* 172).

13. *ἔπει πέμπτω*. The invasion of Pyrrhus at this time drove Antigonus to flight and gave Greece more liberty of action. The Achaeans had suffered least of late from the ravages of war and plague (Pausan. 7, 7, 1).

Αλυεῖς. Aegion was after the fall of Helice the leading city of Achaia, and its accession to the league at this stage was therefore of great moment. It was here that federal meetings were held in the precincts of *Ζεὺς ὁμαγύριος*, and the forms of a *συνέδριον* were kept up centuries after in the days of Pausanias (7, 7). It was built in a fruitful site—now called Bostitza=‘garden-land’—and there is good harbourage.

ἐξῆς. This adverb is by P. brought more prominently forward as a preposition than by any earlier writer and is coupled occasionally with a gen., but more often as here with a dat. case, especially with *τούτοις*.

Βούριοι. B., one of the oldest Ionian cities of Achaia, was swallowed up by an earthquake on the same night in which its neighbour Helice was swept into the sea (*ἡ μὲν ὑπὸ χάσματος ἡ δὲ ὑπὸ κύματος ἠφανίσθη*, Strabo 1, 8, 18). The wild country round its site is full of the traces of volcanic action.

ἀποκατέστησαν, were ‘reinstated’ in the league: elsewhere the full phrase is given *ἀποκ. εἰς τὴν ἐξαρχῆς κατάστασιν* (25, 1, 1).

14. *Καρυνεῖας*. *ἡ Κερύνεια ἐπὶ πέτρας ὑψηλῆς ἰδρυμένη* (Strabo 8, 7, 5). It was probably the Achaean fortress, while the Ionians dwelt below in the lowlands of Helice. Hence perhaps it was not included in the 12 towns, and was only another name for Helice, whose place in the list it took after the catastrophe. After the Persian wars fugitives from Mycenae fled thither from their Argive masters and it became *δυνατωτέρα οἰκηθρόρων πλήθει* (Paus. 7, 25, 3).

Μάργου. The MSS. vary here between *Μάργου* and *Μάρκου*, while in 2, 10, 3 the latter form is best supported; but Brandstätter regards it as a Latinised form (*Act.* 2. 202), and it would seem less natural for a Greek. He was acting for the league even when his native town Caryneæ was held by a tyrant, became first sole general in 255 B.C., and was lost in

the sea fight against the Illyrian pirates in 229. "He would almost appear to have been the Washington of the original league" (Freeman, *Fed. Gov.* 248).

παταχόμεν ὅπῳ κ.τ.λ., 'seeing that he would be immediately attacked on all sides'.

15. ἀποθέμενος. Few usurpers could safely abdicate in Greece, as no constitutional forms could be observed in transferring the power which had no legal basis. Nor were the pledges (πιστά) of much value when rancorous feelings had been roused by despotic acts. The story of Maeandrius of Samos (Hdt. 3, 142) illustrates the difficulty of such abdication; the language of the historian in the case of Cadmus of Cos shows that it was very rare in the earlier period (Hdt. 7, 164, 1).

σύστημα. This word appears as early as Plato in the sense of a whole compounded of parts, but it is of later use as a technical arrangement or 'system'. The equivalent in earlier use was σύστασις, which occurs in 2, 42, 1.

42 τίνος χάριν. A favourite form in P. of introducing didactic and explanatory comments, so in 2, 71, 1. In the earlier language χάριν is chiefly used by the poets as a preposition, though Thucydides has τῷ θεῷ χάριν 5, 70, but it constantly recurs in P. Krebs, *Praepositions adv.* 2, 25.

τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ἀχ., 'of the original members', i.e. Achaeans by race, not by federal union only.

3. διότι from 'because' has passed into 'that', as οὖνεκα and ὁθούνεκα in Sophocles have dropped the relative out of sight. It is first found in this sense in Herodotus 2, 50, 1: and then in Xenophon, Plato and Isocrates. In Aristotle it is very common. Cf. Cope, *Rhet.* 1, 1, 11.

μία τις δὲ...αἰρεσις, 'the consistent policy'.

ταυτῇ τῇ προθέσει, 'by keeping this end in view'. Cf. ἀπὸ τῆς προθέσεως, 'shewbread', St Matt. 12. 4; so in sense of 'purpose' Ep. Rom. 9. 11.

4. πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος, 'in this respect', used repeatedly by P. in a general sense, without regard to 'part' or 'share'. Cf. 37, 10 above.

ἀναιστέον, 'must be put to the credit of'.

5. κατορθωμάτων, 'good deeds', in which sense the word

was much used by Stoic writers as the ideal of which τὸ καθήκον was the workday equivalent. Phrynichus, while accepting the verb as good Attic, rejects the noun, and it is late in this sense as also in that of 'success', though *κατόρθωσις*, *ἐπανόρθωμα* and *ἐπανόρθωσις* are good enough; cf. Lobeck, *Phryn.* 250.

6. *φιλοτιμία*. This word has often in P. the more general sense of 'zeal' or 'eagerness' rather than the explicit meaning of 'ambition' which it bore in earlier writers: so *φιλοτιμούμενον εὐαγγελίσεσθαι*, Ep. Rom. 15. 20.

ἀντικατηλλάττοντο, 'claimed for their reward'.

7. *ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν...ἐνεργ.*, 'from what they actually did': a needlessly pleonastic phrase. *ἐνέργημα* is a late word used by St Paul (1 Cor. 12. 6), and meaning properly the 'effect'. In P. it has much the same sense as *πρᾶξις*.

43 *εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε*. In the early part of this period the attention of Antigonos was distracted by the Gauls, Pyrrhus, Egypt, Sparta, and the war with Athens, and twice even he was driven from the throne.

γραμματεῖα. The Secretary of State was probably here as in the Aetolian League an officer of high rank and influence, who drafted the State Papers and had the custody of public documents, but no details are given us as to the office.

ἐκ περιόδου, 'in rotation'. Pindar has *περίοδοι ἐτέων* for cycles or 'periods' in the modern sense.

προχειρίζομαι: frequently used by P. in the sense of 'elect', which comes from the general meaning of 'getting ready to hand'. Cf. *προχειρίσασθαι σε ὑπηρέτην*, Acts App. 26. 16; so also in the language of later inscriptions.

2. *ἐνα καθιστάνειν*. The *στρατηγοί* of Athens who had been at first purely military officers gained in time important civil functions. In the later days of Greece the term was commonly used to denote the highest political rank, and as such was employed in the federal systems of Aetolia and Acarnania. To combine however in the same hands the highest power both civil and military was an unfortunate return to the practice of a ruder age, for the precedents of the best times of Greek republicanism all pointed to their separation, and the

league had often reason to regret that Aratus was commander in chief. Democracy moreover had been usually jealous of its rulers and had divided power among several holders, but the interests of a federal system required prompter and more vigorous concentration, and Achaia therefore followed the example of Aetolia in choosing a single President.

3. *ἐλευθερώσας*. He scaled the walls at night with a few bold followers, surprised the tyrant's mercenaries in their sleep, and called on the citizens to assert their freedom. The romantic story told by Plutarch illustrates the widespread social restlessness and brigandage, the troops of wandering exiles, and the mutual suspicion which enabled a resolute adventurer with a foreign bodyguard to hold down a cowering people.

τὴν πατρίδα. Sicyon stood on a table-land, some three miles in circuit, defended on all sides by precipices, with only one or two passages of ascent from the lower plain. In old days the acropolis was on the high ground, while the town stretched towards the sea two miles away, but Demetrius Poliorcetes after surprising the garrison of Ptolemy removed the inhabitants to the table-land and changed its name to Demetrias. It was a beautiful site, well-watered, with fertile garden-land: below were rich olive grounds, and fish abounded on the coast. Sicyon, though she had sunk from the high estate enjoyed under the brilliant dynasty of the Orthagoridae, and was distanced by her rival Corinth, still was rich with thriving trade and flourishing schools of art whose works were in request in distant courts. For fifty years she had been held down by tyrants, who had driven hundreds of the citizens into exile.

προσένειμα. This term is here used to imply federal union. The step was a momentous one, as Plutarch states it: *Δωριεῖς οὖντες ὑπέδυσαν ἐκουσίως ὄνομα καὶ πολιτείαν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν οὐτ' ἀξίωμα λαμπρὸν οὔτε μεγάλην ἰσχυρὴν ἔχόντων τότε* (Arat. 9). It was a hitherto unheard of sacrifice for a Greek state willingly to part with its sovereign independence, though a futile effort had been made by Argos and Corinth in 393 B.C. to form one state by fusion (Xen. Hell. 4, 4, 6).

"**Ἀρατος** had been left an orphan at the age of seven, his father Clinias, chief magistrate of Argos, having been murdered by Abantidas who seized the power as tyrant. Aratus passed his youth at Argos, and, after fruitless appeals to the kings of Macedonia and Egypt who were both his hereditary friends, he managed at last with the help of a few fellow exiles to enter Sicyon by night and restore freedom to his countrymen.

ἄρχῃθεν. He had looked indeed before to both Macedonia and Egypt, for when he wished to free Sicyon he was not scrupulous as to the means.

4. **στρατηγός**. He had been elected general at the age of 26, and he was henceforth the recognised leader of the Union for 32 years, holding office as a general rule in alternate years and commonly deciding the elections in the others by his personal influence—for while his constitutional powers as President were very great, his political talents and recognised patriotism secured him a lifelong ascendancy.

πραξικοπήσας. His success was partly due to the treachery of some of the garrison who guided the little band of Aratus in the midnight attack upon the citadel. Thucydides uses *πράσσειν* in the sense of treacherous negotiations (cf. 5, 76, 3), and so also Aristotle Pol. 5, 6, and *διαπραξάμενος* below. Polybius affects the longer form, with which we may compare the compounds *πραγματοκοπεῖν*, *δημοκοπεῖν*, *ὄχλοκοπεῖν*, *θαλαττοκοπεῖν*.

τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον. This rock fortress was, like Chalcis and Demetrias, regarded by the Macedonian rulers as one of the fetters of Greece. It had been in the hands of Craterus, the half brother of Antigonus, who kept it as his own, but it was recovered from his son's widow Nicaea by a stratagem of Antigonus. Its garrison had long been a standing menace to the free cities of the Peloponnese, and had barred the way across the Isthmus. Strabo describes it as a lofty mountain rising three stades in perpendicular height, and ending in an acute vertex steepest on the North side, under which the city spread over a level table-land. Cf. Leake, *Pel.* 3. 256.

5. **τὴν τῶν Μεγαρέων**. This also had been held for Antigonus but now revolted from him. Troezen and Epidaurus joined the league at the same time (Plutarch, *Arat.* 24).

ἐπὶ...ἀρχῆς. This is an extension of the temporal use of ἐπὶ with a gen. of the person. So ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος 5, 81, 4; ἐπὶ παντὸς καιροῦ &c.

6. τῷ πρότερον ἔτα, i.e. eight years after the freeing of Sicyon, which was in the spring of 251 B.C., and one year before the battle off the Aegates, which was fought early in 241 B.C. To reconcile these statements we must remember that, as the Olympiac year began in July, the eight years of Polybius began with July 251 and ended in July 243. If the events referred to here lasted till late in that summer they would fall within the Olympiac year preceding the Carthaginian defeat. But in that case there must be some error in the statement of Plutarch (Arat. 53) who dates the freeing of Sicyon on the 5th Daisios, which fell in February; cf. Droysen, *Hellen.* 3, 1, 342 and 416. πρότερον is to be preferred to the other reading προτέρω, as P. always puts the adverb with words of time like ἡμέρα, μῆσι, χρόνους, χειμῶνος, though he has phrases like ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ βύβλῳ ταύτης, 4, 28, 2.

τῆς Καρχηδονίων ἥττης, i.e. the confession of defeat which closed the Second Punic war, and was enhanced by the *stipendia Carthaginiæ impiæ* (φόρους ἐνεγκεῖν).

7. ἐμβαλεῖν. They had indeed for some time past held little but the Acrocorinthus and the fortresses of Athens, but these were advanced points from which they could encourage dependent tyrants and menace the rest.

9. πολυπραγμοσύνην, 'restless intrigues'. His long reign of 44 years had been one of chequered fortunes but of untiring and resourceful action on his part. He had maintained himself in Greece when his father's colossal schemes collapsed in Asia—regained the throne of Macedonia, and restored order and prosperity after the chaos left by the Celtic ravages—but was swept away again by the invasion of the knight errant Pyrrhus. He returned once more to reorganise his land to be a barrier against the Northern tribes, crushed in the Chremonidean war the last desperate efforts of the Athenians to regain their freedom with the help of Egypt and of Sparta, intrigued with ambitious partisans in every state of Greece, and allied himself even with his hereditary enemies the Aetolians, only

to see one after another of his strong places wrested from his hold, and the Achæan league, which he despised at first, growing at last too strong for him to crush, and furnishing a rallying cry for all the patriots of Greece.

10. *πραγματικῶς*. Cf. note on 4, 8, 1.

ἀδικίας καὶ τόλμης. We read in Plutarch (Arat. 31) of a plundering expedition of the Aetolians in the Peloponnese about 242 B.C. in which they took Pellene, but were attacked and routed by Aratus who had refused to join Agis in barring their passage through the Isthmus. Possibly also we may assign to the year before the great foray in which they poured *πανδημεῖ* to the South and did fearful havoc in Laconia, carrying off 50,000 of the *περίλοικοι* (Polyb. 4, 34, 9 and Plutarch, Cleom. 18). They were ready enough to extend the range of their attack at the suggestion of an ally if only there was plunder to be had, and Sparta was as dangerous as the Achæan league itself to Macedonia. Cf. Droysen, *Hellen.* 3, 1, 430.

διαίρεσις, not merely the 'dissolution' of the league but the 'division' of the fragments between the contracting parties. The compact (about 243 B.C.) is in itself evidence enough of the weakened power of Antigonos, for the Macedonian rulers had never lost sight of their hopes of regaining complete mastery over Greece. But Aratus had gained possession of the rock fortress of Corinth and so barred the access to the Peloponnese while he cut off the hopes of speedy succour on which the dependents of Antigonos had relied.

44 *μεταλλάξαντος*, in 239 B.C., at the age of 80.

συνθεμένων. The alliance was arranged probably about 235 B.C. between Aratus and Pantaleon, who was then of most influence among the Aetolians. Plutarch (Arat. 33) represents it as due to the initiative of Aratus *πολλῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ δυναστῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς συνισταμένων*, which could not then have been the case.

2. *δέκα μόνον ἔτη*, from 239 to 229 B.C. Demetrius was chiefly occupied in defending his northern frontier against the Dardaniens, and urging the Illyrians against the Epirots and Aetolians, but we hear of his victories in Boeotia and Aetolia,

and his influence in the Peloponnese was kept up by his dependents.

πρώτην διάβασιν. The expedition was to avenge the outrages on Italian traders and the murder of Roman ambassadors. The Illyrian fleet was swept from the seas, and Queen Teuta driven to flight and reduced to ignominious terms of peace, 228 B.C. Cf. 2, 12, 27.

εὔροια πραγμάτων πρὸς, 'a favourable time for carrying out'.

3. **δυσελπιστήσαντες.** P. appears to coin or adapt many novel verbs to express various moods of feeling, the object or ground of which is coupled in the dat. with ἐπὶ. So *θυμομαχεῖν*, *ἀσμενίζειν*, *εὐχαριστεῖν*, *δυσαρεστεῖσθαι*. With these Krebs compares the poetic words *ἀσχάλλειν*, *μεγαλαυχεῖν*, *σχετλιάζειν*, which he uses in the same way (*Praep. bei Pol.* p. 87). *δυσελπ.* also takes *περὶ* when hiatus is to be avoided (16, 33, 1).

χορηγός: one of the words which even in the Attic drama retained the Doric form with a like *κυναγός*, *λοχαγός*, *ξεναγός*, &c., the words in question being especially technical terms of the arts of music and war. Thus *στρατήγημα* has become 'stratagem', and we still speak of a Chorus: he was the well-to-do citizen of Athens who defrayed the expenses of the Chorus for bringing out a play, and gradually the term was extended to those who bore the cost of the charges. Hence the wider use of *χορηγία* for expenses or supplies, especially in war, in which P. so often has it. Cf. 2 Ep. Cor. 9, 10, ὁ ἐπιχορηγῶν σπέρμα τῷ σπείροντι.

μισθοδότης, 'paymaster'. Probably Demetrius, who was hard pressed by the border tribes on the North, could best operate in the South by bribing tyrants to become his agents.

μεγάλας δωρεάς. 50 talents were offered to Aristarchus (Plutarch, Arat. 35), 150 even to Diogenes the Macedonian officer on condition of withdrawal from the forts of Athens.

προτείνοντος. The change in the construction is a bold one from the acc. with ἐπικεῖσθαι to the gen. abs.

4. **πεισθέντες.** We have again, as in 2, 39, 5, the participle attracted from its proper case and clause to the nom. to ὥρμησαν.

5. **Λυδίαδας.** Plutarch (Arat. 30) draws a fine picture of

art and trade, and forwarding the interests of civilized life. The tyrants of this age were of a different stamp. They were the outcome of a state of political corruption and decay. They rose in a society distracted for 50 years by the intrigues of foreign potentates, who traded on the jealousies of rival factions, and quartered their soldiers on the towns or let them loose as marauders in the country. The peoples were paralyzed by mutual distrust, and any resolute adventurer could find soldiers ready for a *coup d'état*, and a Macedonian patron on whose support he might rely. The power won by violence was often cruelly abused; citizens of mark were murdered or driven to flight, and the reign of terror lasted till the tyrant fell. But their rule was commonly short-lived, for the old Hellenic sentiment in favour of tyrannicide revived in its intensest form. Their constant sense of danger may be illustrated by the story of the Argive Aristippus, who laid his bed on the trap-door which formed the only access to the loft in which he slept, and out of which he crept "like a reptile from its hole" (Plutarch, Aratus 26).

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12. **πρώτοι**, i.e. four towns on the West of Achaia which could easily combine and were least under the influence of the Acrocorinthus or other Macedonian forts.

Δυμαῖοι. The town was supposed to be so called as the most western of the cities of Achaia (*πασῶν δυσμικωτάτη, ὅθεν ἐκαλεῖτο δύσμη τις οὔσα ἡ Δύμη*, Etym. M. ap. Curtius, *Pel.* 1. 449). It was called *Πάλεια* by the Ionians (Paus. 7, 17, 3) and *Στράτος* at first by the Achaeans as their early stronghold.

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never left at peace. So he repeatedly attempted to free Athens, by unavowed assault on the Peiraeus conducted by his tool Erginus (240 B.C.), or by sudden force into Attica when men gave him up for lost elsewhere (239 B.C. Plut. Arat. 34): at other times by intrigue with the garrison, as at last with success in 229.

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46 προσφάτους, properly used of 'fresh' meat 'lately killed' and afterwards generally in the sense of 'recent', as by Pindar πρόσφατος παγὰ ἐπέων, Pyth. 4. 53, and πρόσφατοι δίκαι in Aesch. Choeph. 800. In later prose, as in Aristotle, it is applied to many things. The metaphor of Gorgias (ap. Ar. Rhet. 3, 3, 4) χλωρὰ καὶ ἔναιμα (or ἀναιμα) τὰ πράγματα may be compared with it.

ἐπηρεσίας. See note on 44, 1. We know nothing of these services, beyond the disastrous campaign in the North of Greece:

but if the Achaeans sent further help when the Aetolians were hard pressed by Demetrius they met with a poor return, for Mantinea seems to have been seduced from the Achaean interest shortly after (Pausan. 2, 5, 5), with perhaps Tegea and Orchomenus.

ἵστανται... This use with the particip. ἀγανακτοῦντας is peculiar, but the natural construction is lost sight of in the trailing sentence of 18 lines.

2. Τέγεαν M. O. These three towns stood in the largest of the Arcadian valleys which stretches for 25 miles with a breadth varying from 1 to 8. Its lowest part, the Mantinike, was the scene of five important battles in old time. Mantinea's συνοικισμὸς took place under pressure from Argos as a barrier to Sparta, and she inclined commonly to democratic Athens and was often at war with oligarchic and Spartan Tegea; but she was fickle, and though broken up by Sparta and restored by Thebes she deserted Epaminondas before his great battle of 362. Afterwards like her neighbours she commonly sided with Sparta out of jealousy of Megalopolis. At this time she appears to have first joined the Achaean, then the Aetolian league, then to have invited Cleomenes and afterwards Aratus, and finally to have made common cause with Cleomenes in expelling an Achaean garrison. Cf. c. 57 and 58, and Plutarch, Cleom. 14.

Orchomenus at the North of the valley occupied a commanding position on a hill-top, which had been the seat of a royal dynasty which lasted far into Greek history. It was therefore coveted and attacked by Cassander, Cleomenes and Antigonos Doson.

συμπολιτευομένης. We have no clear account in any ancient writer of the formation and character of the Aetolian league. We can trace it in early times as a union of tribes or villages readily combining for aggression or defence, receiving Naupactus from Philip in 338 B.C., seizing soon after Oeniadae and parts of Acarnania (ἐς τὸ Αἰτωλικὸν συντελοῦντες, Pausan. 1, 25, 4), then forcing Heraclea and Boeotia to join them, attracting Elis and Messenia as confederates, and towns of Arcadia as closer members of the union, while even islands like Cephal-

lenia and Ceos are brought in. But the relations must have varied greatly. Only those who lived in or near Aetolia proper could have taken any part in the meetings of the Assembly or the Senate or have had any voice in the elections. Representative systems were still unknown, and the attraction to the distant members lay in the security from pillage or right to redress which was thus only to be gained. It needed even special compact to give the civil status to new comers in any Aetolian community (cf. *C. I. G.* 2350 ap. Droysen, 3, 1, 448). In the case of some we hear of tribute imposed by force and of Aetolian officers quartered in their midst. Others again like Elis acted in concert from old ties of race, or as allies only like Messenia, though they might sink easily into the position of dependents.

βεβαιούντας αὐτῷ τ. π., 'sanctioning his occupation'.

3. κατὰ τῶν μηδὲν δδικοούντων. This may possibly be a special allusion to the destructive foray of the Aetolians in Laconia a few years before (Plutarch, Cleom. 18).

ἐκουσίως παρὰσπονδουμένους κ.τ.λ., 'cheerfully submitting to a violation of their treaty and the loss of very important towns on the condition merely of seeing' &c. The Aetolians probably recognized the difficulty of holding towns in the heart of the Peloponnese, and preferred to weaken their formidable rival the Achaean league.

ἐφ' ᾧ. The natural construction would be ἐπὶ τῷ...ιδεῖν, 'on condition of seeing'. Cf. ἐπὶ τοῖσδε φίλων εἶναι *Ῥωμαῖοις*, 3, 22, 3. In time the relative took the place of the article or demonstr. as in οὐνεκα without any relative meaning, and the idiom is common in P. It is used with a future indie. as well as an infinitive. In inscriptions ἐφ' ᾧτε often = ὥστε.

4. οἱ προεστῶτες. Here as in 4, 9, 3, used for the ten *δημοῦργοι*, also called *ἀρχοντες* and probably οἱ τῆς γερουσίας, who formed a sort of Cabinet Council for the President, and whose number points to that of the surviving members of the old Achaean league, though citizens of the newly enrolled towns were certainly elected on the Board (cf. Freeman, *Fed. Gov.* 283). They presided in the Assembly, putting questions to the vote, and were the advisers of the General in all important

business, acting in concert with him in calling extraordinary meetings of the Assembly.

ἐνίστασθαι, 'resist', as in Thuc. *ἦν τις ἐνίστηται τοῖς πολεμίοις*, 8, 69, 2. So in Plutarch with both dat. and *πρός*.

5. *ἐπὶ τούτων ἦσαν τῶν διαλήψεων*, 'they adhered to this decision', like *ἐμενε βεβαίως ἐπὶ τῆς διαλ.* 3, 89, 2. The word *διάληψις* is in this sense of late use only, though often in P. The verb *διαλαμβάνειν* had been already taken by Plato and others for 'distinguishing' in thought.

Ἀθήραιον. A border fortress on the Arcadian and Spartan frontiers, on the watershed where the Alpheus and Eurotas both take their rise. It was of importance as commanding the approach to Sparta on the N.W., and so it was seized by Lysurgus at the outset of the Social War. It appears to have been long a matter of dispute between Arcadia and Sparta, but Livy says that in the time of Philip, son of Amyntas, Achaean arbitrators assigned it to Megalopolis (38, 34).

ἐν τῇ τῶν Μεγαλοπ. χ. P. as an Arcadian has no doubt as to right: Plutarch says *ἐμβολή τῆς Λακωνικῆς τὸ χωρίον ἐστὶ, καὶ τότε πρὸς τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας ἦν ἐπιδίκον* (Cleom. 4).

6. **συναθροίσαντες**. An extraordinary meeting which had to be convened by the General and Ministers.

βουλῆς. A body of 120 councillors which acted as a Committee of the Assembly, giving audience to ambassadors, and discussing and shaping propositions to be submitted to the larger body. It probably had also some kind of coordinate power, but we have no details on this point, or as to the mode of election.

φανερῶς. By declaration of war rather than underhand plots of Aratus, who had meantime tried to surprise Tegea and Orehomenus with the help of partisans within, and had seized Caphyae close by.

ἐπ' ἐχθρίαν, in the sense of *πόλεμον*, which would be more regular with *ἀναλ.*

7. **τοιαύτην ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν**. The struggle was probably inevitable. On the one hand Aratus aspired to extend the league over the whole Peloponnese, and all accessions tended still further to isolate Sparta, cramped for room already by the

to see one after another of his strong places wrested from his hold, and the Achaean league, which he despised at first, growing at last too strong for him to crush, and furnishing a rallying cry for all the patriots of Greece.

10. *πραγματικῶς*. Cf. note on 4, 8, 1.

διδικίας καὶ τόλμης. We read in Plutarch (Arat. 31) of a plundering expedition of the Aetolians in the Peloponnese about 242 B.C. in which they took Pellene, but were attacked and routed by Aratus who had refused to join Agis in barring their passage through the Isthmus. Possibly also we may assign to the year before the great foray in which they poured *πανδημεὶ* to the South and did fearful havoc in Laconia, carrying off 50,000 of the *πεπλοικοὶ* (Polyb. 4, 34, 9 and Plutarch, Cleom. 18). They were ready enough to extend the range of their attack at the suggestion of an ally if only there was plunder to be had, and Sparta was as dangerous as the Achaean league itself to Macedonia. Cf. Droysen, *Hellen.* 3, 1, 430.

διαίρεσις, not merely the 'dissolution' of the league but the 'division' of the fragments between the contracting parties. The compact (about 243 B.C.) is in itself evidence enough of the weakened power of Antigonos, for the Macedonian rulers had never lost sight of their hopes of regaining complete mastery over Greece. But Aratus had gained possession of the rock fortress of Corinth and so barred the access to the Peloponnese while he cut off the hopes of speedy succour on which the dependents of Antigonos had relied.

44 *μεταλλάξαντος*, in 239 B.C., at the age of 80.

συνθεμένων. The alliance was arranged probably about 235 B.C. between Aratus and Pantaleon, who was then of most influence among the Aetolians. Plutarch (Arat. 33) represents it as due to the initiative of Aratus *πολλῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ δυναστῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς συνισταμένων*, which could not then have been the case.

2. *δέκα μόνον ἔτη*, from 239 to 229 B.C. Demetrius was chiefly occupied in defending his northern frontier against the Dardanians, and urging the Illyrians against the Epirots and Aetolians, but we hear of his victories in Boeotia and Aetolia,

and his influence in the Peloponnese was kept up by his dependents.

πρώτην διάβασιν. The expedition was to avenge the outrages on Italian traders and the murder of Roman ambassadors. The Illyrian fleet was swept from the seas, and Queen Teuta driven to flight and reduced to ignominious terms of peace, 228 B.C. Cf. 2, 12, 27.

εὔροια πραγμάτων πρὸς, 'a favourable time for carrying out'.

3. **δυσελπιστήσαντες.** P. appears to coin or adapt many novel verbs to express various moods of feeling, the object or ground of which is coupled in the dat. with ἐπί. So *θυμομαχεῖν*, *ἀσμενίζειν*, *εὐχαριστεῖν*, *δυσαρεστεῖσθαι*. With these Krebs compares the poetic words *ἀσχάλλειν*, *μεγαλαυχεῖν*, *σχετλιάζειν*, which he uses in the same way (*Praep. bei Pol.* p. 87). *δυσελπ.* also takes *περί* when hiatus is to be avoided (16, 33, 1).

χορηγός: one of the words which even in the Attic drama retained the Doric form with a like *κυναγός*, *λοχαγός*, *ξεναγός*, &c., the words in question being especially technical terms of the arts of music and war. Thus *στρατήγημα* has become 'stratagem', and we still speak of a Choragus: he was the well-to-do citizen of Athens who defrayed the expenses of the Chorus for bringing out a play, and gradually the term was extended to those who bore the cost of the charges. Hence the wider use of *χορηγία* for expenses or supplies, especially in war, in which P. so often has it. Cf. 2 Ep. Cor. 9, 10, ὁ ἐπιχορηγῶν σπέρμα τῷ σπείροντι.

μισθοδότης, 'paymaster'. Probably Demetrius, who was hard pressed by the border tribes on the North, could best operate in the South by bribing tyrants to become his agents.

μεγάλας δωρεάς. 50 talents were offered to Aristarchus (Plutarch, *Arat.* 35), 150 even to Diogenes the Macedonian officer on condition of withdrawal from the forts of Athens.

προτείνοντος. The change in the construction is a bold one from the acc. with ἐπικεῖσθαι to the gen. abs.

4. **πισθέντες.** We have again, as in 2, 39, 5, the participle attracted from its proper case and clause to the nom. to ὥρμησαν.

5. **Λυδιάδας.** Plutarch (*Arat.* 30) draws a fine picture of

the ambitious hopes of his youth, misguided by flattering pictures of a tyrant's power, and his later disgust at the burdensome reality when he was haunted by the sense of treachery and a people's hatred (cf. Pausan. 8, 27, 9). He soon became a rival of Aratus, and was thrice chosen general, but Polybius says little of him, for he follows chiefly the memoirs of Aratus and ignores the champion of a different policy.

προϊδόμενος τὸ μᾶλλον. Plutarch in his life of Aratus puts prominently forward the fact that L. was marked out as the next object of attack, and that this helped to determine his action, but Pausanias says *κατέκτασεν αὐτὸν ἐκὼν τυραννίδος καί περ ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἤδη οἱ τῆς ἀρχῆς καθωρμισμένης*.

ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης. The city known to the Greeks as ἡ μεγάλη πόλις was formed out of the population of neighbouring cantons in the valley of the Alpheus. Unlike most Greek cities, whose *συνοικισμός* took place in an early age, it was founded after the battle of Leuctra under pressure of Epaminondas to keep Sparta in check. Its circuit of walls was 50 stades in length, but its population was inadequate to fill it. It was unsuccessfully besieged by Agis in 330 B.C. and by Polysperchon in 318, but it never recovered the ruinous capture by Cleomenes, and its desolation was a by-word in the time of Strabo, *τὸ τοῦ κωμικοῦ πέπονθε καὶ ἐρημία μεγάλη 'στὴν ἡ Μεγάλη πόλις* (8, 8, 1).

ἐν ζῶντος. These words naturally imply that his abdication was shortly before the death of Demetrius (229 B.C.), but it cannot have been later than the end of 235, for he was chosen General of the league in 233 and again in 231 and 229.

ἑθνικῆς συμπολιτείας, 'the national federation'. The Arcadians were not regarded as of the same race as the Achaeans, but as of a still more primitive family of tribes: but the league now assumes a 'national' character in the eyes of the historian.

6. Ἀριστόμαχος had stepped into the place of Aristippus at Argos with the help of Macedonian troops. Aratus had begun to negotiate with him, but when Lydiades stepped in as

Σπαρτηγός to make the formal offer, he carried the rejection of the policy in the federal assembly, though he concluded the arrangement next year (Plutarch, *Arat.* 35). Aristomachus became general of the league soon after, and this, like the first election of Lydiades, may have been part of a secret understanding with Aratus, who is represented by Plutarch (*Arat.* 35) as urging Aristomachus to resign his perilous position as tyrant and aspire rather like Lydiades to the highest post of honour in the federal state.

τῶν Ἀργείων. Argos had been long oppressed by tyrants of the same family, for an Aristippus and Aristomachus succeeded each other for four generations.

τῶν Ἑρμιονέων. Hermione was an ancient settlement of the Dryopes on the S.E. coast of Argolis, the foremost probably in the old naval league of Calauria, and holding its own longer than the sister towns in its neighbourhood. But it fell before Argos soon after the Persian war, became Dorian, and was an ally of Sparta in the Peloponnesian war. The early navy of Greece was trained in its waters, and so in later days the Hydriote sailors have made the region famous.

τῶν Φλιασίων. Phlius commanded the upper valley of the Asopus, as Sicyon held the lower. Its site was well watered in a region famous for its vines. The town had 5000 citizens in the days of Xenophon, was noted for its cavalry and loyal to Sparta though surrounded with hostile cities (*Xen. Hell.* 7, 3, 1).

τοῦ πρὸς Δημήτριον: probably 235-233 B.C. Aratus in concert with the Aetolians advanced into Thessaly but was totally defeated by the Macedonian general and hastily retreated. The Aetolians had heavy losses in the war, for the Boeotians deserted their league, Phocians and Locrians rose against them, and Demetrius invaded their land and destroyed Pleuron. He seems to have also regained influence in the Peloponnese, gaining perhaps Mantinea and securing dependents in other towns. We have no details as to the further action of the Achaean league and their title to the gratitude of the Aetolians.

3. *φόβους καὶ κινδύνους*. Thus the tyrants of Argos were

never left at peace. So he repeatedly attempted to free Athens, by unavowed assault on the Peiraeus conducted by his tool Erginus (240 B.C.), or by sudden force into Attica when men gave him up for lost elsewhere (239 B.C. Plut. Arat. 34): at other times by intrigue with the garrison, as at last with success in 229.

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ἑσωματοποίησαν, lit. 'consolidated', 'increased the strength', an ugly word little used except by P.

ἀντιπερισπᾶντος, lit. 'distracting them by counterplots'. Cf. ἡ Μάρθα περιεσπᾶτο, 'was cumbered', St Luke 10. 40. Such a combination of prepositions characterizes the late style of P.

46 πρόσφατους, properly used of 'fresh' meat 'lately killed' and afterwards generally in the sense of 'recent', as by Pindar πρόσφατος παρὰ ἐπέων, *Pyth.* 4. 53, and πρόσφατοι δίκαι in Aesch. *Choeph.* 800. In later prose, as in Aristotle, it is applied to many things. The metaphor of *Gorgias* (ap. Ar. *Rhet.* 3, 3, 4) χλωρὰ καὶ ἐναιμα (or ἀναιμα) τὰ πράγματα may be compared with it.

εὐεργεσίας. See note on 44, 1. We know nothing of these services, beyond the disastrous campaign in the North of Greece:

but if the Achaeans sent further help when the Aetolians were hard pressed by Demetrius they met with a poor return, for Mantinea seems to have been seduced from the Achaean interest shortly after (Pausan. 2, 5, 5), with perhaps Tegea and Orchomenus.

ἔσται... This use with the particip. ἀγανακτοῦντας is peculiar, but the natural construction is lost sight of in the trailing sentence of 18 lines.

2. Τέγεαν Μ. Ο. These three towns stood in the largest of the Arcadian valleys which stretches for 25 miles with a breadth varying from 1 to 8. Its lowest part, the Mantinike, was the scene of five important battles in old time. Mantinea's συνοικισμός took place under pressure from Argos as a barrier to Sparta, and she inclined commonly to democratic Athens and was often at war with oligarchic and Spartan Tegea; but she was fickle, and though broken up by Sparta and restored by Thebes she deserted Epaminondas before his great battle of 362. Afterwards like her neighbours she commonly sided with Sparta out of jealousy of Megalopolis. At this time she appears to have first joined the Achaean, then the Aetolian league, then to have invited Cleomenes and afterwards Aratus, and finally to have made common cause with Cleomenes in expelling an Achaean garrison. Cf. c. 57 and 58, and Plutarch, Cleom. 14.

Orchomenus at the North of the valley occupied a commanding position on a hill-top, which had been the seat of a royal dynasty which lasted far into Greek history. It was therefore coveted and attacked by Cassander, Cleomenes and Antigonos Doson.

συμπολιτευομένης. We have no clear account in any ancient writer of the formation and character of the Aetolian league. We can trace it in early times as a union of tribes or villages readily combining for aggression or defence, receiving Naupactus from Philip in 338 B.C., seizing soon after Oeniadae and parts of Acarnania (ἐς τὸ Αἰτωλικὸν συντελοῦντες, Pausan. 1, 25, 4), then forcing Heraclea and Boeotia to join them, attracting Elis and Messenia as confederates, and towns of Arcadia as closer members of the union, while even islands like Cephal-

lenia and Ceos are brought in. But the relations must have varied greatly. Only those who lived in or near Aetolia proper could have taken any part in the meetings of the Assembly or the Senate or have had any voice in the elections. Representative systems were still unknown, and the attraction to the distant members lay in the security from pillage or right to redress which was thus only to be gained. It needed even special compact to give the civil status to new comers in any Aetolian community (cf. *C. I. G.* 2350 ap. Droysen, 3, 1, 448). In the case of some we hear of tribute imposed by force and of Aetolian officers quartered in their midst. Others again like Elis acted in concert from old ties of race, or as allies only like Messenia, though they might sink easily into the position of dependents.

βεβαιούντας αὐτῷ τ. κ., 'sanctioning his occupation'.

3. κατὰ τῶν μηδὲν ἀδικούντων. This may possibly be a special allusion to the destructive foray of the Aetolians in Laconia a few years before (Plutarch, Cleom. 18).

ἐκουσίως παρασπονδουμένους κ.τ.λ., 'cheerfully submitting to a violation of their treaty and the loss of very important towns on the condition merely of seeing' &c. The Aetolians probably recognized the difficulty of holding towns in the heart of the Peloponnese, and preferred to weaken their formidable rival the Achaean league.

ἐφ' ᾧ. The natural construction would be ἐπὶ τῷ...ιδεῖν, 'on condition of seeing'. Cf. ἐπὶ τοῖσδε φίλιαν εἶναι 'Ρωμαίοις, 3, 22, 3. In time the relative took the place of the article or demonstr. as in οὐνεκα without any relative meaning, and the idiom is common in P. It is used with a future indie. as well as an infinitive. In inscriptions ἐφ' ᾧτε often = ὥστε.

4. οἱ προεστῶτες. Here as in 4, 9, 3, used for the ten δημιουργοί, also called ἀρχοντες and probably οἱ τῆς γεροντίας, who formed a sort of Cabinet Council for the President, and whose number points to that of the surviving members of the old Achaean league, though citizens of the newly enrolled towns were certainly elected on the Board (cf. Freeman, *Fed. Gov.* 283). They presided in the Assembly, putting questions to the vote, and were the advisers of the General in all important

business, acting in concert with him in calling extraordinary meetings of the Assembly.

ἐνώτασθαι, 'resist', as in Thuc. *ἦν τις ἐνιστῆται τοῖς πολεμοῖς*, 8, 69, 2. So in Plutarch with both dat. and *πρός*.

5. *ἐπὶ τούτων ἦσαν τῶν διαλήψεων*, 'they adhered to this decision', like *ἐμενε βεβαίως ἐπὶ τῆς διαλ.* 3, 89, 2. The word *διάληψις* is in this sense of late use only, though often in P. The verb *διαλαμβάνειν* had been already taken by Plato and others for 'distinguishing' in thought.

Ἀθήραιον. A border fortress on the Arcadian and Spartan frontiers, on the watershed where the Alpheus and Eurotas both take their rise. It was of importance as commanding the approach to Sparta on the N.W., and so it was seized by Lysurgus at the outset of the Social War. It appears to have been long a matter of dispute between Arcadia and Sparta, but Livy says that in the time of Philip, son of Amyntas, Achaean arbitrators assigned it to Megalopolis (38, 34).

ἐν τῇ τῶν Μεγαλοπ. χ. P. as an Arcadian has no doubt as to right: Plutarch says *ἐμβολή τῆς Λακωνικῆς τὸ χωρίον ἐστὶ, καὶ τότε πρὸς τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας ἦν ἐπιδίκον* (Cleom. 4).

6. **συναθροίσαντες**. An extraordinary meeting which had to be convened by the General and Ministers.

βουλῆς. A body of 120 councillors which acted as a Committee of the Assembly, giving audience to ambassadors, and discussing and shaping propositions to be submitted to the larger body. It probably had also some kind of coordinate power, but we have no details on this point, or as to the mode of election.

φανερῶς. By declaration of war rather than underhand plots of Aratus, who had meantime tried to surprise Tegea and Orehomenus with the help of partisans within, and had seized Caphyae close by.

ἐπέχθειαν, in the sense of *πόλεμον*, which would be more regular with *ἀναλ.*

7. **τοιαύτην ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν**. The struggle was probably inevitable. On the one hand Aratus aspired to extend the league over the whole Peloponnese, and all accessions tended still further to isolate Sparta, cramped for room already by the

rise of Megalopolis and Messene. Cleomenes, full of the memories of the past, hoped to regain by war the old supremacy of his country, and to strengthen his hold upon the army to get leverage for the revolution which he planned at home. In the camp a Spartan King escaped from the jealous suspicions of the Ephors, and he could appeal to the old pride of Dorian race against the Achaeans, and to centuries of feuds against the Arcadians and Argives.

τῆς ἰδίας δυνάμεως. The Achaean league now included Argolis, nearly all Arcadia, as well as the old Achaean cities. Elis and Messene stood aloof. A small standing army was kept up to provide for a few garrisons such as we hear of in the Acrocorinthus and Mantinea. Much use was made of mercenaries, but commonly the several cities were required to furnish contingents.

- 47 ἀντοφθαλμῆν, 'defy', a word peculiar to P. and late Greek, as ἀντοφθ. τῷ ἀνέμῳ Acts App. 27. 15. The κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ ἀντέστην of St Paul (Gal. 2. 11) is an expansion of it. Cf. also 2 Kings 14. 8. It was a sorry defiance, for Aristomachus the General moved towards the Laconian frontier with more than 20,000 men, but retired before 5000 under Cleomenes, at the urgent desire of Aratus, who though bitterly attacked by Lydiadas was re-elected General next year.

2. Πτολεμαῖον. The rulers of Egypt watched with natural jealousy the progress of the Macedonian monarchy which had startled the world with its claims of wide-spread dominion and which was still a dangerous rival. The extensive trade of Egypt also required protection in the Aegean sea and on the coasts. We find her therefore constantly engaged in fostering an anti-Macedonian policy in Greece: now encouraging a general rising as in 280 and 266 B.C.: now sending help to Athens when she tried to reassert her freedom: watching over the rise of the Achaean league and supplying needful funds: and taking action as the ally of Sparta when she stood forth as the champion of Hellenic freedom. The liberality of Egypt was therefore purely selfish, and when Ptolemy accepted the honorary title of Commander in chief of the League he was trying to crush freedom in the cities of Ionia.

εὐεργεσίας. Such as the gift of 150 talents to Sicyon (Plutarch, Ar. 13), and the pension of 6 talents yearly to Aratus himself (Pl. Ar. 41).

3. **ἐπὶ ποσὺν**, 'for some time', a favourite phrase of P. who has **ἐπὶ τι** in the same sense, and in like construction **ἐπὶ βραχύ**, **ἐπὶ πολὺ**, **ἐπὶ πάν**.

καταλύσαντος. Cleomenes himself was intent rather on restoring the ancient constitution of the good old times. The pretensions of a narrow oligarchy, the jealous egotism of the Ephors, the profligate luxury of the wealthy, these seemed to him the later growth of evils which degraded the ideal of his dreams. He would free the kingly power from its trammels, because it could best express the Sovereignty of the State: he would have landed property divided, for so could he restore the primitive equality with its stern discipline of barrack life.

ἐς τυραννίδα. This was not really the case till the time of Machanidas and Nabis, but Cleomenes had turned a constitutional into an absolute monarchy. Sparta had once the name of the champion of Greek freedom against tyranny, but after the close of the Peloponnesian war she allowed her harmosts and the local oligarchs to act almost as tyrants: she helped Lycophron tyrant of Pherae, and regarded Dionysius of Syracuse as an ally. Polybius as a native of Megalapolis had no love for Sparta, and as an admirer of Aratus disliked his great rival and was ready to believe the gross calumnies which were circulated against him. Thus he credited the vile story that he enticed back and murdered Archidamus the brother of king Agis. (P. 5, 37, 5.)

4. **πρακτικῶς καὶ παραβόλως**, 'with energy and audacity'.

ἀπόνοϊαν καὶ τόλμαν, 'reckless daring.' **ἀπόνοια** is used by P. with or without **τόλμα** to express desperate or reckless valour, as of the rebel mercenaries of Carthage (1, 82, 1), or of the Celts (2, 35, 2). P. often refers to the **Αἰτωλικὴ τόλμα** or **δρμή** (cf. 4, 3, 5 and 5, 81, 1). So the victory of Cynoscephalae was largely due to their cavalry, **πάνυ γὰρ ἐκθύμως καὶ παραβόλως ἐκινδύνεον** (18, 5, 4). He speaks also of the **ἀπόνοια Φωκικὴ** (16, 32, 1) and **εὐψυχία Ἀκαρνανικὴ** (9, 40, 4) as tribal characteristics.

πρὸ πολλοῦ, 'long before': a phrase only found in late authors. Thucydides has ἐκ πολλοῦ in the same sense (1, 58, 1).

5. πράξιν, 'practical ability': an extension of the usual meaning which is nearly confined to this and other passages of P. It may be illustrated by the further sense of 'intrigue' in which he uses it.

πίστεως ἀντιποιούμενον, 'priding himself on his good faith'.

φύσα μὲν οὐδένα, i.e. not determined by natural prejudices or border rivalries so much as by the shifting currents of state policy.

λαλεῖν. Cf. note on 4, 22, 8.

7. ἤμλλα. In the case of the three verbs μέλλω, δύναμαι, βούλομαι, which at times strengthened the syllabic by the temporal augment, the η appears first in an inscription of 284 B.C. (Meisterhans, *Gramm. d. Alt. Inscr.* p. 78); later came ἤφερε and probably other words of vulgar use. So modern Greek has ἤγραφε, ἤλεγε. Cf. Mullach, *Gr. Vulgärspr.* p. 248.

8. διατρέψαν, 'alarm', literally 'upset', commonly used in this sense only in the passive, and by later writers.

ἀπεγνώκенаι, 'despaired of', as in Arist. Eth. 3, 6, οἱ μὲν ἀπεγνώκασιν τὴν σωτηρίαν, lit. 'dismissing from the thoughts'. Plutarch often has the verb, and either with a gen. or infin. or absolutely. The subst. ἀπόγνοια is thus used by Thucydides 3, 85, 2.

10. τὴν ἐναντίαν ἔμφασιν κ.τ.λ., 'to cloak this policy by giving an impression of entirely different sentiments'. ἔμφασιν is here used in its natural sense of 'outer show', 'appearance', as in Aristotle of a reflection in the water. The 'emphasis' of rhetoric is a much later meaning.

οἰκονομίαν, 'arrangement'. The proper meaning of the word is quite lost sight of as often in P. So St Paul ἠκούσατε τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ, Eph. 3, 2.

οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι. Yet he speaks of these memoirs above as *Μαν δληθινούς* (40, 4). But he acted in the same spirit at times, whether following the memoirs of Aratus or not. Thus he persistently ignores the merits of Lydiadas and the disgraceful conduct of this war by Aratus, and the

overtures of Cleomenes, which failed because of the jealousy of his rival.

- 48 **κακοπαθοῦντας**. They had lost Athenaeon, Methydrion, and Leuctra : the gallant Lydiadas and his personal followers had fallen in the battle of Ladocea close to their walls ; and their territory lay in the line of the march of Cleomenes, and as such was often laid waste. P. in this and the following chapters anticipates the course of the events which he briefly refers to in the 51st chapter.

δυοχρηστείσθαι, 'embarrassed'. Plutarch gives much stronger expression to the distress and anger of the Achaeans against the wretched mismanagement of Aratus.

2. **οικείως**. Megalopolis had shown this by standing a siege in the Macedonian interest, once in 330 B.C. against Agis, and again in 318 when attacked by Polysperchon.

κατὰ τὸν Ἀμύντου Φ. The prep. here takes the place of the simple gen. So **ἐκ** and **περί** just above.

εὐεργεσιῶν. It was the policy of Philip to take the place of Thebes as champion of the anti-Spartan powers in the Peloponnese, and so he sent money and soldiers to the help of Messene and Arcadia.

4. **κοινολογηθείς**. P. as himself a native of Megalopolis was likely to know well and be interested in the negotiations with Antigonos which were conducted by citizens of his own town. He describes them at length while he summarizes the military events and ignores completely the overtures of Cleomenes.

δι' ἀπορρήτων. A phrase repeatedly used by P. for 'secretly', on the analogy of adverbial phrases like **διὰ κενῆς**, **διὰ βραχέων**, **δι' ἀπάτης**.

Κερκιδᾶ, probably of the same family as his namesake who, as one of the leading men of Megalopolis, had close relations with Philip in the time of Demosthenes (De Cor. 324).

5. **διὰ τούτων**. Aratus characteristically transferred to others the odium of the first overtures to Antigonos, just as in the same year he meanly shirked responsibility by getting Timoxenus elected General instead of himself.

ὁρμήν παρέστηκεν τ. M. εἰς τὸ... 'induced the M. to'. P. repeatedly uses this verb both act. and pass. with ὁρμή.

εἰς τὸ πρεσβεύειν, an awkward pleonasm for τοῦ πρ. Embassies were sent only by and to sovereign states, and we should expect another term than this for the deputations sent by a member of the league to the Central Government. This is however a question of names, but it was contrary to principle for Megalopolis as a member of the league to despatch an embassy to Macedonia, and the consent of the Federal Government was needful. Such a practice was specially forbidden in the first treaty between Rome and the Achaean State (Pausan. 7, 9, 4), though the rule was often broken at the last.

6. πρεσβευτάς. Earlier writers have commonly πρέσβεις, but Thucydides once uses πρεσβευτάς (8, 77).

συγκατάθηται, 'agree'. This derivative sense is illustrated by the use of the verb in Plato συγκατατίθεσθαι ἡμῖν περὶ τούτων τὴν αὐτὴν δόξαν (Gorgias 501 c), and in St Mark of Joseph who οὐκ ἦν συγκατατεθειμένος (sc. ψῆφον) τῇ βουλῇ. So also συγκατάθεσις in 2 Cor. 6. 16, and below 2, 58, 11.

τοὺς περὶ τὸν N. This was a very common Greek form to express the friends or adherents who grouped themselves round some prominent person, whether philosopher, statesman or soldier. The attention being drawn chiefly to the central figure, the phrase at last was made to refer solely to him, even when no followers or accessories were brought into view at all. This is the common usage in P.

7. συνεχώρησαν. The possible help of Antigonos to Megalopolis might seem no more open to objection on federal grounds than the pension which Aratus received from Ptolemy.

8. περὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν. We might expect ὑπέρ here as they were acting in the interest of their city, but an hiatus is thus avoided.

αὐτὰ τὰναγκαῖα, 'barely what was required'.

διὰ βραχέων καὶ κεφ. A useless pleonasm.

ὑποθέσεις, 'suggestions'. This latter meaning, instead of 'supposition' or 'subject', may be illustrated by ταῦτα ὑποτιθέμενος τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, 1 Ep. Tim. 4. 6. ἐντολάς καὶ ὑποθέσεις therefore are 'secret instructions' by hendiadys.

49 **κοινοπραγίαν**, 'concerted action,' a later word like many of the compounds of *κοινός*.

ποῖ τείνει adds little to **τί δύναται** 'what the significance and aim'.

τοῦτο μὲν...τοῦτο δέ. Somewhat formal like 'firstly' and 'secondly'.

2. **ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποκειμένων** is found with **μένειν** some 24 times in P., and is like other familiar phrases, **ἐπὶ τῆς αἰρέσεως** or **προθέσεως μένειν**, **ἐπὶ γνώμης γίνεσθαι**. Cf. Krebs, *Praep.* p. 83.

3. **Πελ. ὄροις**. As the Aetolians had long carried on their forays in Northern Greece, it was not likely that they would confine their action to the Peloponnese.

φιλοδοξίαν. As **φιλοτιμία** has passed from its proper sense of 'ambition' to the more general one of 'eagerness' or zeal, it is replaced in the old sense by **φιλοδοξία** in P.

4. **αὐτῆς**, here, as often in P., equivalent to **μόνης**.

κατὰ πόδας, 'immediately after', i.e. following close on the heels of, as **παρὰ πόδας** means 'just before the feet'. So we have also in the same writer **ἐκ ποδὸς ἔπεσθαι** for close pursuit, and **ἐπὶ πόδα ἀναχωρεῖν** for gradual retreat.

ἡγεμονίας. This was a natural aim for an ambitious enthusiast like Cleomenes whose thoughts turned fondly to the past, and in fact this was the proposal which he made to the league that Sparta should be the capital and himself the leader of a united Greece, somewhat as the kings of Sparta had led the Peloponnesian confederacy of early days.

5. **μὴ οὐ πρόσθεν κατ.**, 'save by first destroying': the **μὴ οὐ** has here the force of a simple negative introducing a conditional participial clause depending on a negative sentence. Cf. Campbell's *Plat. Theaet.* App. B.

6. **Βοιωτῶν**. The Boeotians, whom P. always speaks of thus collectively, had a federal system analogous to that of Achaia and Aetolia, for Thebes restored from her ruins by Cassander had no power to dominate as of old. But the league played a most inglorious part, submitting after a single defeat in 245 B.C. to dependence on Aetolia, and passing afterwards in 239 to complete subserviency to Macedonia (P.

20, 5). P. describes them as lazy gluttons in terms which remind us of the 'Boeotian swine' of Pindar.

διακινδυνεύαν. A less direct word for 'fight it out' than would have been used in earlier writers, but it has lost its distinctive sense in P.

εὐνοίαν for εὐεργεσίαν: the result rather than the sentiment.

7. καθάπερ καὶ νῦν. Almost an admission that the Aetolians had not acted in any way in concert with Cleomenes, as Aratus appears to have insisted in his memoirs. The only thing which seems to point to any Aetolian action is the movement in Elis which may have been due to their influence.

ὑποκρίνωνται, 'pretend'. From the earlier meaning of 'answer' came that of the question and answer of Attic dialogue, and so the 'play a part' in the drama, and hence the 'pretend' or act as an hypocrite of St Luke 20. 20, and the common use of the substantive in the N. T.

8. ἀντιπύπτῃ τῇ τῆς τύχης, 'the fortune of war should go against them', the metaphor being taken from the dice.

ἵνα μὴ πρόηται. P. commonly has the subj. with ἵνα after a past tense, where earlier writers preferred the opt.

ῥαθυμεῖν δεῖν, 'should make his mind easy', 'need not trouble himself', as several times in P.

τῆς χρείας ἐπιτελουμένης, 'when the time for action is fully come'.

πίστεις, unusually placed at the end of the sentence.

50 δόξας, 'as he thought', less usual than in the impersonal sense, especially in the aorist partic. τὸ δόξαν is commonly 'the resolve' or 'decree'.

2. βουλομένοις ᾗ, 'meet the wishes'. The familiar Greek idiom was imitated by Sallust, 'plebi militia volenti putabatur' (Jug. 84, 3), and Tacitus, 'quibus volentibus erat' (Agric. 18, 3).

3. παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως. A case of the extended use of παρὰ in later Greek, when it takes with its case the place of the simple genitive without any real strengthening of the meaning.

4. σύνοδον. The federal assembly held in the spring and autumn at Aegium was also called ἐκκλησία, ἀγορά, πλῆθος. Any citizen of every city in the league, if 30 years of age,

could speak and vote in it, but they were not paid as at Athens, and the session lasted 3 days only.

5. αἰρεσιν, 'sentiments'.

εἰς τέλος, 'completely', a favourite phrase of P., found also in Hesiod and in Attic tragedy.

6. φέρειν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντ. τὰ πράγματα, 'refer to Ant. the conduct of their affairs', 'allow A. to control their fortunes'.

7. ἐπάνω, equivalent to ἄνω. The tendency to combine a preposition with an adverb in compounds becomes more marked in the later language as in forms like καταντικρύ, σύνεγγυς, ἀντιπέρασ, ὑποκάτω, ἀπέναντι, πρόσθεν.

οὐ μόνον qualifying δι' αὐτοῦ is awkwardly separated from it by ἡβούλετο.

8. ἀλλοιότερόν τι βουλ., 'harbour unfriendly designs against'. Cf. *Ὥνα μή τι ἄλλοιον περὶ σευ οἱ Σπαρτιῶται βουλευσονται*, Hdt. 5, 40, 1.

δόξαντος. We might expect δόξας...πάσχειν agreeing with ἀναλάβη and Aratus, but the construction is broken by a gen. abs. agreeing with Ἀντιγόγου.

10. διόπερ. The enclitic περ is added to avoid hiatus as in ἤπερ and ἐπειδήπερ below.

ἅμα τῷ, an awkward phrase for 'when'.

βουλευτήριον is at times used for the meeting-place of the assembly, which was sometimes a theatre, but the πλῆθος a few lines below seems to imply a contrast between Assembly and Senate. Cf. Freeman, *Fed. Gov.* 468.

εἶναι...ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὁρμῆς, 'were equally desirous': the phrase is a bold one, but follows the analogy of μένειν ἐπὶ γνώμης. Cf. ἦσαν ἐπὶ διαλήψεως, 2, 46, 5.

προσελθών, 'coming forward'. Naber proposes to read προελθών as better Greek: but we find προσέρχ. and προσπορεύεσθαι even in several places in P. in this sense, as also προσελθών εἰς τὸ μέσον.

11. ἀποδεξάμενος, 'after applauding'. Cf. "The Lord alloweth the righteous", Psalm 11. 6.

διὰ πλειόνων, 'at some length'.

12. ἐξέλεξαντας πάσας...ἐλπιδας, 'proved that all their hopes of safety in themselves were vain'.

- 51 ἐπισημηναμένον, 'expressing approval', as generally in P., as the substantive occurs in Cicero 'mirandas ἐπισημασίας sine ulla pastoricia fistula' (Ep. Att. 1, 13). It is found also for disapproval as 2, 61, 1, and so in Epictetus of the notes of a bird of ill-omen. The active voice is rarely used.

ἐπαλείφειν, 'incite', by a bold metaphor taken from the language of the 'ring', where friends or 'backers' anointed their champions for the contest. So Plutarch has ἄτερος πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον ὑπαλείφεται (Pomp. 53). Cf. Ignatius, Ep. Eph. 3, 1.

3. τὸ Δύκαιον. This holy mountain of the earliest Arcadian peoples, on which stood a famous temple of Zeus, overlooked the lofty region which formed the watershed from which the great rivers of the Peloponnese took their rise.

κατὰ πορείαν. The Achaeans while returning from a march against Elis were attacked and routed. Aratus fled, but gathered a handful of fugitives together and with them surprised Mantinea, which he re-annexed to the league 226 B.C.

ἐκ παρατάξεως, 'in a general engagement', used elsewhere with συμβάλλειν, διακινδυνεύειν, for 'a pitched battle'. Cleomenes had taken Leuctra and was threatening Megalopolis. Aratus could not but march to its relief, though he shrank from battle when the moment came. A successful skirmish of the light troops had thrown the enemy into confusion, but Aratus feared to advance with the phalanx, letting the gallant Lydiadas perish in an ineffectual charge of his horse. Then the rout became general and the day was lost. The Spartan king sent the corpse of Lydiadas decked with royal crown and purple to the gates of Megalopolis, where men said that Aratus had stood by quietly to see him die. Polybius has no word to say of his hero's want of nerve, or of the general outcry against him, or of the strange vote which was passed by the Assembly that they would have no more of the war, but that he might carry it on if he pleased at his own cost and risk.

ἐν τῇ Δυμαίᾳ. Cleomenes had left Sparta after his coup d'état for Mantinea, which again revolted from the league. He then marched straight into Achaia, drew out the federal

army by his ravages and forced them to fight under Hyperbatus, who was a tool of Aratus, Plut. Cleom. 14.

4. οὐκέτι διδόντων ἀναστροφὴν, 'admitting of no further delay'. This peculiar sense of ἀναστροφή occurs often in P. besides that of 'behaviour', or 'conversation'. In the former sense Attic writers use διατριβή.

ἡνάγκαζε. P. does not even refer to the possibility of coming to terms with Cleomenes, and passes completely over the general desire to submit to him and the crafty policy by which Aratus baffled his hopes.

ὁμοθυμαδόν. The ministers may have agreed to look with the eyes of Aratus, but Plutarch represents quite otherwise the state of the public mind. After the crowning disaster the Achaeans sent to Cleomenes to treat for peace, and he offered it on condition of his primacy being recognized. The terms were favourably received, but the decision was adjourned to a special meeting to be held near Argos at which he was to appear. Sudden illness prevented him, and meantime Aratus, though no longer in office, contrived by cunning intrigues to have such offence given to the Spartan king that he broke off diplomatic relations and declared war again (Plut. Cleom. 15).

5. πρεσβευτήν. Aratus, who was out of office, sent his son as his own private representative to treat with the king, probably during the course of his negotiations with Cleomenes.

6. χωρὶς τοῦ. This use of χωρὶς with art. and inf. is like that of ἀνευ and πλην. The later language employed δίχα, ἔξω, and πόρρω even, in the like construction, as the adverbs took more and more the place of the earlier prepositions. Cf. Krebs, *Präpositionsadv.* 1, 56.

ὁρμητήριον, 'base of operations', as αἰσθητήριον is the organ for sensations. It is coupled with πολεμητήριον in 4, 71, 1, and expanded into ὁρμ. εὐφυνὲς κατὰ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων χώρας.

7. ὑπέρθεσιν, 'postponement', a sense apparently peculiar to P. The word is of late use only.

χάριν τῆς...ἐπισκέψεως, 'in order to provide the requisite guarantees'.

52 ὅς μὲν πείθων. Plutarch describes more fully the general excitement and the currents of public opinion. The rumours

of the revolution at Sparta with its division of land and cancelling of debts were arousing enthusiasm for Cleomenes among the lower social strata. Men of rank and influence were wearied of Aratus, who eclipsed them and thwarted their personal ambition at home, while he failed to secure them peace and honour: patriots of every class were disgusted at the overtures to Macedonia which were now divulged. The reasons which had justified the extension of the league ceased to exist when a foreign protector was called upon the scene.

2. **Καφύας**, a town in the heart of Arcadia to the North-west of Orchomenus which was overshadowed by its more powerful neighbour on one side and by Olitor on another, and never attained to much importance.

Φερεόν. The Pheneus famous in legend was little known to history, for it lay out of sight under the shadow of Cyllene in Northern Arcadia, and its little valley, like that of neighbouring Stymphalus, was hemmed in by lofty mountains whose waters found no exit save by subterranean channels. When these from time to time were choked the whole valley became a lake, and the town itself was threatened by the waters.

Κλεωνάς. An old stronghold of the Pelopid dynasty on the road between Argos and Corinth. Its fortified height which commanded a well-watered valley recalled to the memory of Strabo the *ἐκτριμέναι Κλεωνάι* of Homer (Il. 2, 570), and Statius speaks of it as 'ingenti turritae mole'. It fell like its neighbours under Dorian influence and sunk gradually into dependence upon Argos (Curtius, *Pel.* 2, 588).

Ἐπίδαυρον. In the neighbourhood of Epidaurus was the famous shrine of Asclepius, which combined the uses of the modern hospital and watering place with the associations of a great religious centre. Carians and Ionians had occupied in early days the narrow strip of lowland on the Argolic coast backed up by its fence of mountains and sheltered by islands on the seaboard: then came the Dorians who overflowed into Aegina and islands further East. Its fidelity to Sparta exposed it to danger alike from Argos and Athens, but it maintained its independence, though it dwindled in means and men.

Τροίζηνα. T. held the Eastern promontory of the Peloponnese. Its acropolis overlooking the islands of the Saronic gulf commanded one of the fairest landscapes in Greece. Its legendary sympathies with Athens were long kept up by a lively commercial intercourse, but fear of Argos led to close alliance with Sparta, which estranged it from its Ionian connexions.

τελευταίον. Little was now left therefore save the petty cities of the old league in Achaia, and Sicyon and Megalopolis, which were still true.

Σικωνίων. He besieged this, perhaps as a menace to Aratus. Three months he waited there, and so long did Aratus hesitate whether to bring the Macedonians into Greece or not. (Plut. Ar. 41.)

τοὺς δ' Ἀχαιοὺς. Or rather Aratus and his tools among the ministers, for the people had little to do with the whole scheme.

3. **στρατηγούντι.** Timoxenus seems to have been the regular General of the year, but Aratus held an extraordinary commission (*ἐξουσίαν ἀννπεύθυνον*, Plut. Ar. 40), by virtue of which he even put some to death at Sicyon as traitors, and tried, but in vain, to coerce Corinth. He needed soon to have a guard voted for his personal defence.

προβλήματος, 'difficulty', by an easy extension of meaning from the hard problem of geometry, or 'quaestio' of Logic. The use in Euripides, El. 985, for 'task' is an approximation to this. The verb *ἀπέλυσε* keeps up the metaphor, as in 30, 17, 5, *λύσιν τοῦ προβλήματος εὕροντο*.

πρόφασις εὐλογος. It is curious to note how calmly P. here describes the conduct of affairs: he is blinded in part by his partiality for the chief agent: in part perhaps by his memory of the part which Sparta played under Nabis and against the interests of Greece. Plutarch has a page of eloquent protest against the man who undid his whole life's work and wrecked the liberties of Hellas, and he puts vividly before us the hesitation of Aratus before he took the final step.

4. **κατεχόντων.** The federal garrison still held out there though besieged by Cleomenes whom the Corinthians had sent

for. The Spartan king meantime made splendid offers to Aratus who, proof against any personal gain save that of power, in his turn appealed for help even to the Aetolians and to Athens (Plut. Ar. 41).

ἄνυσεν μὲν...οἰκίαν, 'swept away all thought of the offence which he had given to the royal family'.

τὸ συνέχον, 'what was most important'; a favourite expression peculiar to P., for that which contains the whole or chief points. He has the neut. plur. of the part. in the same sense.

τὸν κατὰ Δ. πόλεμον. In earlier Greek πόλεμος commonly takes πρὸς or ἐπὶ or the simple dat. of the object; but in P. κατὰ tends to displace other prepositions, and it is usual with πολ.

5. συντιθεμένους τὰ πρὸς, 'concerting measures with'.

διαλαβὼν χάρακι. The same expression is used by Diodorus Siculus when describing the defence of the Isthmus in 368 against the Boeotians, σταυρώμασιν καὶ βαθείαις τάφροις διελάμβανον τὸν τόπον (15, 68). Herodotus gives a like account of the attempt of the Peloponnesians to fortify the Isthmus against the Persian invaders (8, 71). The distance is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and there are traces of fortifications of regular masonry running across the whole, but of unknown date and origin. The idea of cutting a canal through the Isthmus was also often entertained, as by Periander, Julius Caesar and Caligula, and the work was actually begun by Nero.

τῶν Ὀνείων. This was the rugged range of hills which formed the Southern boundary of the lowlands of the Corinthian Isthmus. It met the Acrocorinthus on the West and then ran Eastward till it projected into the Saronic gulf. For the name we may compare the Ὀνου ῥάχης of Thasos and 'the Hog's back' of our Surrey hills.

6. καταδοκῶν, 'anxiously expecting'. Cf. ἡ ἀποκαταδοκία τῆς κτίσεως of St Paul, Ep. Rom. 8. 19.

7. ἐκ τῶν προσπιπτόντων might be 'from what occurred', as certainly in 17, 3, 10: like τὰς προσπ. τύχας in Thuc. 1, 84, 5: but it is here 'from the rumours which reached him', as in 3, 15, 2. Cf. the use of προσπεσεῖν in 2, 53, 5.

δσον οὐπω παρῆναι, 'all but arrived': δσον οὐπω often thus used by P. like δσον οὐκ ἤδη. παρῆναι, as if it were a verb of motion, is frequently coupled with εἰς in P.

εἰς Θεσσαλίαν. Antigonus was himself waiting there to watch the course of events in Greece. The defensive attitude of Cleomenes at the Isthmus was taken by him as a defiance, and possibly a movement of the Aetolians in Thessaly in concert with the Spartans might be feared.

τὰς δυνάμεις, i.e. 20,000 foot and 1400 horse according to Plutarch (Arat. 43).

ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσθμόν. Aratus and the chief ministers had gone across to meet the king.

8. ἀπειπον. It is not easy to see why the Aetolians, ready as they were for the fray at other times, took no further part in this struggle, and did not even help Cleomenes in his hour of peril, since it was their interest to keep the Macedonian power out of Greece. They held the South of Thessaly and could therefore bar his way through the pass of Thermopylae.

53 οὐ μετρίως... τοῖς ὅλοις, 'severely crippled by their losses in the whole war'.

2. ἐπαναστήναι. According to Plutarch (Cl. 20) the lower orders were dissatisfied because Cleomenes had not proclaimed there as at Sparta the abolition of debts. After the revolution Aratus was elected General of Argos (Arat. 44).

κλεομενισταῖς. As only one like term is found in P., Ἀντιοχιστῆς in 21, 4, 2, which may be due to the abbreviator, Naber proposes to read τοῖς Κλεομέν[ους αἰρετ]ισταῖς. *Mnemos.* 6, p. 129.

3. τὸ ἐπιλαβόμενον, 'that which checked', as also in the active, though less commonly in P.

τ. εὐφυστέρους. As in the Rhet. ad Alex. 39, 19, εὐφύτα τόπων is used for natural advantages of position, so in Arist. de Sophist. El. εὐφύεστατος is applied to a rhetorical topic. The command of the Isthmus was a formidable barrier in the way of Antigonus, and he was thinking of shipping his forces and landing near Sicyon as he could not force the lines of Cleomenes.

4. χορηγαῖς δαψιλεστέραις, 'more abundant supplies'. P. refers probably to the supplies of food required by the armies: the defections from the Achaean league had made Cleomenes stronger than any Peloponnesian power, but he was no match for Antigonus in military resources.

ἄμα τῷ προσπεσεῖν, 'as soon as he heard'. Cf. note on 2, 52, 7. He had made an ineffectual attempt to keep his hold on Argos, but the succour which he sent in haste arrived too late. Cf. Plutarch, Cleom. 21.

5. δέσας μή. The real cause for alarm perhaps was the danger that the defection of Argos would be followed by the occupation of the difficult passes on the Argive frontier through which his road to Sparta lay. Cf. Plutarch, Cleom. 21.

ἐκ μεταμελείας, 'after their change of sentiment', as ἐκ μεταβολῆς is often used by P. for a change of front, or plan of campaign.

6. ἀποπεσών. This disaster was immediately followed by the tidings of the death of his beloved wife, and soon after by the demand of Ptolemaeus that his mother should be sent to Egypt as an hostage. The acceptance of such a condition of help shows that he felt his situation to be very critical.

54 ἐκ ποδός, 'forthwith', like ἐκ χειρός in the same sense often used by P. and strengthened even as in εὐθέως ἐκ ποδός.

3. τὴν Αἰγῆτιν. This was a region which stretched over both slopes of Taygetus and included the sources of the great rivers which watered Arcadia, Messenia and Laconia. Several of its cantons were merged in the territory and population of Megalopolis.

Βελμινάτιν. B. on the frontiers of Laconia and Arcadia was in the well-watered valley of the upper Eurotas. Since the founding of Megalopolis it had been matter of constant dispute between the rival states. Cf. Curtius, *Pel.* 2. 258.

σύνοδον. Plutarch (Arat. 45) specifies the conditions of alliance here agreed upon. The Achaeans were to feed and pay the Macedonian troops, not to negotiate with any foreign ruler, and to submit to the king's garrisons in Corinth and Orchomenus. The list of the confederates is given in P. 4, 9, 4.

4. *χρηματίσας*, 'having consulted', lit. 'transacted business'. It has also in P. the later sense of 'bearing a title', as in the *χρηματίσαι χριστιανούς* of Acts App. 11. 26.

5. *παραχειμάζων*, 'in winter quarters', whence the *παραχειμασία* of P. and of Acts App. 27. 12. In § 14 *χειμασία* occurs, being before found only in Herodotus.

6. *διανύσας*, with *ὁδόν* or *κέλευθον* in the poets, but here abs. 'arriving'.

ἀπηντηκότων, 'met': the verb is more often used by P. absolutely in the sense of 'happen', 'turn out', as commonly in later Greek and even in Aristophanes, Lys. 420. P. also has the pass. frequently for the active in this sense.

7. *ὀρύγμασι*, 'mines'. The special sense of the word in later writers when siege operations had grown more scientific.

9. *κατεπείραξε καὶ συν...* 'tried to draw him out by engaging in some skirmishes'.

10. *ἀναζυγὴν ἡπείγετο*, 'marched away in haste', like the *ἀναζεύξας ἤλαυνε* of Thuc. 8. 108, 3. *ἀναζ.* is to 'harness again', and so is used with *στράτον*, *ναῦς*, or abs. like 'vasa colligere'.

11. *ἐξ ἐφόδου κατὰ κράτος εἶλε*, 'took by storm at the first assault'. The fortress of Orchomenus was naturally strong (cf. note on 2, 46, 2), but its walls were not properly manned, and the Macedonian improvements of military tactics had made their siege trains far more effective than of old.

12. *τὴν ἐφ' Ἑρ.*, sc. *ὁδὸν φέρουσιν*. The gen. is usual in P. with *ἐπὶ* after verbs of motion, but in 4. 77, 5 the like elliptical phrase occurs with the acc.

Ἑράϊας. H. stood near the junction of the Ladon and Alpheus in the extreme West of Arcadia. One of the earliest Greek Inscriptions which we have is a short treaty of alliance between the Eleans and Heraeans when the latter were at the head of a group of 9 cantons scattered round the two rivers. These were drawn into union at the instance of the Spartans, probably in the 4th century B.C., and laid waste by a national force as traitors to Arcadia (Xen. Hell. 6, 5, 22). Lying as it did on the high road to Olympia from the interior of Arcadia and in a fertile region it was a place of importance to the later Achæan league.

Τελεφούσης. T. was an old Arcadian town on a little plain beside the Ladon, in the midst of the tribes of the Azanes, and chiefly noted for its ancient worship of Asclepius and Demeter.

13. **τοῦ χειμῶνος.** Winter could hardly be drawing near as yet according to the dates of Polybius himself. Cf. note on 2, 55, 5.

14. **διαφῆκε.** The prep. *διά* here adds nothing to the meaning of the verb, but is inserted to avoid hiatus as often in *διαπορεῖν*, *διαπιστεῖν* and like verbs in P. The militia which formed the Macedonian phalanx were disbanded after the campaign to save the expense of pay during the winter. The mercenaries were kept under arms as they were a standing force.

χειμασίων, 'winter quarters', 'hiberna'. The word is used by Herodotus of the haunts of birds (2, 22, 6), but only reappears in the later language.

55 **τῶν μισθοφόρων.** These were the Celts and Agrianes of 2, 65, 2, as distinct from the native Macedonians of 54, 14.

2. **ῥαθύμως τηρουμένην.** The citizens had shown their self-confidence of late in independent forays on the Spartan borders, in which the young Philopoemen had proved his talents and audacity (Plut. Philop. 4).

μέγεθος καὶ ἐρημίας. Cf. note on 2, 44, 5. The *ἐρημία*, which afterwards became a byword, had been marked already, and was due to the disinclination of the country folks to migrate to the town which had been planned on too ambitious a scale.

τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἡλ., 'of military age'.

3. **τῶν ἐκ Μεσσηνίας.** As Messene was at this time in friendly relations with Megalopolis (Pausan. 8, 49, 3), it is not easy to understand the welcome given to these exiles. Possibly patriotic feeling disposed Polybius to ascribe the treachery to strangers rather than to natives of his own city.

5. **πρὶν μὴσὶ πρότερον.** Polyb. describes this attempt more fully in 9, 18, and ascribes its failure to the shortness of

the night in May (*περὶ τὴν Πλειαδὸς ἐπιτολὴν*), which Cleomenes had miscalculated. The city was taken therefore in July or August and long before winter.

Κωλαῖον. This was one part of the walls of Megalopolis. In book 9, 14, we read of *τὸ τεῖχος τὸ κατὰ τὸν φῶλεον καλούμενον*, and this appears to be the same.

7. **συνοικισθῆναι.** It was now probably resolved into its constituent elements, as the population of many districts had been drawn from their hamlets to it.

8. **παρὰ μόνοις.** Yet P. in his account of the earlier attempt to surprise the city speaks of the measures concerted between Cleomenes and *οἱ συμπράττοντες αὐτῷ* (9, 18, 1).

Στυμφαλίοις. Cf. account of the neighbouring Pheneus in note to 2, 52, 2.

μήτε αἰρετιστῆν. There was reason enough in the long-standing feud between the two cities to account for the action of Cleomenes. Megalopolis was founded as a token of Sparta's humiliation, and had often baffled her plans.

9. **Κλειτορίων.** Cl. on the upper course of the Ladon was the most important place in North Western Arcadia in a fertile valley among richly wooded hills. Its people were famous for their spirit of independence, and the extension of their influence over the neighbouring cantons was signalized by the colossal statue of Zeus which Pausanias saw in a later age at Olympia. The water of the place was famous for its help to temperance. *Clitorio quicumque sitim de fonte levarit | vina fugit, gaudetque meris abstemius undis* (Ovid ap. Curtius, *Pel.* 1, 381).

ὑποβολυμαῖον, 'spurious', found as early as Herodotus: the commoner Attic form was *ὑπόβλητος*.

τῶν ἐπηλύδων. The presence of mercenary troops in so many towns of Greece must have led to much intermixture of races, such as caused difficulties in Athenian life from the union of the *κληροῦχοι* with the native women of various colonies.

56 **ἀποδοχῆς.** From the general meaning of 'reception' this word is specialized in a favourable sense of 'welcome', 'credit'.

in P., as also in the language of the inscriptions, so ἀποδεξιόμενος, 2, 50, 11.

Φύλαρχος. The chief work of Ph. was one in 28 books, which dealt with the history from the campaign of Pyrrhus to the death of Cleomenes. He wrote, not as a man of the world of what he had done or seen, but as a literary student, and his style was highly rhetorical and elaborated. Though apparently an Athenian by birth or adoption he had excessive sympathy for Sparta or rather for Cleomenes.

ἀντιδοξῶν, 'making statements at variance with mine', as in 16, 14, 4: the word is only found in P. Xenophon has ἀντιδοκεῖν.

2. χρήσιμον.....μᾶλλον δ' ἀναγκαῖον. One of the recurring phrases of P. which become with him almost formulas.

κατακολουθεῖν. This is a confession of partiality which should be noted, as Aratus played such a questionable part in the events of this period.

4. συνεπιβάλλει, 'coincide', a very late word found only here in this sense.

6. τὴν ἀρχαιοτάτην. Arcadian traditions as given by Pausanias represented Lycosura as the oldest, πόλεων ὁπόσας ἐν ἡπείρῳ ἔδειξε γῇ καὶ ἐν νήσοις πρεσβυτάτῃ (8, 38, 1). Neighbouring villages were drawn together at an early time probably as a bulwark against Sparta (Strabo 8, 3, 2).

τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν. An inscription has been preserved which contains a decree of the Arcadian league in honour of Phylarchus, ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ τῶν Ἀρκαδίων καὶ τοῖς Μυρίοις Φύλαρχον Λυσικράτους Ἀθηναῖον πρόξενον καὶ εὐεργέτην εἶναι Ἀρκαδίων πάντων (Le Bas, 2, 340 a). This if it really refers to the historian, as Foucart believes, may partly account for the sympathy for Mantinea which was so strongly expressed by him, but the assumption is hazardous. Cf. Klatt, *Forschungen*, p. 93.

7. ἔλεον. The Aristotelian analysis of tragedy lays much stress on the appeal to this emotion, which is defined as λύπη τις ἐπὶ φαινομένῳ κακῷ φθαρτικῷ ἢ λυπηρῷ τοῦ ἀναξίου τυγχάνειν (Rhet. 2, 8, 2).

περιπλοκάς...μαστῶν ἐκβ., 'women clinging to each other with dishevelled hair and bared breasts'. We may note the abstract terms here used, such as in earlier times only the poetic style would have adopted.

ἀναμίξ. An unusual word for ἄμα and μετά, perhaps to characterize the rhetorical style of Phylarchus.

8. παρ' ὅλην τὴν ἱστορίαν. On the strength of this statement, combined with that of Plutarch, Droysen and others confidently refer rhetorical pictures in the histories of this period to their probable source in Phylarchus.

πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τιθέναι. This is a technical phrase in rhetoric for vivid imagery and style. Cf. ἀνάγκη τοὺς συνυπεργαζομένους σχήμασι καὶ φωναῖς καὶ ἐσθήσει καὶ ὅλως τῇ ὑποκρίσει ἐλεεινοτέρους εἶναι· ἐγγὺς γὰρ ποιοῦσι φαίνεσθαι τὸ κακὸν πρὸ ὀμμάτων ποιοῦντες (Rhet. 2, 8, 14).

10. καθάπερ οἱ τραγωδιογράφοι. Even Plutarch, who follows Phylarchus so closely in his life of Cleomenes, complains that he ἐνθουσιᾷ ὅταν ᾄηται τοῦ Κλεομένους (Arat. 38). As to his style the severe critic Dionysius includes him in the list of those who so neglected the graces of composition that no one could read them to the end.

ἰνδεχομένους λόγους, 'plausible narratives', i.e. descriptions of what might possibly have occurred, as distinguished from actual fact.

τὰ παρεπόμενα, 'the accessories', or 'accompanying conditions'. It is in a somewhat different sense that he says ὁ τῆς ἱστορίας τόπος ζητεῖ τὸν μετ' ἀποδείξεως (ἀπολογισμὸν) καὶ τῶν ἐκάστοις παρεπομένων συλλογισμῶν (10, 21, 8).

αὐτῶν μνημονεύειν πάντα κ.τ.λ., 'to record just as they were, however tame (μέτρια) they may chance to be'. The poetical word πάντα qualifies μνημ. by position, but in sense is thrown back on αὐτῶν.

11. ἱστορίας. This word in Herodotus means only 'research', or 'process of inquiry'. In Aristotle it is coupled with explanatory words αἱ τῶν περὶ τὰς πράξεις γραφόντων ἱστορίαι. At length it can stand, as here, by itself for an historical narrative, though elsewhere distinguished by P. as πραγματική being concerned with human action, and as ἀπο-

δεικτική because tracing the scientific relations of cause and effect.

12. ἐπειδήπερ. The enclitic περ is added here as often to avoid hiatus : so ἤπερ and ἐπείπερ.

διὰ τὴν ἀπάτην...ὠφέλειαν, 'with a view to beguile the fancy of the spectator', 'to benefit real students'. The grammarians say that ἀπάτη in later Greek was used in the sense of 'enjoyment', and so Josephus has μηδὲ πιθανοῖς τισι καὶ πρὸς ἀπάτην καὶ τέρψιν ἐπαγωγῶς τὴν ἱστορίαν διαλαμβάνοντες (Ant. Jud. 8, 2, 8).

13. χωρὶς τε τούτων. A connecting formula often used by P. and later historians.

τῶν περιπετειῶν. This Aristotelian term is defined as ἡ εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον τῶν πραττομένων μεταβολή (Poet. 11, 1). It is the sudden change of fortune which is the main theme of tragedy. Hence the neutral word got a bad sense, for which P. has the stronger phrase καταστροφὰς τῶν δραμάτων.

15. προστίμων, 'punishment', a late equivalent for ποινή or τιμωρία, like the ἐπίτιμα of Arist. Eth. 3, 5, 8.

προεδρέας τυγχάνει. "The tyrant-slayer had votes passed in his honour by free commonwealths; philosophers argued and rhetoricians declaimed in his praise; poets twined their choicest wreaths of song upon his brow; men sang his praises at their festal banquets, and in their brightest pictures of another world they speak of him as dwelling in the happy island among the heroes and demigods of old" (Freeman, *Fed. Gov.* p. 382).

16. τὸ τέλος κεῖται τῆς διαλήψεως, 'our final estimate depends'.

57 ἐγκαταλιπόντες, 'having forsaken': the verb is rarely used in Attic in this sense, though Thucydides has it (4, 44, 5), and Plato (Symp. 179A). St Paul uses it, διωκόμενοι ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι, 2 Cor. 4. 9.

γεγονότες ἐπὶ τ. π., 'after adopting this policy'. This use of γίνεσθαι with ἐπὶ and the gen. of an abstract subst. is frequent in P., so ἐπὶ γνώμης γ., ἐπὶ τῆς ὁργῆς μένειν.

2. τῆς Λακ. πολιτείας. The constitutional term is here loosely used, as it could only have been a form of alliance

in which the supremacy of Sparta was recognized, or as Plutarch puts it γενέσθαι συμμάχους Λακεδαιμονίων έχοντος ἐκείνου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν (Cleom. 17).

ἔτι τετάρτῳ, i.e. early in the summer of 226 B.C. Antigonus came late in the summer of 223.

3. τὴν ὀξύτητα, 'the violence'. Cf. ὁ ὄχλος ὀξύτητι καὶ πικρίᾳ διαφέρων, 6, 44, 9.

5. τὴν ἀσφάλειαν. Plutarch, while he lays little stress on this amnesty, mentions a change which P. ignores, viz. the extension of the franchise to a number of outsiders who would be likely to be loyal to the interests of their patrons (Cleom. 5, Arat. 36).

6. ἀνυπονοήτου, 'unexpected', more often in P. in an active sense.

8. εὐγνώμονες, 'more indulgent'. Cf. the definition of Aristotle, ἡ γνώμη καθ' ἣν εὐγνώμονας φαμέν, ἡ τοῦ ἐπικεικούς ἐστι κρίσις ὁρθή (Eth. 6, 11, 1).

ἀβλαβέστερον ἐπάλαισαν, 'suffered so little in their struggle with calamities' &c.

συμπτώμασι. Phrynichus blames the use of this word by Favorinus and adds πόθεν λαβὼν ἔθηκεν οὐκ οἶδα· χρὴ οὖν συντυχίαν λέγειν, ἢ λύσαντας οὕτω συνέπεσεν αὐτῷ τότε γενέσθαι. He notes however its occurrence in one passage of Demosthenes, to which he might have added one in Thucydides γιγνόμενον ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ συμπτώματι (4, 36, 3). It was of common use in the time of Aristotle for an 'accident' or 'coincidence', whence came the medical sense of 'symptom'. Cf. Lobeck, Phryn. p. 248.

58 τὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς στάσεις. This was the common result of such constitutional changes as the inclusion of many new voters and the adhesion to the Achaean league.

προσβεύσαντες. A deputation seems unnecessary when their own citizens could have proposed the measure in the federal assembly, but the appeal was thus more formal.

2. ὧν οἱ λαχόντες. This should be strictly οἱ λαχόντες as the participle includes the whole class referred to by the relative.

τοὺς βίους, 'their own affairs'.

4. παρασπόνδημα...δαινότερον, 'more monstrous treachery'.

εύμαρές, 'easy', in the earlier language chiefly found in poetic style.

5. καθόλου, not 'absolutely', or to be taken with ἀθετεῖν, but 'as to their general course of conduct', as distinct from the special treatment of the garrison.

8. αὐτόχειρας γενέσθαι καὶ τιμωροὺς, 'to slay with their own hands'.

9. τυχὸν ἴσως, pleonastic: in earlier style it might have been τάχ' ἂν ἴσως.

10. τοὺς πολέμου νόμους. There was little uniformity in this respect in the usages of Greek warfare. When the sentiment of Hellenic brotherhood was strong the practice of ransom was more common and a regular tariff generally accepted (Hdt. 5, 77; 6, 79; cf. Arist. Eth. 5, 7, 1), but in times of bitter strife prisoners were often massacred. Athens in the Peloponnesian war sold into slavery whole populations which had revolted from her empire, and the atrocities of later warfare form a sad contrast to the mildness of the penal code of Greece.

11. συγκατάθεσιν, 'approval'. Cf. note on 2, 48, 6.

12. διαρπαγῆναι τοὺς βίους. Aratus carried a proposal that the property of some whom he styled 'tyrants and traitors' should be presented as an offering to Antigonus.

τερατείας χάριν, 'for dramatic effect'. The χάριν of earlier poetic style has become equivalent to ἔνεκα. In idiomatic phrases it often follows its case, but it nearly always precedes the infin. with which it is often coupled. Cf. Krebs, *Präp. Adv.* 2, 25.

13. συνεπιστήσαι, with τὸν νοῦν or ἐαυτόν, 'bring his mind to bear upon', and then absolutely 'take note of' the case that lay ready to his hand.

οἱ αὐτοί. This is said to be the only case in P. of hiatus or elision with οἱ, if we except the doubtful reading of 4, 31, 2. After ἡ also and αἱ elision is avoided. Cf. Hultsch, *Philol.* 14, 294.

59 2. τὸ καθ' αὐτόν, equivalent to τὸ ἐαυτοῦ by a favourite use of the prep.

5. καίπερ. Though this word should in strict propriety be coupled with a participle expressed or implied, it is combined with a definite verb as early as Plato. Cf. Symp. 219 c.

παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ...ἐφ' οἷς ἔπαθεν, 'induce the readers to share more readily his indignation at his treatment'.

6. τὴν ἀσεβεστάτην ἔμφασιν. So Plato in his sketch of a tyrant's character says ἀνάγκη καὶ εἶναι καὶ εἶτι μᾶλλον γίνεσθαι αὐτῷ ἢ πρότερον διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν φθονερῶ, ἀπίστω, ἀδίκῳ, ἀφίλῳ, ἀνοσίῳ καὶ πάσης κακίας πανδοκεῖ τε καὶ τροφεῖ (Rep. 9, 580).

8. ἔσωθεν. As often in Greek, the writer conceives the direction of the action as proceeding from the object to the agent, not as with us from the point of view of the subject.

ταξάμενων, 'conspired with him', i.e. arranged to rise in his support, as implied in the συγκληθηῆναι of the text.

9. ἀφορμῇ καὶ προφάσει, 'occasion and pretext', a usual pleonasm with P. as above 52, 3.

ὀγδοήκοντα. This number frequently recurs in the accounts of the revolutions of Greece at this period: thus Cleomenes drove 80 from Sparta as did Philopoemen afterwards (Plut. Cleom. 10, Philop. 16, ap. Schorn. 71). Forty (Saranda) appears to be used thus vaguely in modern Greek.

στρεβλώσας. As there is no account of this incident in any writer in this connexion it is argued with some probability that P. here confuses Aristomachus with one of the preceding tyrants Aristippus, of whom a similar account is given by Plutarch (Arat. 25 and 27). It is hard to believe that the league would have accepted as its general a man who had been guilty of such atrocities. Cf. Schorn. 118.

62 περὶν, 'accrued', this sense is only found in later writers though an easy transition from the 'fall' of the dice, in which sense it had been long used. Cf. πρόσδοτος ἐπιπτε τῷ δήμῳ (31, 7, 7).

κατὰ τοὺς ἔθιμούς. This custom does not definitely appear in ancient times. After the battle of Plataea Pausanias re-

ceived ten of each class of precious things found among the spoil, talents, horses, camels, &c. Herod. 9, 81, 3.

2. *ἦν μάλιστα*. This shows the advance in the later critical standard, for earlier historians rarely touched on financial questions.

3. *ἄρδην κατέφθαρτο*. P. is speaking of the material ruin caused by the ravages of war rather than of diminished population as Zumpt takes it (*Bevölkerung*, 9), but the two effects went on together. War, made more onerous by the employment of mercenaries, led to vast loss of capital: insecurity paralysed industry and caused the country districts to be deserted and needy poor to be massed in the towns. Slavery and political excitement discouraged free labour, while luxury increased among the wealthy and the trade of the world meantime was finding other channels. Even the once prosperous Athens stooped to beg doles of corn and money from foreign rulers, and to crown the most importunate beggars among her politicians.

4. *εὐδαιμονίαν*. This flattering reference to the blessing of Roman rule shows that even patriots regarded the age of Hellenic independence as closed for ever, and hoped only for material well-being. But still, as time went on, Greece seems to have declined in wealth and population.

χωρὶς σωμαίων, i.e. not including slaves, in which much of the capital of that age consisted. This word would not have been used in Attic thus absolutely for captives of war or slaves, but only with some adjective like *δοῦλα* or *αἰχμάλωτα*: but in Aristotle we have a definition of *εὐδαιμονία* as *εὐθηνία κτημάτων καὶ σωμαίων* (*Rhet.* 1, 5, 3), where *κτήματα* takes the place of *ἐπίπλων* in the text and *σώματα* stands for slave stock. Christianity speaks of 'souls', Industrialism of 'hands'.

6. *καθ' οὗς καιρούς*. In the Archonship of Nausinicus, B.C. 378, when Athens took the lead of a general movement of reaction provoked by the domineering conduct of Sparta in Greece.

μυρίους ἑξέτεμπον. A resolution was passed by the confederates, including many other states, to equip 20,000 infantry and 200 triremes (*Diod.* 15, 29).

7. τὸ σὺμπαν τμήμα. This is thought by Boeckh (*Econ.* 4, 4) to be much too small an amount to represent the whole property of the Athenians. He regards it as the amount of the taxable capital only, every citizen being entered on the schedule for a sum equal only to a fraction of what he actually possessed. From details given as to the property of Demosthenes he infers that in his case the fraction was one fifth. In the lower class it was probably less. Boeckh calculates therefore the whole capital of Athens as from 30 to 40 thousand talents. But it has been remarked that it would be strange if Polybius, practical statesman as he was, neglected to notice this distinction between taxable capital and the whole. Beloch contests the whole theory of Boeckh and after a careful analysis of the various details shows that the statement of P. is probably right (*Hermes*, 1885, p. 237).

9. ὑπερβολικῶς, 'in exaggeration', a late word for which in earlier prose καθ' ὑπερβολήν or a like phrase would have been used.

12. τριακόσια. The plunder of Thebes when it was destroyed by Alexander is said to have only reached 440 talents. (*Athen.* 6, 4.)

63 ἀπολέγει, 'declines'. The apathy of Ptolemy in letting Cleomenes be overpowered by Antigonos seems hard to understand. Droysen explains it by referring to events in Asia Minor where the forces of Antiochus of Syria were carrying all before them, and threatening the hold of Egypt on the Western coast. This may account for the slowness of the movements of Antigonos in 223 B.C., who was perhaps waiting to see the effect of the events in Asia on the Court of Egypt (3, 2, 123). Plutarch refers to the negotiations that were carried on between Ptolemy and Antigonos (*Cleom.* 22).

2. δαίτην ταχίστην...ῥόλοις. An iambic verse which has been thought to have been quoted from the later Comedy.

ἐκκυβεύειν τ. δ., 'to stake his all', as in 3, 94, 4, an expressive figure, the special form of which is only found in P. and Plutarch.

πρὸ τοῦ συνεῖναι, 'before his army heard the news'. The more usual construction would be πρὶν in such a sentence, but

P. frequently prefers *πρό* as in 2, 68, 1. So repeatedly he has *πρό τοῦ* in place of *πρίν* or *πρότερον*.

3. *ὑπερθέσθαι*, 'surpass', lit. 'put oneself above', a sense not found before P. but appearing also in the inscriptions of the period.

4. *τρίβειν τὸν πόλεμον*. Cf. what Plutarch says of Antigonus *ἐξεπώνει καὶ κατήθλει τὸν Κλεομένη γλίσχρως καὶ μόλις πορίζοντα τοῖς ξένοις μισθὸν καὶ τροφήν τοῖς πολίταις* (Cleom. 27). More than 5000 mercenaries fought for Sparta at Sellasia (2, 69, 3). He had allowed the helots to purchase their freedom and so scraped together 500 talents (Cleom. 23): but the subsidies of Egypt were indispensable, for the treasury of Sparta was seldom full, and there were few citizens to subscribe.

6. *ἀρκεῖν ὑπολαμβάνω*. The reader will wish that Polybius had really studied brevity in this matter, but he is too prone to lengthy criticisms of other writers, as of Timaeus and Theopompus, and in accordance with ancient usage embodied in the text what would now be reserved for an Appendix.

64 *ἄμα τῷ*, 'as soon as'; this use of *ἄμα* with art. and inf. seems to have begun with P. in whom it is very common, and it is a familiar feature of later Greek, whether with pres. or aor.

2. *τὴν δχυρότητα*. This word is not found before P., though *δχυρῶμα* occurs in Xenophon and is afterwards used by St Paul (2 Cor. 10. 4). The roads ran over the heights of Parnon, and then through rugged mountain country or along the narrow strip of coast at the pass of Anigraea. The frontier district of Cynuria which commanded these roads, after being long matter of dispute, had been wrested from Argos by Sparta, but to humble her it was restored to her old rival by the Romans.

διαφαικότα τ. δ., 'had disbanded his army'.

3. *καταφθοιρομένης*, used, like the subst., by P. in the special sense of the ravages of war. This sense seems to have been common in later Greek, as inscriptions show. Cf. Jerusalem, *Wiener. Stud.* 1, 51.

4. *ἐπιρραπισμόν*, 'censure', lit. 'buffeting', a word only found in P.

5. ποιήσασθαι. Naber would read ποιήσεσθαι, which is more in accordance with Attic usage (*Mnem.* 6, 344), and in many other passages he would change the aor. of the text into a fut. after verbs like ἐλπίζειν, λέγειν, πεπεισμένος, ὑπολαμβάνω: but there is no warrant for expecting the precision of the earlier language in the κοινή.

6. Διοδόρουν. Like the anger of the Athenians against Pericles in like case ἐκάκισον ὅτι στρατηγὸς ὦν οὐκ ἐπέτατο, *Thuc.* 2. 21, 5.

65 2. τὴν φάλαγγα. The Macedonian rulers had made the close order of the phalanx more effective by adding to its depth and weight, and increasing the length of the spears (*sarissae*), five of which projected in front of each man in the foremost rank, while the rest were slanted above their comrades' heads to protect them from the shower of missiles. Its impetus was irresistible when it could charge on level and unbroken ground, but it could not easily reform when it was once broken, nor adapt itself to the varying needs of the battle-ground. There was no fixed number, and we hear of as many as 25,000 in the phalanx of Ptolemy Philopator (5, 65, 4), but the force was often parted into 2, 3 or 4 divisions (*διφάλαγγα, τριφ.*). It required little drill and was best suited to militia warfare, but Polybius who estimates at length its strength and weakness (18, 12-15) rates the Roman legion far above it in flexibility and varied usefulness. Pyrrhus and Philopoemen tried different expedients to break it up into more manageable divisions and combine it with other forms.

πeltaστᾶς. This force took its name from the light target—about 2 feet in diameter, probably wood covered with leather—with which the Thracian mercenaries were originally armed (*Hdt.* 7. 75). The military reforms of Iphicrates made them famous at Athens. They carried javelins, with a strap (*ἀγκύλη*) at the centre of gravity, and a spear of 5 feet long with a sword. They were thus for intermediate use between the skirmishers and hoplites, and came at times to hand to hand fighting (*Rüstow-u.-Köchly, Gr. Kriegswesen*, 130).

Ἀγριῶνας. These were a Paeonian tribe assigned by Strabo (7, 36) to the region near Mt Rhodope and the sources of the

Strymon, and at different times they had been subject to the rulers both of Macedonia and Thrace. They served Alexander under the command of their native chieftains, and their light-armed troops were often used by his successors.

Γαλάτας. The Celtic tribes which overran Macedonia and Northern Greece half a century before were broken up and dispersed after a few years, but many of them served in neighbouring lands as soldiers of fortune, and we often read of them as mercenary troops.

3. **εἰς τὸν Μακεδονικὸν τρόπον.** The prep. is here used in the sense of *κατὰ* as elsewhere in P. It is also loosely put for *ἐν* as *εἰς τοὺς πρὸ ἡμῶν καιροὺς*, 4, 1, 5. As Megalopolis had for a time been blotted out of the roll of the Achaean league, its fugitives took service probably as volunteers and showed their Macedonian sympathies by the military forms which they adopted.

Κερκιδᾶς, v. above 48, 6.

Βοιωτῶν. No place is assigned to them in the line of battle at Sellasia; so they formed probably a reserve force. For the national character which they had shown of late, cf. note on 2, 49, 6.

4. **Δημήτριος.** He was a native of an island in the Hadriatic and commanded the Illyrian garrison of Coreyra when the Roman fleet appeared to free the island from Queen Teuta. He was already out of favour with his mistress and he joined the citizens in welcoming the Romans and received much of the territory which was taken from Teuta at the close of the war. He now assumed airs of independence, and his alliance with the Macedonian ruler points to plans of future union against Rome. His career was one of almost unexampled treachery as he was by turns ally and enemy of the Romans, the Achaeans and Aetolians, and was one of Philip's worst advisers.

5. **πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν.** The total of 28,000 infantry exceeds the sum of the several contingents specified by 400. This may have been the strength of some allied force which has dropped out of the text, such as of the Phocians who are included in the list of confederates in 4, 9, 4. The Thessalians

appear to have taken no part in the campaign. Cf. Droysen, *Hell.* 3, 2, 147.

6. *προσδοκῶν*. Yet immediately before we hear of a foray which he made almost to the gates of Argos, and thence to Phlius and Orchomenus (Plutarch, Cleom. 26).

τὰς μὲν ἄλλας. These must have converged in the valley of the upper Eurotas and have led through the pass of Pellene. The direct route across Taygetus into lower Messenia, which was itself easily defensible, was far out of the probable route of Antigonus, though the Messenians might have marched by it in concert with him. The invading army was to be expected however from the side of Tegea or Argos.

εἰσβολάς. The frontiers of Laconia were proverbially strong and difficult of access. Thus after the victory of Leuctra the Thebans shrunk from invasion saying *ὅτι δυσεμβολωτάτη ἡ Λακωνικὴ ἐλέγετο εἶναι* (Xen. *Hell.* 5, 5). Epaminondas, Demetrius Poliorcetes and Pyrrhus alone had pushed their way through the outer line of Sparta's defences.

7. *τὴν Σελλάσιαν*. This was a hill fortress which commanded the approach to Sparta by the valley of the Oenus in which the roads from Tegea and Argos converged.

Diodorus, when describing the invasion of Laconia by Epaminondas, speaks of three divisions of his army which marched respectively by the direct road from Tegea on the West, and that from Argos over Mt. Parnon through the Thyreatis on the East, and by a third between these two through the rugged hills of the Sciritis. All of these converged at Sellasia (Leake, *Pelop.* 3, 29). It was therefore a highly important outpost of Sparta, commanding the natural opening into Laconia by the river Oenus, as Pellene blocked the approaches from S. Western Arcadia through the other opening of the upper Eurotas. In the castle a standing garrison was kept and here ambassadors waited the pleasure of the Spartan government.

στοχαζόμενος. The natural route from the North lay by one of the roads which converged here. Any other pass would have involved a long circuit through difficult country.

8. *δύο λόφων*. The little plain on the North of the hill of Sellasia was barely a mile long by half a mile broad, and

to the South of it ran the rivulet Gongylus which flowed from the West into the Oenus at the foot of the hill named Evas, while the Olympus stretched along the Eastern side of the main river. Polybius omits to give explicit information on these points, assuming the reader's familiarity with the scene.

9. τῆς δ' ὁδοῦ, i.e. on the right bank of the river, which makes a long bend to the West round the hill of Sellasia, and then falls into the Eurotas just above Sparta.

συνάμψε...προβαλόμενος, 'having thrown up a trench and stockade on both as lines of defence'. Cf. use of *προβολή* § 12. It was a further extension of the meaning to take the verb as Plutarch does for hostile feeling as well as attitude.

περιοίκευς. These were the inhabitants of the numerous Laconian townships, who were probably of Achæan race with a varying intermixture of Dorian elements. They were freemen, living on their own lands, and the mainstay of the Spartan armies, but with no vote in the general assembly nor real political power, all of which was concentrated at Sparta in the hands of the privileged nobles, who were called *Σπαρτιάται* as distinct from the *Λακεδαιμόνιοι*, in which were included also the villagers of the country districts.

τὸν Ὀλυμπον κατέχε. This was the key of the position, and was held by the bulk of the Spartan forces and by the king in person, while he entrusted the steeper heights of Evas to his brother.

11. Ἀντίγονος δέ, a nom. abs. or a case of anacoluthon, though the διδ...ἀπέγνω resumes the thread in § 13.

τοὺς οἰκέλους, i.e. suited to the ground which they were to occupy: the cavalry in the little plain below, and the men at arms in close order on the hilltop where they could deploy, while skirmishers could move upon the slopes.

παρὰπλήσιον. This is one of the adjectives coupled in P. with either gen. or dat. case with no shade of different meaning. Cf. 5, 26, 18. So *οἰκείος* and the verbs *ἐγγίζειν*, *εὐπορεῖν*, and the prepositional adverbs *ἐγγός*, *κατόπι*, *ἐξῆ*, *σύνεγγυς*.

12. τῆς τῶν ἀγασθῶν ὁ. π., 'the fence of arms around

experienced combatants', i.e. like the bristling array of spears projecting from the front ranks of the phalanx: or perhaps it may refer simply to "the attitude of skilful gladiators as they stood at guard". So *προβάλλεσθαι δόρατα*, *hastas praetendere*, and *προβολή θυρεοῦ*.

οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀπέλειπε, &c. 'nothing was neglected that could be needed either for attack or defence, for there was at once a skilful line of battle and an encampment secure against assault'.

παρεμβολή. From the primary sense of 'put in alongside' *παρεμβάλλειν* became a military term for drawing up a line of battle or the order of an encampment. The substantive is frequently used by P. in both these senses, and so also in the Acts of the Apostles (21. 34) of the regular barracks. The purist Phrynichus strongly objected to the term as *δεινῶς Μακεδονικόν*. It came into use that is in the age of the successors of Alexander.

66 *ἐν βραχεὶ διαστήματι*. This illustrates a peculiar usage of *ἐν* in P. to express an interval (as *ἐν ἀποστάσει* or *ἐν διαστάσει*), or a definite distance *ἐν ἑπτὰ σταδίοις κείσθαι*.

προδακνύων...ἐπινοίας, 'by threatening demonstrations he excited the expectations of the enemy'.

3. *οὐδὲν ἄργόν οὐδ' ἔξ.*, 'no point neglected or unguarded'.

4. *πάνυ γὰρ...ἄνδρας*, 'for these rival generals whom Fortune pitted against each other were well matched in natural ability'.

5. *χαλκασπίδας*. The only Macedonian infantry specified in 65, 2 besides the soldiers of the phalanx were the peltasts, and these were not thus armed (cf. 4, 67, 6). The contingent of Megalopolis was indeed so equipped (cf. 4, 69, 4), but they were stationed below. Possibly we should read *λευκάσπιδας* with Schorn. (p. 182) and understand the peltasts, or it may have been an omission in the chapter before.

σπείρας. This word is used as a literal translation of the *manipulus*, the 'handful' of hay, which gave its name to the smallest division of the heavy-armed Roman infantry. It is often thus used by P., like *σημαία* and *τάγμα*, and applied also generally to a body of men at arms in other forces.

In the Acts App. 10. 1 the σπείρα Ἰταλική seems to have been a larger body.

ἐναλλάξ. We read of a similar mixture of different forces when Pyrrhus combined Italians and Epirotes *τιθεὶς ἐναλλάξ σημαίας καὶ σπείραν φαλαγγιτικὴν*.

6. **Κρήτας.** As Schorn. suggests (p. 132) this should perhaps be Ἑπειρώτας who are specified in 65, 4 among the mercenaries, and whose number tallies with that here required. But the name also passed into military use for light-armed troops specially equipped as bowmen.

κατόπιν. The extended use of this adverb is a characteristic of the style of P. who aims at definiteness of local and strategic description. It is coupled with both gen. and dative case. Cf. Krebs, *Präp. Adv.* 2, 56.

ἐφεδρείας λ. τ. 'stationed as a reserve force', i.e. to cover the rear of the advancing forces. The word is often used by P. as a military term, as equivalent to the Latin *subsidium*.

8. **τοὺς Μακεδόνας.** To make the rivalry the keener each king headed his specially national force against the enemy.

9. **διφαλλαγγίαν ἐπάλληλον,** 'so that one phalanx followed close upon another', as we have in 1, 33, 9 *πολλὰς ἐπ' ἀλλήλαις κατόπιν ἵστασαν σημαίας*. He speaks even of *τριφαλλαγγία ἐπάλληλος* in 12, 18, 5, but as hardly possible. *ἐπάλληλος* is a term of military tactics found only in late writers.

διὰ τὴν στενότητα. He gave greater depth to the ranks as there was not room enough in front for one large square.

10. **προσηρτημένοι...πρὸς αὐτῇ τ...ῳίῃ,** 'had been drawn up in close order just at the foot of the hill'.

ἐν τῷ Γ. ποταμῷ, 'beside the river G.', a free use of the *prepos.*

67 **τὸν βουνόν.** Philemon of the New Comedy had objected to this word as un-Attic. (*ἐπισκώπτει τὸ ὄνομα ὡς βάρβαρον*, Eustathius on II. 11, 710.) Herodotus speaks of a district of Cyrene called the *βουνοί* (4, 199), and trade probably carried the word to Syracuse, where it gained a place in Sicilian poetry, as also to Alexandria, whence it passed into the common dialect. Cf. Rutherford, *New Phrynichus*, p. 460.

4. Φιλοπόμην. P., who came of noble stock and was carefully trained in early years, enjoyed in youth the friendship of Ecdemus and Demophanes, who were distinguished in their time as patriots, philosophers and tyrannicides. He took Epaminondas as his pattern and studied eagerly the art of war, meditating on its problems in his daily rides, and courting hardship as a necessary training for the soldier's life. He had fought with desperate valour when Cleomenes surprised his city, and was among the last to retire to Messene. He turned his studies afterwards to good account when he reformed the military system of the Achaean league.

5. κομιδῇ νέον. He was 30 years old according to Plutarch at this time. So P. says that Flamininus νέος ἦν κομιδῇ (πλείω γὰρ τῶν τριάκοντα ἐτῶν οὐκ εἶχε) 17, 12, 2.

τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ. They were under the command of Cereidas (cf. 65, 4), but his desperate valour in the night attack may have inspired confidence in Philopoemen.

7. ἀπερίσπαστον, 'having their attention undistracted', a word found chiefly in the age of P. and afterwards in Stoic circles. So St Paul, 1 Cor. 7. 35.

8. τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἐ. π., 'the success won where E. was in command'. So τὸ κατὰ Ζακανθαίους ἀδίκημα.

αἴτιος. Phylarchus however ascribed the disaster to the treachery of an aide-de-camp of Cleomenes, who under the influence of a bribe concealed from the king till too late the danger of his brother (Plutarch, Cleom. 28).

68 4. ὑποχωρεῖν ἐπὶ πόδα, 'to retire slowly', i.e. facing the enemy and step by step so as to bring each foot into the place of the other. So several times in P. for a slow retreat. Krebs compares with it ἐπ' ἀσπίδα 'to the left', ἐπὶ δόρυ, 'straight-forward' (Präp. 90). In the case of movement downhill ὑπὸ takes the place of ἐπὶ as below.

8. προσδεξάμενοι...σπείρας, 'when they had to meet the shock of troops whose ranks were unbroken and locked in close order'. ἀκέραιος is often thus used by P. of soldiers 'fresh' or 'unhurt'.

9. λοιπὸν, 'thenceforward', as in 2 Ep. Tim. 4. 8. So often in P. as also λοιπὸν ἤδη and τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη.

ὅσον ἐκ ποδός, 'as far as they were pressed back from their position by the weight' &c. Schweighäuser says ὅσον ἐκ ποδός, fere e vestigio, continuo sic, ὅσον ἤδη.

τὴν κατάστασιν ἐλάβανον, 'stepped into their place'.

τὴν ὑπὸ πόδα, i.e. στάσιν, 'the ground just below'.

- 69 ἐκπρεπῇ ποιοιμένων τὴν χρεῖαν, 'distinguishing themselves in the engagement': so διαφέρουσιν γ. τ. χ. in § 4 and ἐπιφανεστάτην παρέχεσθαι χρεῖαν, 1, 78, 11.

μάλιστα Φιλοποίμενος. Plutarch represents him as dismounting and making his way over the rough ground in his coat of mail, when both his thighs were pierced with a javelin which he wrenched from the wound with difficulty, and still pressed on sword in hand.

ἐλευθερίας. Rather jealousy of Sparta to which they sacrificed the independence of Greece.

6. διασπῶν τὰ προτ., 'levelling the outworks', i.e. tearing down the palisades and filling up the trenches.

μετωπηδόν, 'in front', 'in line'. Cf. Thuc. 2, 90, 4, where it is contrasted with ἐπὶ κέρως 'in column'. So also P. 2, 27, 4, ὅσον οἱ τόποι προσδέχωνται τὴν μετωπηδὸν ἐφοδόν.

7. μεταβαλοῦσαι τ. σ. 'turning their spears'. If this be the right reading we must suppose that the spears had been pointed upwards while the columns were halted, and were now 'levelled'. καταβαλοῦσαι would seem better, as suggested by Reiske.

As to the sarissa all reports except that of Arrian give the length as 16 ells, or 24 feet (ἐκκαίδεκα πηχῶν, P. 18, 29, 2). But it has been remarked that 24 feet would give an impossible weight, and 16 feet would allow for the projection of five rows of spears beyond the front, which Polybius describes. In the MSS. both πηχὺς and ποῦς would be shortened into π. and might be easily confused (Rüstow u. Köchly, 238).

9. χρησάμενοι...ιδιώματι, 'using to advantage the peculiar weight of the doubled phalanx'.

10. ἐφενγε. The defeat of Cleomenes was decided at the last by the greater depth and weight of the Macedonian phalanx, as that of Cleombrotus had been at Leuctra by the like arrangements of the Thebans, but the promptitude of

Philopoemen at the outset and the neglect of Euclidas to take advantage of the strength of his position were also of signal moment.

ἀσφαλῶς. But he stayed only to reflect awhile, without unbuckling his armour or taking rest; then after advising the citizens to surrender to Antigonus he left his home for ever (Plutarch, Cleom. 29).

ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην. Justin gives an overstrained account of the way in which the Spartans met the disaster. *Nemo quippe in acie salutis pepercit: nulla amissum conjugem flevit: filiorum mortem senes laudabant: patribus in acie caesis filii gratulabantur: suam vicem omnes dolebant quod non ipsi pro patriae libertate cecidissent... Nullus in urbe strepitus, nulla trepidatio: magis omnes publicam quam privatam fortunam lugebant* (28, 4).

11. **Γύθειον.** This was the arsenal of Sparta in the brief period during which she aimed at naval empire. Its favourable position near the mouth of the Eurotas made it the chief harbour for the export of Laconian produce, as in early days it had been the scene of Phoenician influence spread by their fisheries and purple dyes.

ἐκ πλείονος χρόνου. This shows that Cleomenes had long felt how critical his position was, and had prepared for the worst.

Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. His mother was there in the hands of Ptolemy and he joined her, though with little hope perhaps, after his abandonment by Egypt.

70 **φιλανθρώπως.** In Aeschylus this word implies the condescension of the gods to men. P. uses chiefly the neut. plur. of the adj. for the marks of courtesy between man and man. So in the Acts App. 28. 2, *οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν φιλανθρωπίαν*. There is no trace as yet of the principle of benevolence, or any 'enthusiasm of humanity'.

τὸ πᾶντιον, i.e. the narrow oligarchical régime with ephors and senate, and the reversal probably of the recent reforms of landed tenure. The malcontents banished by Cleomenes returned, and a Boeotian was left as Macedonian regent (P. 20, 5, 12), no king remaining to take the lead.

ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις. Plutarch says the 3rd day (Cleom. 30).

2. αἰ ποθ' ἡ τύχη. Cf. note above on 38, 5.

τὰ κατὰ τὸν κ....ἡμέρας, 'could have put off the engagement for a very few days': the use of τὰ κατὰ τ. κ. is pleonastic and τελῶς only strengthens ὀλίγας.

3. ἐπὶ βραχύ. But it is possible to doubt with Droysen (3, 2, 153) whether Antigonus would have given up his designs in Greece so hastily for an inroad of Illyrians which his viceregents might have repelled. His movements had been leisurely and carefully timed.

τῶν καιρῶν ἀντεποιήσατο, 'had waited for some turn of fortune', 'trusted to the chapter of accidents'. P. is especially fond of this verb in the sense of 'trying to take advantage of' or 'lay claim to' anything. Cf. τῶν ὑπαίθρων ἀντεποιήσασθαι, 4, 8, 5.

4. πολιτεῖαν. This had been suspended for a while after its capitulation (2, 54, 7).

τὴν τῶν Νεμέων πανήγυριν. The triennial games in the grove of Molorchus, who entertained Heracles—so ran the legend—when he came to Nemea to slay the lion, whose den was shown to travellers in later ages near the narrow defile of Tretus which led to Corinth. It is still a bare valley as when Pindar spoke of it as ἀσκήϊος ὑπ' ὠνυγίοις δρεσσι (N. 6, 74). In the time of Pausanias the roof of the temple had already fallen in, though its remains are still "among the most picturesque in Greece" (Tozer, *Geog. of G.* 294). Most of the evidence points to the summer as the time of the festival, though in later days it may have been held in the winter (Paus. 2, 15, 3).

5. κατ' ἰστίαν. He retained however his hold on the strong fortress of Orchomenus: Mantinea was left to Argos, and Taurion remained in the Peloponnese to watch over the king's interests. Philopoemen refused the offers of Antigonus, and sailed to Crete despairing of his country's freedom.

6. διάθεσιν. Taken absolutely for 'morbid condition' in 8, 14, 3, or what P. calls elsewhere λοιμική διάθεσις, the 'passing condition' of disease being contrasted with the usual state (ἔξις) of health.

ἐν τοῖς ὑπαίθεροις. Cf. note on 4, 8, 5.

7. καλοκαγαθῶν. Yet Aratus spoke very badly of him in his memoirs (Λοιδορῶν διετέλει, Plutarch, Arat. 38. εἰρηκῶς κακὰ μυρία, Cleom. 16).

8. Φιλίππῳ. Antigonus had already sent him to the Peloponnese bidding him especially pay regard to Aratus (Plutarch, Arat. 46).

1. 3 ἀλαζονείαν, the arrogance and swagger of the braggart. In Aristotle it is one of the extremes of which ἀλήθεια, the virtue of frank straightforwardness, is the mean (δοκεῖ δὲ μὲν ἀλαζῶν προσποιητικὸς τῶν ἐνδόξων εἶναι καὶ μὴ ὑπαρχόντων καὶ μειζόνων ἢ ὑπάρχει, Eth. 4, 7, 2). It implies either arrogance or imposture. The ἀλαζῶν of Aristophanes and Plato is often the 'humbug', and the 'miles gloriosus' its familiar type in Comedy. Cf. Cope on Arist. Rhet. 1, 2, 7.

2. πρὸ τοῦ. P. has this phrase for πρὶν or πρότερον more than 40 times, but the more regular form πρὸ τούτου occurs much less frequently.

3. ἐπιπλοκῆς, 'meddling with', a word not found in use before P. who employs it commonly with εἰς or πρὸς.

κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν ἔθος. Thucydides speaks (1, 5) of the early practice of piracy among the Greeks, and this continued among the less civilized peoples. Thus the Aetolians about this time expressly bind themselves to screen Ceos from the ravages of their own countrymen (C. I. G. 3535), thus avowing the general usage, and Philip says of them (P. 17, 4, 5) that they not only plundered the lands of their enemies, but even of their allies when they were at war with others. In Crete many inscriptions testify to the prevalence of the custom, and only the vigilance of a strong naval power could secure the trade of the Aegean against this constantly recurring evil.

ἀίματι, 'merely', equivalent to μόνους.

4. ταῦτομάτου. Cf. note on τύχην, 2, 38, 5.

5. ὁ Τριχωνεύς, surnamed probably from the Lake Trichonis. Cf. 5, 7, 8.

τοῦ παρασπονδήσαντος, 'violated the truce by attacking'. P. has the same expression in 9, 34, 11, where he says that

Lattabus and N. acted thus εἰρήνης σέσης Σκυθῶν ἔργα καὶ Γαλατῶν ἐπιτελοῦντες. No details are known.

τῶν Παμβοιωτίων. This was the title of the solemn festival held by the Boeotians at the temple of the Itonian Athene near Coronea, καλεῖται (τὸ ἱερὸν) ἀπὸ Ἰτῶνα τοῦ Ἀμφακτύου, Paus. 9, 34, 1. The name is formed on the same principle as those of the religious gatherings of the same kind in Ionia and elsewhere.

πανήγυριν. A term not used for a political assembly, but appropriated for religious gatherings or festivals, though with many associations of holiday-making and amusement. The πανηγυρικός of Isocrates is a sample of the orations delivered at such festivals as at Olympia, and their vein of stately eulogy accounts for our use of a 'panegyric'.

κατὰ κοινόν. As distinct from the ventures of individual privateers.

Φιγαλίων πόλιν. Pausanias describes its position as ἐν μετεώρῳ μὲν καὶ ἀποτόμῳ (8, 39, 3). Perched as it is like an eagle's nest among the rugged heights which formed the Southern border of Arcadia, its birds of prey could swoop with ease on the rich lands of the Messenian valley which stretched below them to the South, and could return to their stronghold with their booty secure from all pursuit. The valley of the Neda, over which it hung, was "one of the most singular chasms of the world, under magnificent precipices, which tower to an astonishing height on each side...leaving no space but that which time and the incessant flood have worn between the most prominent of their enormous masses" (Sir W. Gell's *Tour in the Morea*, p. 100). A few miles off was the great temple of Bassae, to build which Ictinus the architect of the Parthenon was called from Athens, from which the sculptures have been brought to our National Museum.

6. πρὸς τοῖς τ. Μεσσηνίων ὄροις. The boundaries appear to have been disputed, for an inscription refers to a delimitation of the frontier between Phigalea and Messenia not long before this time (Le Bas, *Voy. Arch.* 2, 317 a).

συμπολιτευομένη. This term implies incorporation in the confederacy, but in 4, 79, 5 the connexion is spoken of as only

α *συμμαχία*. It appears from another inscription that Aetolian arbitrators had been called in not long before to settle a dispute between Phigalea and Messenia, and provided that there should be *ισοπολιτεῖαν καὶ ἐπιγαμίαν ποτ' ἀλλήλους*, when Ph. should be also on good terms with Aetolia. The object evidently was to gain a hold on the town (Le Bas, *V. A.* 2, 328 a). It does not appear that *συμπολιτεία* implies necessarily equal rights. The forcibly annexed dependencies held by Aetolian garrisons and distant places in the Aegean cannot have taken part in the federal assembly, or have had the privileges of the Aetolians themselves.

7. *κατασκόπου*. So in the Peloponnesian war the Athenian government had its *ἐπίσκοποι* and *κρυπταί* to watch the movements of the subject allies.

8. *πειρατῶν*. This late equivalent for the classical *ληστῆς* had passed into modern languages as the practice of piracy became prevalent again in the days of the decline of Greece.

It was a euphemism to speak of the pirate as an 'adventurer', as it was to call plunder 'profit' (*ὠφέλεια*). With this we may compare not only the old names of Eumenides for the Furies, and Euxine for the dreaded sea, but in modern Greek *εὐλογία* for the small-pox, *τὸ καλὸ* for epilepsy (cf. Bent, *Cyclades*, 74).

τὴν κοινὴν εἰρήνην. Cf. 2, 70, 4.

9. *τέλος ἀπορούμενος*, 'at last being straitened for funds'. The verb is used in both act. and pass. by P. in the same sense.

10. *ἡδίκουν*. Besides the more regular construction *δδ. περὶ* or *εἰς* the verb was used by both Hdt. and Thuc. transitively with an acc. of the object as here.

11. *τὰς μὲν ἀρχάς*, 'at first', often adverbially in P., as *τὴν ἀρχὴν* or *ἀρχὴν* in Hdt.

μερίτης, 'sharer', a word rarely found before P.: the *μεριστής* 'divider' of S. Luke 12. 14 has a different shade of meaning.

12. *πλεοναζούσης τῆς παρουσίας τ. π.*, 'when embassies frequently arrived', an awkwardly abstract form of expression

which is characteristic of a later style. *παρουσία* has the sense of 'arrival', 'visit', rather than 'presence', as P. says *πάρευσεν* *ἐς* *Θετταλίαν*, 18, 1, 1: the foregoing motion being implied in the verb of rest.

13. *δίεσυρε*, 'flounced', lit. 'pulled to pieces', a favourite term with Demosthenes.

κατανίστατο, 'stood up against', i.e. to accuse, not found before P.

4. *παρεπιδημούντος*, 'sojourning': the subst. translated 'pilgrim' of 1 S. Peter 2. 11 is, with the verb, only found in late authors.

2. *ἔφοροι*. The constitution of Messene was oligarchic, and the chief officials bore the name of the famous Board at Sparta. The institution was probably an early one, as the exiles recalled by Thebes would hardly have borrowed from their hated rivals. Indeed we find traces of the name elsewhere, not only in the language of poetry as in *στρατίας πολλῆς ἔφορος* (Aesch. Pers. 25), but as applied to municipal officers (*οἱ τῶν πόλεων τὰ ὄνια ἐπισκοπούμενοι*, Suidas). At a later time, after a democratical reaction, the magistrates of Messene were called *στρατηγοί* as in the Achaean league (Plut. Ar. 49).

διαλογούντες. The unusual compound is employed in the same sense as the simple verb to avoid hiatus. So *διαπιστεῖν* in 4, 8, 2.

διεκαλούντο, 'summoned': cf. *diem dicere*: this use like that for the 'invitation' of one of higher rank (5, 16, 1) is a later sense of the word.

τὰς συναρχίας, 'the committee of the magistrates' who shaped the measures to be referred to the council and assembly. Cf. *συναρχίαι προεβουλευσαντο ποτί τε τοὺς αἰσιμνάτας τῶν βουλῶν καὶ τὸν δᾶμον* (Insc. in Le Bas, V. A. 2, 35 a). Aristotle speaks of such a board as common in the states of Greece in his time (Pol. 4, 14), and it was probably intended, as Foucart suggests, to give strength and unity to the executive by a sort of Cabinet Council, as a counterpoise to democratic influences.

3. *δοσιδίκους παράσχη*, 'make the guilty give themselves up to justice'. *δ.* is found besides only in Hdt. 6, 42, 2.

4. **προπηλακίζειν**, 'insult'. The usual derivation given for this is from **πηλός** (or according to Curtius a side form of it **πῆλαξ**); thus Suidas says *παρὰ τὸ πηλὸν ἐπιχρίσθαι τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἀτιμίαν καὶ ὕβριν καταψηφισμένων*. But Mr Rutherford urges that *κατὰ* and not *πρό* would be the natural prep. in this case, and that there is no trace of **πῆλαξ**, while **πηλός** would give **προπηλικίζειν**. He boldly suggests **πηλικός** as the origin, and gives **πηλικίζω**, or **πηλακίζω** (but why the change to *a*?) the meaning of 'asking a man's age', i.e. impertinent questions. (*New Phryg.* p. 127.)

ἐπιστροφῆς, 'punishment': from the general sense of 'turning' comes (1) the tactical meaning of a 'change of front' in P., and spiritual conversion in Acts App. 15. 3, (2) 'attention' like *animadversio*, (3) the censure or penalty which follows the notice of wrong-doing.

5. **δουρῆς**. Explained in Hesychius by **βδελυρός, ἀκάθαρτος**, not found before P., and connected by him with **ἀσέλγεια** 18, 37, 7.

τῶν ἐξηρμένων τὸν ἄνδρα, 'one of those who had stripped themselves of their manhood', i.e. sunk to nameless vices.

καυσίαν. Macedonian headgear, *ἐκ πίλου ὡς τιδρα* (Eustathius, who adds that it was worn by the kings who wrapped a white turban round it). Cf. *καυσίη ἢ τὸ πάροιθε Μακεδόσιν εὐκόλον ὄπλον | καὶ σκέπας ἐν νιφετῷ καὶ κόρυς ἐν πολέμῳ*, Antipater Thess. Caracalla wore it in imitation of Alexander.

6. **ὁμιλοῦντος**, 'speaking', by a specialization of the meaning, as in Babrius.

ἀνατατικῶς, 'menacingly': cf. **ἀντάσις** just below. Both words are only found in late authors, though *ἀνατείνεσθαι* in the sense of 'stretch out threateningly' is used with *μάχαιραν* &c. in Xenophon and Demosthenes.

9. **ἐξέκαυσε τὸν π.**, 'kindled the war': a phrase repeated by P., and occurring in Plato (Rep. 556 A). P. has in the same sense *συγχεῖν, συνταράσσειν π.*

5 **στρατηγός**. The chief magistrate of the League was, like that of the Achaeans, general in chief of the army as well as head of the state. He was elected at the Congress in the autumn, and entered immediately on office, presiding over the

assembly, but being expressly forbidden to give an opinion on questions of peace or war (Livy 35, 25).

παρεκεχώρηκε τῆς δ. δ. 'had given up to him all the duties of his office'.

2. παρανομίας καὶ σκόμματος, 'outrageous conduct and resentment at the taunt': as these terms in their active and passive meanings do not go well together M. Casaubon proposed to read παρωνυμίας, i. e. the nickname Babyrtas: Cobet suggests παραιτίας 'drunkenness' (*Mnem.* 10, 388), but it seems no improvement.

4. τὴν Δ. ἀλλοτριότητα. In the early ages of the Messenian wars this issued in the total conquest of the country: it began again with the restorations of the Messenians by Epaminondas and continued in the form of disputes of frontiers in the days of Roman rule.

τῆς Ἑλέων π. σ. εὐνοίας. Traditions spoke of the Eleans as of Aetolian origin, and accompanying the Dorian invaders. But something more than this legendary connexion is required to explain the friendly relations with the present Aetolians whose wild and lawless habits ill agreed with those of the quiet, industrious, and wealthy Eleans. The latter may have thought it needful to be on good terms with the former as the coast line of Elis was so easy to overrun, and may have found it profitable to keep an open road for them into the heart of the Peloponnese.

5. τὸ δὲ συνέχον τῆς Ἀ. π., 'what would mainly influence an Aetolian'.

ἀπρονοήτον, 'undefended': occurs in Xenophon, but in active sense 'improvident'.

μόνης. Yet Messenia like Elis lay beyond the range of the belligerents in that war.

6. συνίστανε, 'set before them', from συνιστάνειν, the very late form of συνίστημι which recurs in the N. T. With the present sense cf. συνίστησι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀγάπην εἰς ἡμᾶς ὁ θεός, Rom. 5, 5, and also 2 Cor. 6, 4.

7. οὐκ ἐρεῖν ἐγκλήματα τ. δ., 'could not complain if they resisted' the idea of attack being implied in the refusal of passage through Achaia. The phrase is not found elsewhere,

though ἐγκλήματα is only a bolder form of the cognate accusative with ἐρεῖν. As ἔχειν ἐγκλημα is more regular, it has been proposed to read ἔξειν in place of ἐρεῖν (Schw.).

8. ἐπιγγεγμένους. Possibly Messenian volunteers may have served with the confederates at Sellasia (Pausan. 4, 29, 3). Had the state taken part P. would have mentioned it earlier, but the phrase in the text points to promises rather than the reality of help.

9. σύνοδον. We only hear of one yearly meeting, the Pan-Aetolicum at Thermum, regularly held at the autumnal equinox (4, 37, 2), but extraordinary meetings could be convened by the στρατηγός.

τοῖς ἀποκλήτοις. This was the name for the Aetolian senate (Apocletos ita vocant sanctius concilium; ex delectis constat viris, Livy 35, 34). It appears to have been a large body and to have acted in concert with the στρατηγός in preparing business for discussion in the general assembly (Freeman, *Fed. Gov.* 336).

συμμεταδόντες, 'communicating' their plans: elsewhere in P. coupled with τῆς ἐπιβολῆς and περὶ τῶν ἐνεστῶτων. The combination of σύν and μετά in composition, which occurs in a few other verbs, is a feature of later style.

τῶν καθηκόντων, 'the usual formalities'.

10. διαλαβόντες, 'deciding', a sense only found in later prose when thus taken intransitively, though it was used earlier transitively for 'distinguishing' (ταῦτα δ. τοῖς διανοήμασι Plato, Legg. 777 A). Cf. use of διάληψις.

6 βασιλικῷ. Not a ship of war, for that would have had no ναύκληροι as owners of ship or cargo, but probably one engaged in the transport of the produce of the royal lands or mines.

ἀπέδοντο. Brandstätter (345 note) translates it 'took ransom for' instead of 'sold', which is the usual meaning, but there seems no warrant for this.

2. συγχρώμενοι, 'constantly using'. In the N. T. it is 'have familiar dealings with' (St John 4. 9).

Κεφαλήνων. They seem to have been subject-allies of Aetolia, not admitted into the league on the usual terms of

union. Cf. Schorn p. 29. For a description of the island see 5, 3, 9.

Θύριον. Cf. note on 4, 25, 3.

3. $\phi \dots \epsilon \nu \tau \acute{o} \upsilon \tau \omega$. Pleonasms of this kind are not infrequent in P.

λαφυροπωλείω, 'a market for plunder'. In an inscription found near Tegea, and which dates probably from this period, it is provided that a contract for some public works shall not be enforced $\kappa \acute{\alpha} \nu \delta \epsilon \alpha \tau \omicron \iota \sigma \phi \epsilon \iota \varsigma \pi \acute{o} \lambda \epsilon \mu \omicron \varsigma \eta \gamma \alpha \iota \delta \kappa \omega \lambda \acute{\upsilon} \omega \nu \eta \epsilon \phi \theta \omicron \rho \kappa \acute{\omega} \varsigma \tau \acute{\alpha} \epsilon \rho \gamma \alpha$, λαφυροπωλείου $\epsilon \acute{\omicron} \nu \tau \omicron \varsigma \kappa \alpha \tau \acute{\alpha} \tau \acute{\alpha} \varsigma \pi \acute{o} \lambda \iota \omicron \varsigma$ (Le Bas V. A. II. 840 c). The word is not found elsewhere before P. though λαφυροπώλης and its verb occur in Xenophon.

διήγον, i.e. $\tau \acute{o} \nu \chi \rho \acute{o} \nu \omicron \nu$ or $\tau \acute{o} \nu \beta \iota \omicron \nu$, 'stationed themselves there'.

4. $\tau \acute{o} \nu \epsilon \pi \iota \tau \acute{\omega} \nu \epsilon \nu \Pi$. Otherwise called $\epsilon \pi \iota \mu \epsilon \lambda \eta \tau \acute{\eta} \varsigma$ i.e. commander of the Macedonian garrisons, and 'Resident' generally to watch the king's interests. The following sentence seems to imply that he was now stationed at Orchomenus.

5. $\tau \acute{o} \tau \acute{\omega} \nu \text{'} \text{Α} \chi. \sigma \upsilon \gamma \chi \acute{\omega} \rho \eta \mu \alpha \delta \iota \delta \tau. \text{Κ. κ.}$, 'the concession made by the Achaeans with a view to the danger from Cleomenes'. Cf. 2, 54, 1. $\sigma \upsilon \gamma \chi$. not found before P., but the participial form appears in modern Greek as a name for 'the plague'.

$\omicron \upsilon \kappa \acute{\alpha} \nu \kappa \alpha \tau \acute{\epsilon} \sigma \tau \eta \sigma \epsilon$. It was not restored to the Achaeans till 199 B. C., when Philip returned it to them together with Heraea and Triphylia, in order to secure their goodwill. Cf. P. 16, 38. The decree of the Achaean league defining the terms of its admission was found in the ruins of Orchomenus.

7. $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha \tau \eta \rho \acute{\eta} \sigma \alpha \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma$. The motive is explained below 7, 6.

$\tau \acute{o} \nu \kappa \alpha \iota \rho \acute{o} \nu$, i.e. in spring or towards the early summer. Cf. 4, 37, 2.

$\kappa \alpha \theta \iota \sigma \tau \alpha \tau \omicron \sigma \tau.$, was 'general designate'. The $\sigma \tau \rho$. was elected at the Spring meeting, and this was held shortly afterwards as described in the next chapter. $\kappa \alpha \theta \iota \sigma \tau \alpha \tau \omicron$ refers therefore to a well understood intention, rather than to a formal act. Immediate re-election ($\kappa \alpha \tau' \epsilon \nu \iota \alpha \upsilon \tau \acute{o} \nu$) was not allowed, but only in alternate years ($\pi \alpha \rho' \epsilon \nu \iota \alpha \upsilon \tau \acute{o} \nu$), and Aratus was then chosen as a matter of course (Plut. Ar. 24), and no doubt was felt as to the result of the meeting.

8. *ῥίον*. A low-lying swampy tongue of land at the narrowest part of the Corinthian gulf, where the Aetolian Antirrhion projects towards it from the other side, leaving little more than a mile's breadth between.

10. *τὴν πρὸς τὰς ὥφ. ἀκ.*, 'their greed of plunder'.

μέχρι παρεγενήθησαν. Cf. *μέχρι μὲν οὖν ἦν Ἀντίγονος* in 2, 43, 9.

11. *ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων*. When the Messenians of old were settled at Naupactus, such a *συμμαχία* would have been of use, but in the Athenian campaign there is no trace of such sympathy (Thuc. 3, 94).

δικαίῳ, the international usages of declaring war before invasion: it was thus a *πόλεμος ἀκήρυκτος* or *ἀνεπάγγελτος*.

12. *ἐν ἑλάττονι*. We have in this an illustration of the frequent use of *ἐν* in P. to express the predicate not only with *τίθεσθαι* as *ἐν παρέργῳ* and *ἐν μεγάλῳ* but with other verbs, e. g. *ἐν δωρεᾷ δίδόναι* 'as a gift', *ἐν παρακαταθήκῃ* 'as a deposit'.

7 *καθηκούσης*, 'being due'.

4. *παραιτεῖσθαι*, 'excuse themselves': but it is possible that it means 'ask permission' like the simple verb, the prep. adding little in some other cases to the meaning of the compound verbs of P.

ἐπιβῆναι στρατοπέδῳ, 'invade with an army'.

5. *συνάγειν*, i. e. to summon the military contingents which were to be also convened as an extraordinary assembly (*σύγκλητος*), such as the general was empowered to call together. The meeting debating as an armed force is remarkable, and reminds us of the two aspects of the early comitia centuriata at Rome. Possibly the regular meeting was badly attended.

6. *ληγούσης τῆς ἀρχῆς*. The Aetolians had probably reckoned upon (cf. *παρατηρήσαντες* 6, 7) slackness in the executive of the league on the eve of a change of government. Some confusion was to be expected in the interval as the civil and military powers were vested in the same hands.

ἀνεδύετο, 'was for backing out of'; so *ἀνδύεται πόλεμον*, II. 13, 225.

8. *θυμικώτερον ἐχρήτο*, 'entered more hotly into the matter'.

ἄλλοτριότητος, i.e. to the Aetolians, for Timoxenus was a friend of Aratus.

10. τοῦ καθήκοντος αὐτῷ χρόνου, 'his legal term'.

σφραγίδα. It has been noted as a curious contrast that, while the title of the head of the state was a military one, the badge of office was a purely civil symbol, and that resignation was spoken of as laying down the seal (ἀποθέσθαι τ. σ.). Cf. Freeman, *Fed. Gov.* p. 299.

8 τέλειος εἰς τὸν πραγματικὸν τρόπον, 'consummate in practical statesmanship': as τὰ πράγματα are often 'public business' so πραγματικοί are 'men of the world', 'practical men', whom Livy speaks of as *spectatae virtutis atque prudentiae*, and Sallust as *homines negotiosi*. The epithet is extended to things, as to ἱστορία (4, 2, 8) and to ἄκρα below (70, 10).

2. στέξαι τὸ κριθὲν, 'keep his own counsel'.

ἐνεγκεῖν...πρῶς, 'temper the spirit of party'.

4. ἐκ τῆς Πελληνέων πόλεως. On the city, cf. note on 2, 41, 8. The event referred to is described in detail by Plutarch in his life of Aratus (31), who declined to attack the Aetolians as they entered the Peloponnese, notwithstanding the reproaches of Agis, his Spartan ally, but attacked and routed them as they were engaged in plundering Pellene.

5. τῶν ὑπαίθρων ἀντιποιήσασθαι, 'take the field', lit. 'claim possession of the open country': of an army in the field as repeatedly in P.: so κρατῆσαι τ. ὑ. 'to hold the country'. Casaubon compares the *campum eripi jubet* and the *cuncta camporum tenebat* of Tacitus. τὰ ὑπαιθρα is open country as distinguished from cities or forts: so ἐν ὑπαίθροις διατρέβειν is like ἀγραιοῦν. The Attic form was ὑπαίθριος except in the phrase ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ (Lobeck *Phryn.* p. 251).

9 τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἡλικίαις. The regular expression in P. for the men whose age fell within the period of military service. In one passage it is varied by the phrase οἱ στρατεύσιμοι (6, 19, 5).

2. ὁμοῦ, to give variety to his style P. has not only ἅμα and μετὰ in the place of the almost disused σύν, but ὁμοῦ ὁμῶς and ἀναμίξ as well as periphrases.

3. οἱ προεστῶτες. This expression stands for the δῆμι-

οὐργοί who presided in the federal assembly and could not put to the vote this request of the Messenians.

5. εἰς τὴν τῶν Δ. πόλιν. This shows that no suspicion was entertained as yet of Spartan disaffection, and that Aratus was badly informed by his agents.

8. τιθεσθαι. If this be the right reading it must be taken as with ψῆφον in the sense of 'vote for', 'agree with', as τιθεσθαι τῇ γνώμῃ, Soph. Phil. 1448, but in the present context the sense seems strained, and fond as P. is of compounds it is not likely that he would have used the simple verb like συγκατατίθεσθαι. The reading πείθεσθαι is more probable.

9. Φειάδα. An island off the coast of Elis, opposite the little port of Pheia, which was a small creek at the foot of the long rocky promontory of Ichthys, on which now stand the ruins of Pondikó Kastro (Rat Castle). Here the Athenian fleet found shelter from the storm in 431 B.C. after taking the town above.

10. γέμοντες τῆς λείας. The correction suggested by Naber (Mnem. 6, p. 362), for the πέμποντες τὰς λείας of the common text. It is supported by 4, 65, 2 and 5, 8, 8, and by the fact that λεία is always used in the singular by P.

ἐπιπλοκάς. Cf. the fuller phrase above ἀφορμὰς καὶ προφάσεις ἐπιπλοκῆς (3, 3).

10 2. τὴν ἐπὶ Πάτρας, sc. ὁδόν, on the road to Patrae, so as to keep an eye on the Aetolian movements without direct attack.

ἀντιπαράγειν, 'move in parallel lines to'.

3. διαγωνιάσαντες, 'in their anxiety': the compound appears first in P. who strengthens a verb already strong enough.

συγχεῖν τὸν πόλεμον, 'stir up war': a phrase only found in P. The verb is often used to express disorder.

4. τοὺς ἱκανοὺς καὶ τ. ἐπ., 'an adequate force of men experienced in'.

πρὸς τὸ 'P. ἀπαντᾶν. P. has πρὸς with many verbs which do not express the idea of motion to the object or place specified, but which may be taken as presupposing it. A still bolder use is that of ἡ πρὸς 'Ραφίαν μάχη (5, 86, 7).

6. *κινδύνου καὶ συμπλοκῆς*, 'risk of engagement'.

7. *ἀκμὴν*, 'at the moment', 'just then', which is the natural sense of the acc. used adverbially. A further extension of the meaning was 'still' or 'yet', which Phrynichus rejects as un-Attic, noting however that Xenophon had it once *ὁ δ' ἄλλος ἀκμὴν διέβαινε* (Anab. 4, 3, 26), with which we may compare *παρὰ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις τὴν δύναμιν ἤδη μετεiléφει, παρὰ δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἀκμὴν εἶχεν ἡ σύγκλητος* (P. 6, 51, 6). Cf. St Matt. 15. 16. It occurs nearly 60 times in P., and generally in the sense of *ἔτι*, though combined with it in two passages.

9. *φυγομαχώσι*, 'shun a battle': a word not found before P.

10. *προήγον*. "The route of Dorimachus we may conceive to have been by Heraea, Buphagus, and Theison, leaving the modern Dhimitzana on the right: that of Aratus from Cleitor led down the narrow valley of the Aroanius to Tara, thence to the sources of the Tragus, and over Mt Kastania to Khotussa (Caphyae)" Leake, *Mor.* III. 125.

Μεθύδιον. A petty town about 20 miles due north of Megalopolis: its name is explained by Pausanias *κολωνός ἐστιν ὑψηλός, Μαλοῖτα τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Μυλᾶντος μέσος* (8, 36, 1). Cf. the Interamna of Italy. It had once been a dependency of Orchomenus, and of some importance as securing the passage into central Arcadia, but it naturally fell under its great neighbour Megalopolis.

11 *οἱ ἡγεμόνες*. An indefinite expression intended to cover the culpable folly of Aratus who was alone responsible. His temerity is a curious contrast to his backwardness on earlier occasions.

2. *Καφύας*. The chief valley of Arcadia, which running from North to South included Orchomenus, Mantinea and Tegea, was connected by a narrow pass with another valley, the Western end of which was held by Caphyae. To divide this from the share of Orchomenus a dyke was raised which kept off the streams that flowed from the hills on the East. Within it Pausanias describes a stream *πλήθει μὲν ὅσον τε εἶναι ποταμόν* which flowed into a chasm and was supposed to reappear on the West in the river Tragus (8, 23, 2).

4. **τάφροι**. These were "evidently ditches for the purpose of draining the marshy plain by conducting the water towards the Catavothra, around which was probably a small lake. In the time of Pausanias the lake covered the greater part of the plain", as the ditches had probably been neglected. Leake, *Mor.* III. 128.

ἐπίφασιν, 'display', like its equivalent **ἐπιφάνεια** of late occurrence.

5. **ὑπερβολάς**, 'mountain pass', not found in this sense before P.

Ὀλύγγυρον. There was a fortress of the same name as the mountain on the pass which led to Stymphalus, and Cleomenes drove out of it the garrisons on his way from Phlius to Orchomenus.

ἄσμενίζοντες, 'well content': the verb is late, though **ἄσμενος** is classical in this sense.

6. **Πρόποδι**. This was a hill near the entrance of the valley in which Kandili stands, and from the upper extremity of which begins the pass of Lykórema leading into the Stymphalia. Cf. Leake, *Mor.* III. 129.

παρωρείας, 'the skirts of the mountain', a name especially appropriated to the highland region south of Elis between the Arcadian mountains and the sea. The adjectival form has a short *o*, the substantival a long *ω*, so **ὑπώρεια**, **ἀκρώρεια**. Cf. Lobeck, *Phryn.* 712.

ἐξάπτεσθαι τ. οὐ., 'hang on the rear', as below 12, 1, and elsewhere. In Plutarch (*Them.* 31, 3) the verb means simply 'attend to'.

9. **τῶν οἰκείων**, 'favourable': so Livy has 'suus' in a like sense.

συγκατέβησαν, 'challenged an engagement': this is the classical sense; the other meaning, 'condescend', which is also found in P., is of later date, and is objected to by Phrynichus who points out that **συγκαθιέναι** was the proper Attic term for it. Lobeck, *Phryn.* 398.

12 **τοῖς παρ' αὐτῶν πεζοῖς**. The prep. is here inserted by a common usage in P. where the simple gen. would seem more natural, and even when the prep. is not only needless as in *ai*

παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιστολαί, but gives an awkward turn to the phrase. Cf. οἱ παρὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου μισθόφοροι (5, 14, 5), ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν πατήρ (22, 3, 6).

3. ἐπὶ κέρας κλίναντες, 'wheeling on one wing': thus Herodotus ἀνάγων ἐπὶ κέρας τὰς νέας (6, 12, 1). Thucydides and Xenophon have commonly ἐπὶ κέρως of a march in column. P. has similar expressions in ἐπὶ δόρυ, 'to the right': ἐπ' ἀσπίδα, 'to the left', ἐπὶ πρύμναν, 'backwards'.

4. ἅμα τῷ συνάψαι...ἔμμενον, 'as soon as they joined the infantry posted themselves under cover of the hills'.

5. ἤθροισον agrees grammatically with ἱππεῖς but really with the ἡγεμόνες.

6. συστραφέντες ἐνέβαλον, 'charged in close order'.

ὑπερδεξίου, 'high ground', the additional meaning of 'on the right' having long since dropped away.

ἐκινδύνευσαν. Here as in other passages of P. simply 'fought'. When with the dat. or περὶ the idea of risk is more prominent.

7. ἐν δὲ τῷ...φεύγαν, 'while these wavered and fled'.

κατὰ πορείαν ἀτάκτως ἐπιπ., 'coming up in the loose order of their march'.

8. τοὺς μὲν...ἡττηθέντας, 'those who were defeated in the actual conflict'.

9. ἐπιπολαστικῶς, 'insolently', properly used of food that will not remain on the stomach.

10. τὰ βάρη τῶν ὅπλων. Often in P. for the hoplites of earlier writers.

ὡς μενόντων, 'under the impression that they were halted still': should be strictly μένοντα.

11. μακροὺς...διαλελυμένους, 'advancing in a long and broken line'. Cf. 5, 22, 7 and 11, 16, 6.

12. ἐκπλήττοντες, 'throwing into disorder'.

13 τῇ κατὰ πόδας ἡμ., 'on the day immediately following': so τῷ κατὰ πόδας ἐνιαυτῷ, and τῇ κ. π. εὐθέως, and other phrases where the dat. is used without a prep.

5. καταπαράσαντες, 'attempted to storm'.

τὴν ἀπόλυσιν, 'their departure' from the Peloponnese, or 'return home'. They passed, that is, in contempt under

the walls of the Acrocorinthus, and through the hostile territory of Boeotia and Megara.

7. διαπρυτανεύσαντος, 'presiding over': the correction of Hultsch for διαπροστατεύσαντος and other readings of MSS. none of which are satisfactory. The word is not indeed found elsewhere, but is a likely one by analogy from the common πρυτανεύω.

- 14 ὥς τοῦτον...γεγονότα. τοῦτον is here pleonastic unless we understand ἀξιώσαντες before ὥς.

2. τῶν ἀντιπολιτευομένων, 'his political opponents'.

ἀπολογισμοὺς ἐναργεῖς, 'manifest proofs'.

7. ἅμα τῷ...ἀναμνήσαι...φέρειν δέ. P. who began this extended use of ἅμα τῷ with the infin. in place of the simple ὅτε, not only has sometimes the pres. and at other times the aor. with it, but occasionally both tenses as here in the same sentence. Krebs, *Præp. Adv.* 59.

ἀνθρωπίνως, 'with due indulgence for human weakness'.

- 15 πρεσβεύειν. All the confederates specified in 9, 4 were sent to except the Thessalians, who were disregarded as practically subject to Philip.

5. οἱ δὲ...καθεσταμένοι, 'those who were commissioned to visit the allies'.

8. κακοπραγμονοῦντες, 'perfidiously': not found before P.

9. ἀλογότατον. But the *συμμαχία* between Aetolia and Messene may have contained some condition which would be broken by an independent alliance with the Achaean league. There was probably some explanation which P. has neglected of so strange a *casus belli*. Cf. Freeman, *Fed. Gov.* 513.

11. μηδ' ὑπὸ λόγον πίπτειν, 'has no show of reason'.

διὰ τὸ παρηλλαγμένον, 'from the extraordinary character'. The verb is rarely used in this sense by P. but the past part. is more common with him. In earlier writers we find the meaning to 'alter for the worse', 'grow corrupt', whence the transition to 'be unusual'.

- 16 προσλαβόν, 'consented to receive', i.e. expressed individually their concurrence; the final act could only take place at the Congress which was soon to meet.

4. ἀνεπαγγέλτους, 'without formal declaration', like the

ἀκήρυκτος of Thucydides. This was a violation of Greek usage strongly condemned by civilized sentiment.

ἡ καὶ νῆ Δία. An expression often used by P. whether the phrase that follows intensifies or softens the preceding.

5. ἡλευθερωμένοι. It is strange that the historian should complacently repeat such words when he could have little doubt of the hold of Cleomenes on the loyalty of Sparta.

6. νεανίσκων, like νέοι used often in P. in a specialized sense for soldiers, as those of age for military service.

Σκερδιλιάδας, himself of the royal line of Illyria, acted as admiral for Queen Teuta (P. 2, 5, 6) and was now a ruling chief. He afterwards turned against the Aetolians, and then again against Philip, on the ground of broken faith. Philip in revenge despoiled him of certain territory, but the Romans covered him with their protection. His grandson Gentius was led in triumph through Rome, Livy 44, 32.

λέμβοις. Light craft in especial use among the Illyrians (P. 5, 109, 3), employed by the Romans as οἱ προπλεῖν εἰθισμένοι λ. (1, 53, 9), for which service Thucydides has πρόπλους and Plutarch κατασκοπικὰ πλοῖα. Vergil has the term for a skiff with one rower (G. 1, 201), Livy for 16 (34, 35). In Athenaeus the flatterer is called the cutter (λέμβος) in attendance on his patron.

παρὰ τὰς πρὸς 'Ρ. συνθήκας. Rome had declared war against Teuta the pirate queen of Illyria, and dismembered her kingdom in 228 B.C., forbidding her to send more than 2 ships, and those unarmed, south of Lissos. (Cf. P. 2. 11.)

8. ἐπὶ νήσων. This use of ἐπὶ with a gen. when coupled with verbs of motion, whether trans. or intrans., is common in P. It is an extension of usages like οἱ ἐπὶ Θράκης in Thucydides and early writers.

ἀργυρολόγαι, 'levied ransom': always used by P. of military requisitions. This may remind us of the demand made by Miltiades on the islanders of Paros and Andros (Hdt. 6, 133) and of the ἀργυρολόγοι νῆες of Athens in the Peloponnesian war which constrained defaulters to pay up the arrears of tribute.

τῶν Κυκλάδων. The group of islands which surrounded Delos was so named in distinction from the Sporades which

were scattered through the Aegæan sea. These were 12 to 15 in number but some were little more than barren rocks which paid only a few drachmas to the imperial treasury (Strabo, 10, 5, 3).

9. *Ἀθαμάνων*. This tribe was of Epirotic race and occupied the rugged country between the river Arachthus and the Western side of Pindus. Little known to earlier history they played an important part under their prince Amynder as allies of the Aetolians and Romans in the war with Macedonia. They had disappeared by the time of Strabo. 'In their land', says Heraclides Ponticus, 'the women till the ground while the men tend the flocks'.

10. *συνεμβαλεῖν ὁμόσσει*. The prepositional adverb is not required here, but it is characteristic of the later language to give more vividness to the phrase by such additions: thus P. combines *ἅμα* and *ὁμοῦ* elsewhere with verbs compounded with *σύν*.

ὁμόσσει. Here equivalent to *ἅμα*: in earlier Greek only as an adverb with verbs implying motion to a place.

11. *πραττομένης*, 'being betrayed'. Cf. note on 2, 43, 4.

17 *οὐ προσποιούμενος οὐδέν*, 'affecting ignorance of all'. Reiske proposed to insert *εἰδέναι*, but Naber notes that the passage *σαφῶς μὲν εἰδώς, οὐ προσποιηθεὶς δέ* (5, 25, 7) supports the text.

εὐηθες. "So it doubtless was on the principle that honesty is the best policy, but it really was little more than a stronger case than usual of an attempt to throw dust into men's eyes by diplomatic insincerity." Freeman, *Fed. Gov.* 516.

3. *τὴν Κύναιθαν*. This name is fancifully derived by the Scholiast to Lycophron from the divine hunter *τοῦ θέειν ποιῶντος τοὺς κύνας*, and the mountain close by still bears the name of *Κυνηγοῦ*. The town, now called Kalavryta (fine sources), is in bad repute as one of the feverholds of Greece. Sir T. Wyse writes of the district, "we now found ourselves in the roughest highland of Arcadia, a dreary region of mountain rising above mountain, intertangled in a manner which baffles description, and nearly as much travelling...the road winding up the almost perpendicular faces of rocks by the narrowest

possible zigzag ledges and over torrent beds and precipices." (*Excursion*, II. 177.) In the convent close by the cross was raised as the first signal of the insurrection in Greece in 1821.

4. *στάσει*. Early in the career of Aratus he tried to take it in concert with a party of traitors within, but the signal agreed on was mistaken and the plot failed (P. 9, 17).

ὑπαρχόντων, 'their property', usually with the article.

5. *γῆς ἀναδασμούς*. In the revolutions of the Greek cities one socialistic war-cry was for *χρεῶν ἀποκοπαί*, for the state to interpose between debtor and creditor by allowing partial or total repudiation, lowering rate of interest, or fixing judicial rents: another was the *γῆς ἀναδ.* or 'allotments', to be secured by confiscations or 'compulsory purchase'.

6. *διαλυθῆναι*. With this and the *διαλύσεις* below compare the *διαλυταὶ παρὰ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν* called in to arbitrate at Phigalia. (*Le Bas Voy. Arch.* II. 328 a.)

8. *τῶν καταπορευομένων*, 'those who returned from exile': so several times in P.: earlier Greek has *κατέρχομαι* in this sense.

συγκατάθεσιν, 'sanction'. Cf. note on 2, 48, 6.

10. *τὸ δ' ἐναντίον παραχρήμα...εὐθέως*. We may note the pleonasm here.

11. *ἐπὶ τῶν σφαγίων*. This illustrates *τὰς ἰσχυροτάτας*, above in § 9.

18 2. *πολέμαρχοι*. As these officials had to remain on duty near the gates they could not have been chief magistrates. In the description of the plot of Aratus they are referred to as *ἀρχουσι κοιμωμένοις κατὰ μέσον ἡμέρας, τοῖς εἰθισμένοις τηρεῖν τὴν πύλην* (9, 17, 3).

τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον, i.e. till they were opened again at morn.

ποιεῖσθαι...τὴν δίαitan, 'to be regularly on duty'. So Herodotus for 'regular residence', *ὁ μὲν δὴ δίαitan εἶχε ἐν Κροίσου* (1, 35, 6). The word passed on from a 'course of life', or 'régime', to the sense of a 'prescribed system' (as of medical 'diet'), and hence perhaps to the legal use of 'arbitration', whence the Athenian *δαιτητής*.

6. *ἀπερισπάστως*. Cf. note on 2, 67, 7.

8. *ἐπισκηνώσαντες ἐπὶ*, 'quartered themselves in'. This

use of *ἐπὶ* with the acc. after verbs which do not imply motion is carried to great lengths in P. and extended to such as *παρεῖναι* and *γίγνεσθαι*, and to phrases like *ἐπὶ ταῦτὸ τὸν κίνδυνον ποιεῖσθαι* and *τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφὴν μέρος*. It is part of a general tendency to prefer the acc. to the other cases (Krebs, *Präp.* 92). We have the same construction in *ὣ' ἐπισκηνώσῃ ἐπ' ἐμέ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Χριστοῦ* in 2 Ep. Cor. 12. 9, but below in 72, 1 the verb takes the dat. only. It is of late use.

ἔξτοιχωρήχυσαν, 'plundered', as housebreakers: the compound appears first in P.

ἐστρέβλωσαν. "This last extremity of cruelty is unparalleled in Grecian warfare, and any Greek but an Aetolian would have shrunk from it, but it was a matter of everyday business with the Spanish soldiers of the 16th century." Freeman *Fed. Gov.* 57 note.

οἷς ἠπίσθησαν ἔχαι, 'whom they suspected of having': other verbs such as *ἠπίσταντο* and *ἠλπισαν* have been suggested, but the reading is in accordance with the usage of P.

διαφόρον, 'money', as repeatedly in P. and in later inscriptions. The meaning is not found before Theophrastus, whose definition of *μικρολογία* is *φειδωλία τοῦ διαφόρου ὑπὲρ τὸν καιρόν*. In Thucydides we find the sense of 'advantage' 'interests' only as in *τῶν ἡμῶν ἐς τὰ μέγιστα διαφόρων* 4, 86, 4.

κατασκευάσμα, 'treasure', as in § 11 of the works of art or vessels of precious metal presented to the temple. The word is unusual in this sense.

9. *ἀνεστρατοπέδευσαν*, 'moved their camp': this word seems first used by P. in place of the *μεταστρ.* of the earlier language.

Λούσων. Of L. Pausanias wrote "it is said formerly to have been a city, but not even its ruins are now to be seen" (8, 18, 2). It gave the epithet *Λούσης* to the neighbouring Styx whose waters were "fatal both to man and beast, and vessels of all materials but the hoof of a horse are dissolved by it" (Paus.).

10. *ἀντείνοντο*, 'threatened': the full construction with *τὸν φόβον* being sometimes used by P., hence *ἀνάτασις* as above 4, 7.

11. *παρηγήσαντο* τ. τ. *Al. d.* 'averted by their prayers the impiety of the Aet.' The *τοῦ μηδὲν παθεῖν* must be taken with the verb as stating its object or final cause 'that they might not suffer &c.' Some MSS. have *τό* instead of *τοῦ*, and so we read in Thucydides *ὁ δὲ παρηγεῖτο μηδὲν τούτων δρᾶν* 5, 63, 3: but there is no example of the double acc. The gen. of the article and infinitive to express the final cause of an action is generally in P. governed by *χάρω*, but occasionally appears without it as 5, 102, 6, where there is also a negative, as in all the passages of Thucydides where the construction appears, except in 8, 39, 4 where the Vat. MS. has *χάρω*. Cf. Krebs, *Präp. Adv.* 1, 63.

19 *διατεταγμένους*, 'the contingent required'.

4. *εἵξαντες*: more often with *τοῖς παροῦσι* in place of *πράγμασι* 'submitting to necessity'.

8. *τῶν Ῥοδίων*. As a great commercial power Rhodes took to some extent the place of Athens in old time in securing the police of the seas and freeing the trade of Greece from the scourge of piracy. Her action at this time may be thus explained.

9. *ὑπερσθμίσας*. The sort of tramway (*διολκος*) on which the ships were hauled across on rollers (*τὰ πορθμεῖα ὑπερσθμολοῦσι*) was 40 stades in length (Strabo 1, 2, 1). The usage points to the large traffic between the two seas. P. uses *δυσσθμεῖν* also for the process. To save this trouble and expense the idea of cutting a canal was entertained by Demetrius Poliorcetes, J. Caesar, Caligula, and the work actually begun by Nero.

10. *ἐνεκάκησαν*, 'broke their faith': not found before P.

12. *προσάγχων*, 'waiting on': a late word often used by P. either with acc. or dat. or absolutely or with a participle.

σαλπικτοῦ. Three forms of this word are found in MSS. Phrynichus rejects *σαλπιστής* in favour of *σαλπικτης*, which form is often found in inscriptions of the 2nd and 3rd centuries B.C. Of the form in the text Herwerden says "*tertiæ quæ in codd. nostris reperiri solet σαλπικτῆς in titulis Atticis nec vola est nec vestigium*". Analogy seems in favour of *σαλπικτης* which occurs in the text of 18, 46, 4 (cf. Rutherford, *New Phryn.* 279).

"In every part of Achaia the rugged mountains which overhang the maritime plains and the narrow gorges through which the rivers force their way to the coast render all the approaches to Arcadia on that side extremely strong. The road by Megaspilio along the river of Kalávryta, which was the nearest way by Cynaetha to the Achaean coast, is of the same character, and at the exit of the river in the plain of Bura there is a narrow pass between perpendicular rocks to which the strong expression of the historian evidently refers." (Leake, *Mor.* III. 131.)

20 3. δοκοῦσί μοι, i.e. to have surpassed the rest, &c.

φυσικῶς συντεθεωρημένα, 'studied in their relation to natural conditions'.

4. τήν γε ἀληθῶς μουσικήν, that is, music in the ordinary sense, not the higher culture which the Platonic school included in the range of μουσική, including all the liberal education which was not comprehended in γυμναστική.

πῶσι μὲν δόφαλος. The early legislators of Greece laid great stress on the emotional and moral influences of music, believing that there were intimate relations between certain types of national character and special musical systems. Terpander was believed to have lulled to rest the fever of civil strife at Sparta by the solemnising influence of his strains, while it was thought that the Dorians of Sicily tampered with the purity of their morals when they affected softer kinds of music (ἐνόθευσαν ὁμοῦ τῇ μουσικῇ καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ (Max. Tyr. 20). Plato accordingly insists at length on the moral value of a proper musical training (Rep. 3, 399), and Aristotle while dissenting from details agrees with him in the main (δύναται ποιεῖν τι τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἥθος ἢ μουσικὴ παρασκευάζειν (Pol. 8, 5).

5. Ἐφερος, of Cumae in Aeolis, was trained in the rhetorical school of Isocrates, where he learnt to be careful of the graces of style. He wrote a history of Greece in 30 books down to the year 341 B.C. P. regarded him as the earliest writer of universal history (5, 32), and defended his accuracy from the strictures of Timaeus (12, 23), while Strabo made great use of his researches in geography, and later writers like Diodorus drew largely from his work.

6. Κρητῶν καὶ Λ. "Whereas the other Greeks either marched to battle without any music,... or like the Argives made use of Tyrrhenian trumpets, the Cretans advanced to battle to the sound of the lyre, the Spartans to that of the flute... The general term for a tune of this kind was *embarterion*." Müller, *Dorians*, II. 341.

7. σύντροφον ποιεῖν αὐ., 'make it part of the discipline of life'.

8. κατὰ νόμους, not 'by law', but in musical measure as in § 9, as of military rules in 1, 32, 7.

9. Τιμοθέου νόμους. Yet these were of later date and an inscription professes to relate that, "whereas T. of Miletus despising the harmony of the seven-stringed cithara poisoned the ears of the young men by increasing the number of strings and introducing a new and effeminate species of melody...it is decreed that the Kings and ephors shall reprimand T. and compel him to reduce the number of strings to seven" (Müller, *Dorians*, II. 330). The inscription is spurious but the story was repeated and Pausanias was shown at Sparta the eleven-stringed lyre of Timotheus.

10. τὰς ἀγωγάς: often used by P. in the sense of 'conduct', 'arrangement', but the word would be very weak here, and the διαγωγάς 'amusements' suggested by Schweighäuser seems better.

ἐπεισάκτων ἀκροαμάτων, 'recitations of hired performers': ἀκρόαμα is used commonly by P. for the performers not for the recitation or concert itself. So Phylarchus said of the dinner parties of Cleomenes ἀκρόαμα οὐδέποτε παρεπορεύετο, for the king talked himself and encouraged his guests to amuse each other (Müller, *Fr. Hist. Graec.*, I. 346).

ἀνὰ μέρος ᾄδαν. "Philochorus asserts that the Lacedaemonians, when owing to the generalship of Tyrtaeus they had subdued the Messenians, introduced a regular custom in their expeditions that whenever they were at supper, and had sung the paean, they should sing also one of Tyrtaeus' hymns as a solo one after another, and that the polemarch should be the judge and should give a piece of meat as a prize to him who sung best." Athen. Deipnos. 14, 29.

ἀνά is one of the prepositions of the older language which, except in compound verbs, is fast disappearing in the style of P.; he uses it mainly in the distributive sense, or in a few adverbial phrases like *ἀνά μέρος*, *ἀνά μέσον*, *ἀνά τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον*, but its local sense is very rare with him. Cf. Krebs, *Präp.* 34.

11. *ἀποτρίβειν*, 'decline', as in 5, 42, 8: a meaning not found in earlier authors: in other passages in P. it has the meaning of 'obstruct', as 5, 29, 4.

12. *ἐμβατήρια*, 'marches', as illustrated by Thucydides *Λακεδαιμόνιοι βραδέως καὶ ὑπὸ αὐλητῶν πολλῶν... ἵνα ὁμαλῶς μετὰ ῥυθμοῦ βαίνοντες προσέλθοιεν καὶ μὴ διασπασθῇ αὐτοῖς ἡ τάξις* (5, 70).

21 *αὐτουργίαν*, 'working with their own hands': *αὐτουργοὶ εἰσὶ Πελοποννήσιοι* said Pericles in Thuc. 1, 141, 8, meaning that they had few slaves to help them in the labours of the field. This applied with special force to Arcadia, when the conditions were purely agricultural, the towns small, and there were no serfs as in Laconia.

αἰσθηρίαν, 'roughness': the more common form was *αἰσθηρότης*: for the adj. cf. St Luke 19. 21.

τοῦ περιέχοντος, 'atmosphere', 'climate'. The first use of the word in this or a cognate sense appears to have been in a passage of Anaxagoras *ὁ αἰθὴρ ἀποκρίνεται ἀπὸ τοῦ περιέχοντος τοῦ πολλοῦ* (Ritter and Preller, *Hist. Phil.* 50): M. Antoninus employs the word for the body whose modifications affect the soul *ἐτερώσαντος τοῦ περιέχοντος*.

στυγνότητα, 'gloom': the fogs often rose from the waters which could not readily escape from the narrow mountain valleys, and the wild hills above are very dreary in many parts.

ὅς συνεξομοιῶσθαι. So Cicero, 'inter locorum naturas quantum intersit videmus... Athenis tenue coelum ex quo acutiores putantur Attici: crassum Thebis itaque pingues Thebani et valentes' (De fato, 4). A few obvious illustrations of this kind are noticed by ancient writers, but in general there was little attempt to trace the influence of physical conditions on national character.

3. *συνόδους κοινάς*. "At Sparta the chief object of the *Gymnopaidia* was to represent gymnastic exercises and dancing

in intimate union, and indeed the latter only as the accomplishment and end of the former...The Bibasis a dance of men and women was of the gymnastic kind." Müller, *Dorians*, II. 345.

παρθένων ὁμοῦ. "Of the parthenia, or the choruses performed by girls...we are told that they were accompanied by Dorian music and there was something in them exceedingly grave and solemn." Müller, *D.* II. 336.

5. παρατριβάς, 'hostilities', lit. 'friction' or 'collision': a late word, further strengthened in the διαπατραμβή of 1 Ep. Tim. 6. 5.

6. μηδ' ἐν ὁποίῳ. In P. οὐδὲ and μηδὲ generally stand between the prep. and ὁποῖος, as 5, 21, 7.

22 διεργασάμενοι, equivalent to κατεργασάμενοι, an unusual prepos. being here used in the compound, as elsewhere in P. διακαρτερεῖν for ἐγκαρτερεῖν.

2. βιβλιαφόρους, 'couriers', as γραμματοφόρος is used above (2, 61, 4) for the bearers of the despatches. With the form of the word we may compare βιβλιαγράφος which Phrynichus defends. Cf. Lobeck *Phr.* 655.

3. εἰς σφαγὰς καὶ παραχάς. The Spartans had not been trained for republican life, as their popular assembly had never had much vitality. The disappearance of royalty left the field more clear for the selfish struggles of the ephors. The leaders of the Aetolian faction murdered the leaders of the rival party and sent to Tegea to justify their action before Philip, who declined to interfere.

25 2. ὅτι...διότι...καθότι. The interchange of the conjunctions here is remarkable even for P. whose style admits of much variation.

Ἴτωνίᾱς. So called from a temple at Itonus in the centre of Thessaly on one of the tributaries of the Peneus. The Thessalian invaders are said to have founded at Coronea in Boeotia a shrine in honour of the goddess whom they had worshipped at home, and gave the river which flowed near the name of their own stream, as in Alcaeus Κωραλίῳ ποτάμῳ παρ' ὄχθαις (Strabo 9, 2, 29).

Ἀμβρυσον. A city in a rich country under Mt Parnassus,

near the *σχιστὴ ὁδός* (Soph. Oed. Tyr. 723), where the three roads met from it and Delphi and Daulis, and which was pointed out as the spot where Laius met his tragic death.

Δαύλιον, or earlier Daulis and Daulia, the fabled scene of the story of Philomele: it is described by Livy as situated on a rocky hill hard to scale (32, 18). The inhabitants were said to be stronger and bigger than other Phocians (Pausan. 10, 4, 5).

3. **Θύριον**. The chief city in the Northern part of Acarnania, in the large and fertile valley which is now Zaverdha. It had been one of the leading colonies of Corinth on that coast. When Iphicrates invaded it in 373 B. C. it was a strong place gallantly defended (Xen. Hell. 6. 2). Here Cicero stayed on his way to recommend Tiro to one of its chief citizens (Ep. ad Fam. 16, 2).

5. **ἐκφέρειν τ. π.**, 'wage war with': a phrase coupled by Herodotus with *ἐπί* and acc., and by Xenophon with *πρός*.

6. **παρακατεβάλλοντο**, 'drew up': in this and the two following verbs we may note the accumulation of prepositions so common in the later language.

7. **ἡναγκασμένους**. We have in P. 2, 2 an attempt to annex unwilling peoples. Phigalia was probably a like case. Many places put themselves under their protection simply to escape the danger of pillage from Aetolian free-booters.

ἀφορολογήτους, 'paying no tribute': several times in P., but only found besides in monumental language, cf. *C. I. A.* 416, 14.

8. **συνανακομιεῖσθαι...τοὺς νόμους**, 'would help to restore the jurisdiction'.

παρήρηνται. This points to some act of recent aggression by which the Aetolians had made themselves masters of the old Amphictyonic Synod, which as a tribal union had for ages regulated the religious interests of Northern Greece. An inscription of this period (*C. I. G.* 1694) which names three Aetolian *ἱερομνήμονες* probably illustrates this monopoly. Cf. Brandstätter, *Act.* 313, note.

26 2. **διὰ τῶν πολλῶν**. By the general assemblies as distinct from the delegates sent to the Congress.

τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας π. This phrase is repeated with ἐκφέρειν in several places of P.: it seems to mean 'offhand' or 'immediate' as distinct from the dilatory proceedings contrasted with it in 30, 3.

3. διὰ λόγου ποιῶνται τὴν διεξαγωγὴν, 'bring matters to an issue by negotiations': διεξ. is especially used by P. of the settlement of a dispute by peaceful means.

7. τὸ λάφυρον ἐπεκήρυξαν, 'proclaimed the right of plunder': like the giving letters of marque to privateers. They invited any who chose to engage in border frays in the hostile territory. The earlier phrase in Attic usage was σὺλα δίδοναι κατὰ τινος, or as in Thucydides ἐκήρυξαν εἰς βούλεται παρὰ σφῶν Ἀθηναίους ληΐζεσθαι (5, 115).

8. διαλεχθέντος διὰ πλειόνων, 'having discussed at length': pass. in act. sense.

29 4. μήποτε, 'perhaps', 'nescio an': cf. μήποτε οὐ καλῶς τοῦτο λέγεται. Arist. Eth. 10, 1, 3.

ῥαδιουργῶν. Connected in meaning by Pollux with θερμουργός and ἱταμός. Xenophon indeed used ῥαδιουργία of violence (Ages. 2, 5), but it generally implies vice or fraud.

6. πεισθέντος. The gen. abs. between the dat. and acc. of the noun to which it refers in the sentence is very awkward style.

7. ὑποκαθημένης. A strong word to express 'deep seated' resentment, or more probably ὑπό implies latent anger which found a vent afterwards.

ἐφ' ᾧ. Cf. note on 2, 46, 3.

30 2. Ἀκαρνᾶνες. They were spoken of by Thucydides as one of the least civilized peoples of Greece, still retaining the old habits of brigandage, and the custom of wearing arms (1, 5). They appear however even there in his passing references to them as a federal league, and as having a federal tribunal at Olpae to do justice to the members (κοινῇ δικαστηρίῳ ἐχρῶντο 3, 105). The gallant behaviour of the league was due perhaps in part to the traditional hostility to their neighbour foes the Aetolians. Again in 211 B.C. when the Aetolians allied with Rome against them, they rose as one man to face their foes and showed such resolution that the enterprise was given up.

3. *συντερομονούντας*, 'on the very confines of': a word not found elsewhere than in P.: *τέρμα* (*terminus*) is chiefly poetic, but occurs in Herodotus.

εὐχειράτους. The Acarnanians had few fortified towns, but dwelt mainly in scattered villages, and their richest district in the basin of the Achelous lay specially open to invasion.

6. *ἐκ παραθέσεως*, 'by way of contrast': so *ἐκ π. καὶ συγκρίσεως* in 16, 29, 5: juxtaposition leading to comparison, hence the derivative meaning is nearly 'on the contrary'.

7. *ἀγεννῶς καὶ τοικίλως*. The Epirota paid dearly at last for their shifting policy. They turned against Rome during the war with Perseus and were punished for their desertion of the winning cause by the wholesale slavery of the population.

31 *ἀπεκρίθησαν*. This aor. pass. in the sense of 'answered' is not known to good Attic, which has the mid. forms: but is common in later Greek.

2. *παπαλόντες*. Lit. 'striking a false note', and hence applied to moral error, as in so many ethical terms in Greek which have originally an aesthetic meaning.

4. *θρασύνομεν*, 'loudly profess', 'jactare'.

5. *διδὸν τὸν φόβον*. The continental Greeks saw little chance of safety from the overpowering hosts of Persia, and the Thebans had no fleet like Athens to enable them to retire 'en masse' if it came to the worst. But their aristocracy, like that of Thessaly, had already relations with Persia.

οὐδὲ Πίνδαρον. The third line of this fragment *στάσιν ἀπὸ πρᾶπιδος ἐπικότον ἀνελών* points to a warring against civil strife rather than foreign war, but the old nobility of Greece, with whom the great lyric poet was most in sympathy, was inclined generally to submit to Persia. The poet however does not forget to eulogize the victors at Salamis and Plataea (Pyth. 1, 76).

6. *ἐν εὐδίᾳ τιθεῖς*, 'restoring to calm': for use in prose of this poetic phrase cf. *εἰς εὐδίαν ἀγαγεῖν* in the Rosetta inscription (line 11).

8. *δουλίας ἐπονείδιστου*. In support of the MS. reading *δουλείας* Schweigh. refers to the account in Herodotus 7, 233 of the Thebans who surrendered at Thermopylae and were branded by the Persians,

32 *ὄντες ὀλιγαρχικοί*. In the early ages of the Messenian wars Dorian society was naturally governed by its tribal chieftains or local nobilities. There would be no reason to expect however that among the refugees restored by Epaminondas such oligarchic tendencies would prevail. The movement of Theban self-assertion had begun in a reaction against the narrow Spartan system, and the oppressed Helots of Messenia would be naturally disposed in favour of more popular rule. If P. is referring to later times this tendency would account for some want of sympathy for the democracies of the Achaean league.

παρὰντά. Several times in P. as equivalent for *παραχρῆμα* 'immediately', as also for *παρὰ πόδας*, which he uses in a temporal not a local sense.

ἀεὶ δίδεκντο πρὸς τὴν εἰρήνην. The story of the early Messenian wars, in the form in which we have it in Pausanias, shows nothing of this pacific tendency. But it was written centuries later with a strong Messenian bias, and dwells mainly on the gallantry of their national heroes, and the craft and perfidy of Sparta.

2. *περιστάσεις καὶ καιροὺς*, 'critical conditions'.

ἡθροίζετο...τὸ κεφάλαιον, 'the sum (of their *συμφοραὶ*) was constantly accumulating'. The sentence is awkwardly written as *κεφ.* has no definite meaning except in relation to *συμφοραῖς* below, but to avoid the double gen. *τῶν συμφορῶν τῆς πατρίδος* a second clause is added to explain the first.

3. *μᾶλλον δὲ σχεδόν*. P. is blinded as an Arcadian by national pride.

4. *ἀκαταλλάκτως*. The original cause of the national enmity was of course matter of dispute, but the richness of the Messenian plain, the largest and most luxuriant in the Peloponnese, and the ease with which it could be overcome from the Spartan frontier, sufficiently explain the motives of the aggressors. The jealous greed seems to have shown itself in early times after the Dorian occupation of the country (*ἐξ ὧν καὶ κατέσχον τὴν χώραν*).

τοῦ δὲ φιλικῶς. Probably the story of the Messenian wars was thrown into the form in which we have it soon after the revival of Messenia with the help of Megalopolis and Thebes.

This may account for the prominence which is given in the story to the early friendship of the Arcadians, who not merely afford help and sympathy while the struggle lasts, but shelter the refugees and provide them with houses and land.

κηδεμονικῶς, 'loyally'.

5. ἐν περισπασμοῖς κ.τ.λ., 'whenever these were distracted by civil struggles or foreign war, they themselves enjoyed their rights, for they maintained peace and prosperity the while as their land lay far away'.

παρευδιαζόμενοι. The material advantages of their rich plain (μακαρία) contributed to this. It was described by Euripides as καλλίκαρπον | κατάρρυτόν τε μυρίοισι νάμασι | καὶ βοῦσι καὶ ποίμναισιν εὐβοτωτάτην | οὗτ' ἐν πνοαῖσι χείματος δυσχεμέρου | οὗτ' αὖ τεθρίπποις ἡλίου θερμὴν ἄγαν | (ap. Strabo, 8, 5, 6).

παράπτωσιν, 'situation': an unusual meaning of a word little found except in P.: lit. 'falling off' or 'deviation'.

δταν δ' εὐσχοιοι. It was thus that as soon as the Theban attention was distracted by the Phocian war the Spartans seized the opportunity to attack Messenia (Paus. 4, 28).

ἀντοφθαλμεῖν. Cf. note on 2, 47, 1.

7. βάρος. Used in later Greek not only for 'weight' and pressure in war but for influence and wealth. The traditions of the early wars represent the Messenians as outwitted by the craft of the Spartans as well as overmatched in force of arms.

οὔτε...φίλους. Yet tradition spoke of much sympathy and practical help (οἱ τε Ἀρκάδες πανστρατιᾷ καὶ Ἀργείων καὶ Σικυωνίων λογάδες (Paus. 4, 11, 1). The Arcadian sympathy may have been antedated from the alliance of later days when the writers Rhianus and Myron composed the story which Pausanias copied.

ἀχθοφοροῦντες. The fate of the Messenian yeomen who submitted to till the ground for their Spartan masters is vividly represented in the words of Tyrtaeus, which may perhaps have been in the mind of P., ὥσπερ ὄνοι μεγάλοις ἀχθεσι τειρόμενοι | δεσποσύνοισι φέροντες ἀναγκαίης ὑπο λυγρῆς | ἡμῖσι πάνθ' ὄσων καρπὸν ἄρουρα φέρει (ap. Paus. 4, 14, 3).

ἀνάσταντοι. Traditions represent them as scattered among friendly peoples in Sicyon, Argos, Arcadia and Eleusis after

the first war, while the result of the second drove them to Sicily, Rhodes, and Libya.

8. **πλεονάκις**. Besides the earlier movements the Messenians, who had a home found them by the Athenians at Naupactus and Pylus, had again to fly before Spartan hate.

9. **τὴν νῦν ὑπέδρουσαν**. This was written after the submission of Messene and its re-admission to the league in 183 B. C., and certainly before the disastrous war which issued in the destruction of Corinth 146 B. C.: and though P. carried on his history further he left the passage of the earlier book unaltered.

10. **συμφρονήσαντες**. The design of Epam. in founding Megalopolis and Messene was to fetter the ambition of Sparta by raising permanent barriers in the path of her aggression. The two cities if united might always depend on effective help from their natural allies.

33 11. **τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς**: in the sense of **πρὸς ἀλλήλους**.

34 **τοῦτο συνεχὲς ἦν τ. π.**, 'this was the sequel to what was described above'.

35 9. **τῆς Κλ. τελευτῆς**. Plutarch gives us in detail the tragic story of his captivity and death. The high-souled Spartan could not hide his disgust at the sensual excesses and mean vanities of the Egyptian court: though well treated at first, his independent bearing roused mistrust, and he was kept in honourable confinement and then in closer ward, till in despair he broke out into the streets with a few bold comrades in a vain effort to regain his freedom by calling on the citizens to rise against their rulers. But they looked on as at a play, till at last the Spartans died by their own hands.

10. **Κλεομβρότου**, the son-in-law of Leonidas.

11. **Δεωνίδης**, the eighth in descent from the Pausanias who conquered Mardonius at Plataea, was the colleague of the noble-minded Agis, and was deposed by intrigue on the ground that he had long resided abroad and had children by a Persian wife. He was soon restored and contrived the downfall and death of his reforming colleague.

τῆς οἰκίας ταύτης. The double line of the royal families of Sparta, traced by the legend to Eurysthenes and Procles,

the two sons of the Heraclide Aristodemus, had lasted on through the whole period of their history.

14. *δοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐφόρων*. One of the points which Aristotle criticised in the Spartan system was the venality of the ephors who were often *σφόδρα πένητες* (Pol. 2, 9). Cf. also Thuc. 1, 131.

15. *τὰ καλά*. The correction of Scaliger and Casaubon for *τὰ κακά* of most MSS. If genuine, it is of course ironical: the passage is probably a fragment of some comedy.

36 5. *Πρασιάς*. This, like the other towns mentioned in the text, was near the sea, in the strip of coast which long ranked as Laconian. It was taken by the Athenians in the Peloponnesian war (Thuc. 2, 56).

8. *ἐμῆλλον*, 'were shirking', 'pretending only to prepare for'.

37 2. *Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ τότε*. This points to a later change of date, and Schorn (p. 210) has shown that from Olymp. 141 the Achaean and Aetolian elections both took place in the autumn.

57 *ἀπελίπαμεν*. Such a combination of 1 aor. and 2 aor. forms is one of the features of the later language: *εἶπα* was early used like *εἶπον* and *ἔπεσα* by Euripides (Alcest. 477), and similar forms became commoner in the later writers, especially in the Greek of the Septuagint and the N. T. where we have *ἤλθατε*, *ἐξείλατο*, *εὐράμενος*, *ἐφυγαν*, *ἐφάγαμεν*. The copyists seem at first to have replaced such cases in the Vatican MS. of Polybius by the older forms, as they are rare in the earlier books. This confusion of forms is continued in modern Greek (Mullach *Gr. Vulg.* 223).

2. *Οἰάνθειαν*. Oeanthe was just beyond the Crissaean bay on the narrow strip of coast tenanted by the Locri Ozolae, being the last of the towns mentioned by Thucydides 4, 101.

It bordered on Naupactus, which with the rest of Locris had long passed into the grasp of the Aetolians; hence the addition *τῆς Αἰτωλίας* in the text.

3. *τῶν ἡτόμοληκόντων*. Probably a mercenary. In those days of soldiers of fortune who passed from one employer to another the cities were peculiarly exposed to such treachery.

4. *παραβαλλόμενος*, 'running the risk', from the sense of

putting down a stake at dice: thus *πλείω παραβ.* 'with more at stake' Thuc. 3, 65, 3. So P. often uses *παραβόλως*, and possibly St Paul *παραβολεύομαι* in Ep. Phil. 2, 30.

5. *Αἰγαιρατῶν πόλις*. Near the rocky point now called *τὰ μαύρα λιθάρια* ('the black rocks'). "One of the busiest towns in Achaia, much frequented of old by the Phenicians who owned a factory within its walls, and probably established there the temple of the great goddess." Sir T. Wyse, *Exc.* II. 291. The town stood in a commanding position on the terrace-like platform where the remains of the old walls may be seen.

6. *παραπесόντος πλοῦ*, 'when a fair wind blew'. So *π. καιροῦ*, and *πάν τὸ παράπιπτον*.

7. *Ἀρχίδαμον*. We should expect a nom. here rather than the acc. after the *περί* of the foregoing clause.

8. *ἀνοδίας*, by trackless ground, like the *via invia* of Virgil. *ἀνοδος* appears in Xenophon (*Anab.* 4, 1, 10), but the subst. hardly before P., who has it chiefly in the plural.

10. *οἱ δὲ κ.τ.λ.*, 'breaking in as they did unexpectedly (like *necopinati*) were over confident in the matter'.

παραίτιον, properly 'partly the cause', but P. seems to use it to avoid hiatus as equivalent in meaning to *αἰτιον*.

58 *ἐκπαθεῖς πρὸς*, 'mad for': probably a colloquial expression of later Greek, for which the earlier term would have been *ἀκρατεῖς* as in Aristotle.

4. *σώστρεμμα*, 'main body'.

8. *λαβόντες ἀφορμὴν ἐγκ.*, 'taking advantage of their retreat'.

9. *ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ*. For 'a scuffle', where might is right; so frequently in P. Cf. the phrases *ἐν χερσὶν εἶναι* and *εἰς χεῖρας ἵεναι*.

59 *Εὐριπίδας*. Probably the same as the Aetolian commander at Cynaetha mentioned above in 19, 5, where the MSS. have *Εὐριπίδην*. He appears again in office in 5, 94, 2.

4. *Ἄραξον*. The promontory on the right bank of the river Larissus which was regarded as the boundary between Elis and Achaia.

Τέχος. Retaken by Philip (83, 1); possibly where the ruin Palaio Kastro stands, an hour's distance from Dyme.

60 ἡλαττωμένοι περὶ τ. β. 'having been worsted in their attempt at self-defence'. The verb more commonly takes a dat.

ἀγγέλους...πρεσβευτάς. The distinction implied in these words is probably that between messengers sent in haste to the executive officials, and formal deputations to make representations before the Ministry. But P. throughout uses the term *πρεσβευταὶ* somewhat loosely.

3. Γόρτυναν, on one of the tributaries of the Alpheus, had contributed to the population of Megalopolis. Its polygonal walls still remain "strongly situated on a rocky mountain above a tremendous precipice" (Gell's *T.* 105). Famed for the coolness of its waters it became a scene of the watercure, and hence had a fine temple of Asclepius. But Telphusa is further to the West, and possibly the earlier reading Γόργον may be right, though the name is unknown.

4. κοινὰς εἰσφοράς. The Congress votes the taxes for federal expenses as in 5, 1, 11: but we are not told how they were raised. Probably each city had to raise its quota, according to some general principle of assessment agreed upon, and then the magistrates of the city levied the rate on their own citizens. Cf. 31, 30, 5. "Such a refusal was not Secession, but it was Nullification: it was, as P. says, dangerous as a precedent for any who might hereafter wish to secede." Freeman, *Fed. Gov.* 536.

6. διαλύειν τὸ ἔθνος, 'secede from the league'.

8. ταύταις loosely refers to a plur. implied in *τινος ἐλπίδος*.

10. κομιδῆς ὑπ. ἀδιαπτώτου, 'sure (i.e. without fail) compensation' for their separate losses or expenditure to be repaid from the general treasury.

ἀρχηγούς. Cf. above 2, 41, 12.

61 Ἠπειρον. "The very name 'continent' shows how completely this country was regarded as a land apart, since it implies that it was only known through the medium of the outlying islands." (Tozer, *Geog. of G.* 216.) Of its three main tribes the Chaonians and Thesprotians had adopted republican institutions as early as Thucydides (2, 80, 7), but the Molossian royalty only passed away in 239 B.C. It was now a federal union, at least it is spoken of as a political whole, and

it had a federal coinage, with three generals (Livy 29, 12, 9), who perhaps represented its three main divisions.

2. σφενδονήτας. We read in Livy that in the siege of Same in Cephallenia in 189 B.C. the slingers of Achaia were found most effective, for, practised as they were from boyhood with the pebbles found on their own shores, they excelled in skill even the famous natives of the Balearic isles (38, 29).

Πολυρρηνίων. P. was a town in the N.W. extremity of Crete, many specimens of whose coinage have been preserved. It had been strengthened by Achaean colonists in early days, but the contingent now mentioned were probably mercenaries rather than allies.

4. Ἀμβρακόν, probably Fidho Kastro, a fortress near the port of Ambracia, and 80 stades below it on the river Arachthus (Arta). There was a κλειστός λιμὴν, or port closed with moles, leaving a narrow entrance which might be shut with a chain, being an artificial basin opening towards the mouth of the river. Leake, *N. G.* i. 214.

ἀναστροφὴν, 'breathing space'. Cf. note on 2, 51, 4.

6. Ἀμβρακίαν. This Corinthian colony had grown rich and powerful by the 5th century B.C. when it suffered terrible losses from the Acarnanians led by Demosthenes (Thuc. 2, 68).

It passed into the hands of Philip of Macedon and then of Pyrrhus, who made it the capital of Epirus and his royal residence, but the Aetolians had seized it and found it of signal use in dominating the neighbouring country. Occupying, as it did, a strong and central position in a rich wide plain near the beautiful inland sea of Arta it has left traces of its power and opulence in the remains of the great walls to which Livy refers in his description of the siege in 189 B.C. (38, 4).

7. στενήν καὶ χωστὴν π., 'one narrow causeway'.

ἐπικατατὰ εὐκαίρως, 'is placed so as to command'.

62 Πιερίαν. The S.E. district of Macedonia, parted from Thessaly by the great chain of Olympus, included according to Ptolemy all the country between the mouth of the Peneus and that of the Lydias. Poetry sung of it as the early home of the Muses and the birthplace of Orpheus (Eurip. Bacch. 406).

περιβαλλόμενος, 'having gained', lit. 'compassed': in Herodotus *περιβ. ἐωυτῷ κέρδεα* (3, 71, 6).

Δίον. Now the petty village of Malathriá on the coast under the sides of Mt Olympus. Though not large it was one of the leading cities of Macedonia and the great bulwark of its maritime frontier to the South, strongly fortified, and rich in works of art (Livy 44, 7). Here were 25 of the works of Lysippus representing the peers of Alexander who fell by the Granicus. "It is one of the numerous instances of ancient cities of opulence and celebrity situated in the most unhealthy spots. The effect of its marsh combined with the too great vicinity of the steep sides of Olympus could hardly have failed in having a pernicious effect...and in fact Malathriá is now regarded as a most unwholesome situation in the summer." (Leake, *N. G.* III. 410.)

2. **τὸ γυμνάσιον**. This was one of the most important places in a Greek city, and much was often spent upon it. One at Elis described by Pausanias (6, 23) had three enclosures (*περίβολοι*) for races and athletic exercises, and altars and statues of the gods, a senate house, and a sort of literary club-room for improvisatori to recite in turn.

στοάς, the colonnades so much in vogue in Greece, as in the old towns of Lombardy, whether as porticoes annexed to temples, or independently for public business or pleasure.

εἰκόνας τῶν βασιλέων. The republicans of Aetolia had a special grudge against the Macedonian Kings with whom they had been constantly at feud.

63 **τάπχιρα κεκομισμένος**, 'having received the reward': *ἐπιχ.* with *ἀρετῆς* in Plato *Rep.* 608 c, but more commonly in an ironical sense as in P.

4. **Χαράδραν**. This "town evidently took its name from the river which, forming a continued cataract from one of its chief sources at St George to the plain of Lelovo, well merited the appellation of Charadra. The name occurs also in a fragment of Ennius which seems to refer to the good quality of a shell-fish in the adjoining river or marshes." Leake, *N. G.* IV. 256.

Ἄκτιον, from *ἀκτῆ*, a 'promontory', whence the Apollo

there worshipped was called Actius. The modern name is Ἀκρη, or Punta in Italian. Thucydides also speaks of it as a mere shrine on a cape in the territory of the Ambracian gulf, that is, of the Strait of Prévyza (1, 29, 2). Dion Cassius gives a long description of the neighbourhood in connexion with the victory of Octavianus which decided the fate of the Roman world (50, 12).

5. Σικελικοῦ. The stretch of sea between Sicily and Epirus went commonly by this name, while the Adriatic beyond was called Ἰόνιος κόλπος. τοῦτο (τὸ Σικελικόν) καὶ τὸν Ἀμβρακικόν καὶ Κορινθιακόν καὶ Κρυσαιὸν ἐκπληροῖ κόλπον. Strabo 7, 7, 4.

λείπει. Often with numerals in P., as the impersonal δεῖ is used in Attic with ὀλίγου or πολλοῦ.

6. τριακόσια στάδια. Strabo puts the whole circuit as not more than this (7, 7, 6). Perhaps P. meant the same, though his words seem to imply the extent inland.

7. Φυτίας seems to be Porta, where there are still ruins, due West of Stratus. In the description of the march of Eurylochus Thucydides brings him διὰ τῆς Φυτίας (3, 106, 2), but Stephanus, and monumental evidence, are in favour of the form in the text. Cf. Leake, *N. G.* III. 574.

10. σιτομετρήσας, 'provisioned': a late word against which Phrynichus cautioned his readers: σιτομετρεῖσθαι μὴ λέγε' λύων δ' ἐρεῖς σίτον μετρεῖσθαι (Lobeck, *P.* 383). The proper sense would be to act as a σιτομέτρης. In St Luke we have τὸ σιτόμετρον for 'portion of food' (12. 42).

τὴν Στρατικήν. S. stood on the right bank of the Achelous, 200 stades above its mouth. It had a strong military position, commanding as it did the principal approaches to the great Aetolian plain. We hear of it as a place of importance in the campaign of Cnemus (Thuc. 2, 81), and Xenophon implies that it was the capital of Acarnania (Hell. 4, 6, 4). It had passed with much of Acarnania into the hands of the Aetolians.

11. Ἀχελῷον, now Aspropotamo 'the white river', best described in the words of the poetical geographer ἀνδρῶν Αἰτωλῶν πέδιον μέγα· τοῦ διὰ μέσσου | σύρεται ὀλκὸν ἄγων Ἀχελῷος ἀργυροδίνης | Τρινακρίας ἐπὶ πόντον ἐλισσόμενος, διὰ μέσσω | νήσων ἄς καλέουσιν Ἐχινάδας. Dion Perieg., 432.

- 64 2. *ᾠφελείας*, 'plunder'. Cf. note on 4, 3, 8.

τὸ 'Ρίον, here perhaps taken as the name of the strait—not the promontory only—as in Livy, *intra Rhium—fauces eae sunt Corinthii sinus* (28, 7, 14).

3. *Μητροπόλεως*. "M. occupied the hill of Lygovitzi on the right bank of Achelous, below Stratus. The steepness and altitude of the hill of L. explains the King's disinclination to lose any time in attacking the Aetolians when they retired into the citadel after having abandoned the town." Leake, *N. G.* III. 577.

Κωνόπης. This was in Aetolia proper, on the left bank of the Achelous: Strabo also speaks of it as the natural place for crossing the river, but says it was only a village till the wife of the second Ptolemy enlarged it and gave it the name of Arsinoe after herself (10, 2, 22). It is now probably Anghelo Kastro.

6. *ἀθρόους κατὰ τάγμα συνησπικότας*, 'in close order with the shields of each company locked together'.

7. *σημαίαν*, prop. a 'standard', but used commonly in P. as equivalent to *σπεῖρα* and *τάγμα*, for the manipule of the Roman legion, or for division of either horse or foot in other armies.

8. *τὸ τῶν Αἰτ. φρόνημα*. A poetical expression for 'the Aetolians, proud as they were'.

9. *Ἰθωρίαν*, being "below Conope in the straits of the Achelous which were formed on one side by the extremity of Mt Zygós, and on the other by the heights and forests of Mánina, probably stood near St Elias...some vestiges of an Hellenic fortress actually exist at St E." Leake, *N. G.* III. 577.

κυρίως, so as 'just' to command the road. The word is often thus used by P., and to give it more force is put last in the sentence, as in 5, 22, 4.

11. *τοῖς προνομέουσιν*. Cf. note on 68, 3 below.

- 65 2. *Οινιάδας*. "Placed on the right flank of the great line of defence, which the Achelous afforded to the Acarnanians against their formidable neighbours of Aetolia, and of which Stratus protected in like manner the left, Oeniadae was of immense importance to the Acarnanian *κοινόν*." It had resisted Pericles

and Phormio (Thuc. 1, 111 ; 2, 102), but had fallen at last into the clutches of the Aetolians. The position comprehended the chief requisites of a Greek city : a plain and lake abounding in the necessaries and luxuries of life, with a height strengthened by that lake, by marshes and by two rivers, which afforded an easy communication with two points of the coast, at a distance sufficient to leave no fears of surprise from the sea. Leake, *N. G.* III. 556.

3. Παιάνιον "I conceive to have been the ancient site between Mastú and the Aspro. Although Polybius does not remark that Philip recrossed the Achelous between Conope and Oeniadae, it is evident that he must have done so, Oeniadae having been upon the right bank of the river and the Macedonians having crossed it between Metropolis and Conope. But the historian is equally silent as to a third passage of the river, which was unavoidable when Philip proceeded from Oeniadae to the Calydonia." Leake, III. 577.

6. Καλυδωνίας. The Calydon of early legend was near the river Evenus, a few miles from the sea on a rocky height with rich plainland around it (ὀππόθι πτότατον πεδίων Καλυδωνος ἐραννῆς, II. 9, 577). It passed for a while into the hands of the Achaeans (Xen. Hell. 4, 6, 1), but the garrison was soon expelled. Strabo speaks of it as an ancient ornament of Greece, but fallen sadly low in his time (10, 2, 3). The magnificent walls of its acropolis still bear witness to its past.

Ἀττάλου. It was the policy of the princes who held the coast of Asia Minor to keep on good terms with the Aetolian league, whose privateers might have else been dangerous to their shipping and coast towns : so we have an Aetolian inscription which speaks of the friendly services of Eumenes and his ancestors to the league. (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* v. 372.)

τὴν...κατασκευὴν ἀναδεξαμένου, 'having undertaken the work'.

10. ἱκατόν. Leake says that it is really more, but that Strabo was still wider of the mark in his measurement of the strait between the two coasts.

66 Δαρδανείς. These restless neighbours spread in what is now the South of Servia from the upper valleys of the Drilo to

the borders of Paeonia, to which they laid claim after the fall of Perseus, though they had often been repulsed by Macedonia. Strabo describes them as in a very savage state, hiding in holes in the ground, under heaps of dung, but with a passionate love of music (7, 5, 7).

4. ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτων, viz. 3, 19. Demetrius had turned against the Romans when he thought they were occupied with Hannibal, but he was attacked by a Roman fleet and lost his capital and kingdom. ἀνὴρ θράσος μὲν καὶ τόλμαν κεκτημένος, ἀλόγιστον δὲ ταύτην καὶ τελῶς ἄκριτον.

6. Πέλλαν. An old royal residence of the kings of Macedonia, a few miles from the mouth of the Lydias, the birth-place of Philip and Alexander who enlarged and strengthened it as the treasure-house of their dynasty. Only a few marble slabs here and there remain of it, and there is nothing remarkable in its site, but Livy describes it in impressive terms, "Cingunt paludes inexsuperabilis altitudinis...in ipsa palude, qua proxima urbi est, velut insula eminet aggeri operis ingentis imposita: qui et murum sustineat, et humore circumfusae paludis nihil laedatur" (44, 50). "A source which flows into the marsh is still called Pel, and perhaps the town may have taken its name from a fountain called πελλός 'black', like the μέλαν ὕδωρ of Homer, and the mavromáti (μαῦρον δμμα) of modern Greek." Leake, N. G. III. 264.

7. Λαρίση. L., the old home by the Peneius of the noble line of the Aleuadae (Hdt. 9, 58), is compared by Strabo with other towns of like name on the Cayster and Hermus, which had also ποταμόχωστον τὴν χώραν (13, 3, 4). "It stands on the lowest part of the rich plain (Larissae campus opimae), surrounded by Ossa, Olympus, and the Perrhaebian hills. It is the meeting point of the great roads of Thessaly by the Peneius, but the remains of Hellenic times are covered with modern houses, or to be found only in the cemeteries where the Turks have used the ancient stones for monuments." Leake, N. G. I. 435.

11. τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔτος ἑληγε. This passage shows that the years of the Olympiads are reckoned by P. as beginning in the autumn and not in the summer, as was usual. The

Aetolian elections took place at the end of September. Other passages also point to the same conclusion. The equinox and the elections determine approximately the limits of his years. Cf. Nissen, *Oeconom. d. Gesch. Polyb., Rhein. Mus.* 1871, p. 246.

- 67 παραντίκα. P. explains (2, 3) that it was the Aetolian custom for the general to enter on actual office immediately after his election.

τοὺς ἄνω τόπους, that is the northern districts of Epirus, just as Strabo speaks of τὴν κάτω καὶ πρὸς θαλάττῃ Μακεδονίᾳ as distinguished from τὴν ἄνω near the mountain ranges of the North. "Dorimachus probably followed the valley of the Aspro from Stratus upwards, and crossing the range of Pindus entered the valley of the Arta to the N. of the Ambracian country, following the river till he was near the plain of Joannina. He thus avoided the hostile district of Ambracia as well as the hazardous pass which ascends from Arta by the valley of the river." Leake, *N. G.* iv. 185.

3. Δωδώνην. D. was regarded as the most ancient oracle of Greece (*Hdt.* 2, 52), and of high renown in the heroic ages when its attendants were thus described as a rude race, ἀμφὶ δὲ Σελλοὶ | σοὶ ναλοῦσ' ὑποφῆται ἀνιπτόποδες χαμαιεῦναι (*Il.* 16, 233).

Its exact position was till lately unknown, for, besides its treatment from the Aetolians, it was pillaged by the Thracians in 88 B.C., as probably by Paulus Aemilius in earlier days, and Strabo speaks of it as a mere shadow of the past (ἐκλέλοιπε καθάπερ τᾶλλα, 7, 7, 9). The classical writers only pointed to the border land of the Thesproti and Molossi, πρὸς Μολοσσὰ δάπεδα | τὴν αἰπύνωτόν τ' ἀμφὶ Δωδώνην, ἵνα | μαντεῖα θῶκος τ' ἐστὶ Θεσπρωτοῦ Διός (*Aesch. Prom.* 854): and that it was at the end of a rich plain Ἑλλοπία πολυλήϊος ἥδ' εὐλειμων (*Hesiod. ap. Sch. ad Trach.* 1169), which was so named from its marshes, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλῶν (*Strabo*, 7, 7, 10), fed by the streams from Mt Tomarus, 'centum fontibus circa radices nobilem' (*Plin.* 4, 1). It has been however rediscovered, and inscriptions found by the excavations of Carapanos have proved its site to be in the valley of Tcharacovista, 10 miles S.W. of Joannina under Mt Olytzika, in a plain partly flooded by the streams

which feed the Thyamis. De Witte remarks on the archaic character of much that has been found, and suggests that all that was precious was carried off in the repeated pillages, and that only the oldest bronzes which may have been buried or lost already were left upon the spot. Cf. Carapanos, *Dodone et ses ruines*.

6. ἀπηλπικότων, 'had given up expecting the arrival': ἀπελπίζειν does not appear before P., and is by him variously taken with acc. or gen. or infinitive.

7. Κῦνον. The chief maritime city of the Opuntian Locri, opposite to Euboean Aedepeus; it figured in old fable as the home of Deucalion and Pyrrha (Strabo, 9, 4, 2).

9. Διοσκούριον. The temple of Castor and Pollux which gave its name to the locality as in other parts of Greece.

68 τῆς Φενικῆς, 'the territory of Pheneus'. Cf. note on 2, 52, 2.

3. διχνεύοντες π. τ. προνομίας, 'exploring the country for the sake of plunder'. Προνομία, a longer form of προνομή which is used for 'foraging', and this sense passes easily into that of 'plunder'.

5. διεκβαλὼν, 'after crossing the whole of': not found before P., who has also διεκβολή for a mountain pass.

69 ἐπιβαλούσης, 'advancing upon': prop. as trans. with εαυτήν, but used abs. as early as Homer (Od. 15, 297), but not in this sense in classical prose. P. combines it with dat. of the object, or with ἐπὶ as here, and with εἰς.

ὑπερβολήν, 'mountain pass'. Cf. note on 11, 5 above.

3. ἐγκαταλειμμένον, 'left in the lurch'.

5. καθοπλίσαντος. Cf. above, 2, 65, 3.

70 ἀναδεξιόμενος, 'after encountering'. Cf. ἀναδ. πολιορκίαν (2, 61, 7), in a more general sense than the earlier one of freely incurring risk or responsibility.

3. Ψωφίς, a romantic glen in the N.W. of Arcadia in the district called Azanis, of which Cleitor was the centre, close to the great mountain mass from which many of the rivers of the Northern Peloponnese take their source.

τῆς μὲν συμπτώσης, 'in regard to the P. in general it lies in the midland, but as regards Arcadia to the West'. It is in

the further N.W. corner of Arcadia, and as such in a midland though not central position.

4. *πολιτεύεσθαι αὐτήν*. The phrase is indefinite, *συμπ.* might imply membership in a federal league, but none such existed in Elis, and we have no details of the relation which existed between this town and the city which held the territory of Elis.

6. *τὴν ὀχυρότητα*. "Among the remarkable positions with which Greece abounded, and which seem to have been intended by nature for the strongholds of small republics, P. is one of the most distinguished for strength and singularity of site. A rocky hill advanced before the main body of the mountains, defended on the S. E., or longest side, by the Erymanthus, on the S. W. by the Aroanius; at the S. extremity of the site the streams are united" (Leake, *M.* II. 241). 300 feet below is the mouth of a third stream and hence the modern name Tripotamo.

7. *λάβρος χαμάρευσ*, viz. the Aroanius (Paus. 8, 24, 2).

κοιλώματος, the channel or bed 'hollowed out', 'alveus': the word is of late use.

8. *τεθρύληται λόγος*. Mt Erymanthus was famed in old legend as the haunt of the wild boar, which used to ravage the neighbouring valleys, till Heracles destroyed it. The fancy grew out of the destructive floods of the river fed by winter snows, which could however be lessened by the dykes. Cf. *ζῶν φέρε κάπριον, ὃς ῥ' ἐνὶ βήσσης | φέρβετο Λαμπεῖης Ἐρυμάνθιον ἄμ μέγα τίφος*. Apoll. Argon. 1, 126.

9. *ἐπιφανείας*, 'sides', i.e. the visible surface: a technical term of mathematics.

10. *ἄκρας εὐφυούς*, 'a natural citadel'. For *πραγματικῆς* cf. note on 4, 8, 1.

71 2. *πολεμητήριον*, 'base of operations': equivalent to the usual *ὀρμητήριον πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον*: but else unknown.

3. *ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ὀρμήσας*, 'inclining to this view': a phrase which occurs in 1, 16, 5 with *τοῖς λογισμοῖς*, in place of *τῇ γνώμῃ*.

6. *πρᾶξιν εἴη συνεσταμένους*, 'should have concerted measures with some traitors'. Cf. note on 2, 43, 4.

10. ἐκ τοῦ καιροῦ, 'on the spur of the moment'.

72 ἐνδομενίαν. Phrynichus rejects this word as a vulgar equivalent for ἐπιπλά, 'furniture' (Lobeck, *Phr.* 384). Pollux too thinks meanly of it (οὐκ ἐπαίνῳ, 10, 12), but refers to its use by Olympias, and it may have come from the Macedonian dialect. Commentators variously spell and explain it, as from ἐν δόμῳ, ἐνδον μένειν, or ἐνδυμ, but these are only conjectures: another passage of P. connects it with dress (5, 81, 3).

4. μένειν...ἀναζεύξῃ, 'to remain where they were till his army retired'.

7. Λασιῶνες. This was the chief stronghold in the highlands of Elis, and as such a subject of frequent disputes with the Arcadians, to whose frontiers it was very close where the Ladon flows into the Alpheus (Λ. τὸν ὑπ' Ἀρκάδων ἀντιλεγόμενον Xen. Hell. 4, 2, 30). It stood on a high platform edged with cliffs, and its name points to the rough woodlands among which it was perched.

8. ἐκομίσαντο τ. π. "Since its capture by Philip it has not made a single step towards recovery. At present it is deserted. The hand of Hercules was required to restrain the rivers, while fear of inundation in winter, and intense sultry fever air in summer, has driven what little population it ever possessed to the mountains" (Sir T. Wyse, *Exc.* II. 162).

73 2. Στρατόν. The Homeric Στρατία (Il. 2, 606), which had entirely disappeared by the time of Strabo. It was well within the Arcadian borders.

3. θύσας τῷ θεῷ. In earlier days the Eleians had checked the Spartan king Agis, when he tried to do the like, saying that it was an old usage of Greece, μὴ χρηστηριάξεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐφ' Ἑλλήνων πολέμῳ (Xen. Hell. 3, 2, 22).

4. τὴν Ἠλείαν. "Elis stood on the edge of the plain where the Peneus issued from the hills...the hill of Elis is conspicuous above the others by its superior height, its peaked form, and by a ruined tower on its summit. Both the height and town are now called Kaloscopi (Belvedere)." Leake, *M.* I. 4.

6. γέμειν...κατασκευῆς. So in the invasion of Agis, 399 B.C., ὑπέρπολλα μὲν κτήνη, ὑπέρπολλα δὲ ἀνδράποδα ἤλυσ-

κετο...ἐγένετο αὖθις ἡ στρατεία ὥσπερ ἐπισιτισμὸς τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ (Xen. Hell. 3, 2, 26).

7. οὕτως στέργουνσι τ. ἔ. τ. δ. β. So Isocrates speaks of many in Attica who did not come to town even for the festivals (μηδ' εἰς τὰς ἐορτὰς εἰς ἄστυ καταβαίνειν, Areop. 150 b). And in the letters of the rhetorician Alciphron, we have young rustics writing οὐπώποτε εἰς ἄστυ καταβὰς ποθῶ τὸ καινὸν τοῦτο θέαμα ἰδεῖν (3, 31). Yet country life had few attractions for the Greeks who had once taken part in the stirring excitements of politics. There is truth, though too strongly put, in what is said of Xenophon, whose country seat was in Elis, "almost the only Greek, ancient or modern, who had a love or understanding of country life, and which he describes so much like the country gentleman as he was, and so little like a town rhetorician...I never met a Greek who loved a country life for the sake of the country...one when asked if he was going to Kephissia answered, *οὐκ εἰμι χωράτης, εἰμι πολιτικὸς ἀνὴρ*" ('I am no rustic, but a politician'). (Sir T. Wyse, *Ex.* II. 84.)

εἰς ἄλλαν. The correction of Meineke (*Philol.* 12, 371), for the MS. reading *ἡλείαν*, which Naber had proposed to change to *ἐκκλησίαν* (*Mnem.* 6, 238). "The usual name for a public assembly in the Doric states was *ἄλλα*. It was so called at Sparta (Hdt. 7, 134), and it is used also in official documents for those of Byzantium, Gela, Agrigentum, Corcyra and Heraclea: *ἀλαιοῖα* was the term employed by the Tarentines and Epidamnians; the place of assembly among the Sicilian Dorians was called *ἀλιακτήρ*. In Sparta the ancient name was *ἀπέλλα*." Müller's *Dorians*, II. 88.

8. πρόνοιαν...τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας. The ruling classes of Elis, though not a narrow oligarchy, seem to have been exceptionally prudent in disarming jealousy by their care for the material interests of the yeomanry of the country districts.

βιωτικὰς. A word which Phrynichus objects to as unpleasant and un-Attic (Lobeck, *P.* 354). It occurs first in Aristotle, often in later authors, and in the N. T. (cf. *μέμνηται βιωτικαί* of St Luke, 21. 34), and passed into the 'secular' of the Church writers.

9. πλῆθος τῆς χώρας. The lowlands of Elis were especially

fertile and populous, as the mountains there retired furthest from the coast, and so the richer citizens had been the capitalists of Greece. Their adhesion to the Aetolian cause, industrious and wealthy as they were—has been urged as an argument against the bitter description of the Aetolians in P. as the freebooters of Greece. The Elean συνοικισμός was as late as 471 B.C., and many remained still on the land without removing to the centre.

κ. τῶν Ἑλλήνων συγχώρημα. There is no trace in the early historians of any such guaranteed neutrality for Elis, and it appears first in a fragment of Ephorus (Müller, *Fr. H.* i. 230), from whom it was probably copied by Polybius and Diodorus (8, 1). The latter represents it as due to a suggestion of the jealous Spartans, who wished to divert the ambition of the prosperous Eleians. It is inconsistent with the facts recorded by Herodotus and Thucydides, that they wished to take part in the struggle at Plataea, and were actually embroiled to some extent in the Peloponnesian war. But the Greeks of an earlier age associated Elis chiefly with the Sacred Peace proclaimed for the time of the Olympian festivals, and as their country lay remote from the greater Hellenic powers it enjoyed long peace after it became the recognized guardian of the shrine. Cf. Busolt, *Lakedaimonier* 1, 190.

74 μεταλαβεῖν τὰς ἀγωγὰς τῶν βίων, 'change their course of life'.

2. δούλιαν. Such immunity, if only a fiction in the case of Elis, was a reality in later days for Teos, as the home of the Dionysiac artists, and for other places secured by special contracts.

3. ἦς...αὐτῆς...τοῦτο. We may note here the looseness of the style.

4. νῆ Δ', ἀλλά. A formula of P. to introduce a supposed objection, as the ἦ καὶ νῆ Δ'α often puts forward a possible alternative.

εὐεπίθετοι, 'an easy prey'.

6. ὑπογενομένης τοῖς βίοις χορηγίας, 'while they had such ample means in reserve'.

τῶν...παρεφεδρευόντων, 'who would have been ready to fight for them at any time or place'.

8. τῆς νῦν. Probably to be explained in the same way as τὴν νῦν ὑπάρχουσαν κατάστασιν, in 4, 32, 9.

- 75 2. Θαλάμας. It was probably in a retired valley at the top of the great mountain ridge of Santameri, which runs northward just above the junction of the Ladon and Peneius. Leake calls it the most remarkable of all the natural features of this part of the Eleia (*Mor.* i. 4).

ἀπραγμάτευτον, 'unfrequented': in Diodorus in the sense of 'impregnable'.

5. συρφετώδους, 'promiscuous': a late word from συρφετός which is a longer form of σύρφος, 'litter', or sweepings, from σύρω.

6. μιγάδες. Of various nationalities.

- 76 εἰς παραπλησίαν δ. As it had been the constant policy of the Macedonian government since the days of Alexander to reduce Greece to complete subjection, there was nothing distinctive in the action of Apelles beyond a choice of method and personal bearing.

τῇ Θετταλῶν. Though nominally independent allies they were for all practical purposes a part of the Macedonian kingdom.

2. διαφέρειν Μακεδόνων. Yet the old Macedonian system was not one of absolute monarchy like that of Persia, but was tempered by the self-respect and usages of freemen. There was much blunt independence in the bearing of the peers of Alexander. Cf. οὐ βίβη ἀλλὰ νόμῳ Μακεδόνων ἄρχοντες διετέλεσαν (*Arrian*, 4, 11, 6). Eastern influences had however affected the spirit of the Macedonian court.

5. μαστιγουμένοις. A punishment revolting to the sentiments of a free Greek.

εἰς τὴν ἄλυσιν, 'to prison', of which the chain or handcuffs were taken as a symbol.

6. τὸ κατὰ βραχὺ...ἀγαγών, 'that he might gradually and insensibly accustom them'.

8. ἐν ἀρχαῖς...δίδισσασθαι, 'to protest against such conduct at the outset'.

77 κατὰ τὴν ὁμ....συνδιατρέβοντας, 'by his behaviour towards those who were serving under him in the camp'.

2. βασιλία γάρ... 'it would not be easy to name a king who was endowed with more natural qualifications to secure power': πράγματα with or without the article is thus used in P., as πραγμάτων κύριος, χρῆσθαι τοῖς πρ.

4. ἄλλος ἀρμόσει καιρός. He returns to the subject 7, 13.

5. τὴν λείαν ἐλαφυροπῶλει, 'sold his booty', an obvious pleonasm.

7. Ταραντίους. Mentioned again as mercenaries in the army of Philopoemen (11, 12), and in that of Antiochus, (16, 18, 7). Livy says, 'quos Tarentinos vocabant equites' (35, 28), and the name seems at last to have designated a special type of cavalry, as that of Cretans stood for 'archers', without regard to race. "The buckler, the conical hat, and the absence of a chlamys distinguish the Tarentine cavalry from those of Thessaly and Greece." Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, p. 121.

8. Τριφύλου. The name of the district evidently points to a union of three races, as Strabo says, ἀπὸ τοῦ τρία φύλα συνελθυθέναι (8, 3, 3). These were the Ἐπειοί, Μινυαί, and the Eleians. For the romantic story of the Minyae cf. Hdt. 4, 148.

τῶν Ἀρκάδος. Strabo goes on to say, οἱ δ' ἀντὶ τῶν Μινυῶν Ἀρκάδας φασιν, ἀμφισβητήσαντας τῆς χώρας πολλάκις, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Ἀρκαδικὸς Πύλος ἐκλήθη ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ Τριφυλιακός. It was but a narrow strip of coast where the mountains come nearest to the sea, and, though conquered by the Eleians after the Messenian wars, it was from time to time encouraged by the Spartans and Arcadians to separate itself from Elis.

10. κατὰ τὴν τυραννίδα, 'when he was tyrant', as καθ' ἡμᾶς, 'in our time'.

78 2. Ἀλφειραν. A little town on the Western frontier of Arcadia between Heraea and Phigalia, now the castle of Nerovitza. It was partially deserted when Megalopolis was founded, and passed into the hands of the Eleians to whom the mountain fort was useful. The old walls can still be

traced on the summit of a hill surrounded on three sides by the torrent of Fanári.

3. ἀκραν. At the S. E. of the hill is a height which formed the keep of the fortress. Cf. Leake, *M.* II. 72.

4. οὐ τὴν αἰτίαν ἀπὸ ποίας π. A pleonasm such as is not infrequent in the style of P.

ἀπὸ π... χορηγίας, 'what design or favour received gave rise to its execution'. χορηγία here perhaps 'bounty of heaven'.

5. Ἑκατοδῶρον. Pausanias speaks of it as Ὑπατοδῶρον τε ἔργον θέας ἄξιον μεγέθους τε εἵνεκα καὶ ἐς τὴν τέχνην (8, 26, 4), but he gives no reason for its execution. Pliny refers Hypatodorus to the 102nd Olympiad.

7. ἐπιβάλλειν. From the original sense of 'aim at' the word passed to that of 'hit' or 'come near to', and thus P. uses it either with ἐπὶ and acc. as above 69, 1; or with dat. in the general sense of 'approach'. Hence ἡλίου ἐπιβολαί 'sunrise'.

12. ἐκυρίευσαν. Philip retained the Triphylian towns and others taken in that neighbourhood, for they were still in his hands in 208 B.C. Cf. Livy, 28, 8.

79 2. Τυπαῖας, probably near the Mt Typaeum of which Pausanias speaks, between Scillus and the Alpheus (5, 6, 5). Leake identifies it with a ruin near Platianá. "A narrow level on a lofty summit surrounded with precipices formed the acropolis....The situation is perfectly adapted to the object of Phillidas after he had sent forward the greater part of his forces...namely that of observing the movements of Philip at Heraea" (*Mor.* II. 82).

5. πολεμάρχιον, the office of the Polemarchs. In Xenophon we read of τὸ ταμεῖον τοῦ πολεμαρχείου in Thebes (5, 4, 6), and as there was a board of that kind in many Greek cities, the name of the official residence was familiar.

6. κατατολμάν, 'browbeat': not found before P.

80 Δεπρεᾶται. L. was the leading city in the South of Triphyly in a strong site which commanded the coast road as well as the valley of the Neda. Its ruins comprise masonry of many different periods. Subject to Elis between the Persian and

Peloponnesian wars, it soon asserted its independence, to which it clung long and obstinately.

καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων. The Spartans had in early days encouraged the city to shake itself free from Elis, and had entered into special relations with it.

9. Σαμικόν. A fortress of which the ruins still remain on a strong hill commanding a narrow pass close to the sea between two lagunes, and midway between the mouths of the Alpheus and Neda. Strabo says that Samos meant a 'height', and regards it as the acropolis of the Arene of Homer (οἱ δὲ Πύλον τ' ἐνέμοντο καὶ Ἀρήνην ἐρατεινήν). Here was also probably the Macistus of the Minyae, so called from the long ridge over which it spread. "The ancient wall is 6 feet thick and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles in circumference: it follows the contour of the hill on three sides, with projecting and re-entering angles without towers, in a manner that denotes a remote antiquity. The walls afford a beautiful specimen of the second order of Hellenic masonry" (Leake, *Mor.* i. 53).

13. Φρίξαν. On a steep height close to the Alpheus, a few miles above Olympia: afterwards called Φαιστός as now Palão-Phánero, both names being derived from the fire signals for which the height was used, as it commands the lower hills through which an enemy would march from the side of Elis on Triphylia.

Αἶπιον. Probably now Helleniko, where stand the ruins of a stronghold which commanded the most important passes of central Triphylia.

Πύργον. Near the Neda in the most southern corner of Triphylia, where some fragments of ancient architecture still remain.

15. ἐπιμελητήν, equivalent to praefectus. It appears to have been in frequent use for the 'resident' who represented Macedonian interests in independent towns, as the Spartans used ἀρμοστής.

82 2. τῷ κατὰ βραχύ, 'by gradual encroachments': the elliptical phrase is less common, but κατὰ β. is a favourite adverbial expression of P.

3. σύστασιν, 'intimacy': not found before P. in this sense.

περὶ τούτους...γίνεσθαι, 'to deal with them': a favourite idiom with P.

5. κατὰ τὴν ἔγγραφον 'according to the exact terms of the'...

6. ἐκ τῆς ὑποθέσεως, 'from their position', as τῆς ὑποθέσεως τῆς αὐτῆς μενούσης 'while the state of things remains the same' (8, 1, 5)—but the sense is unusual in P. as elsewhere.

7. ὥς εἰς τὴν Ἠλείαν. The excuse was needed—poor as it was—to explain the appearance of the king at a meeting not of the whole confederacy, but of a purely Achaean assembly, and this interference in their domestic concerns.

8. τοὺς μὲν...οἷς δέ. The change from demonstr. to relative form is somewhat abrupt.

Ἐπήρατον. "The choice of a Pharaian general, while it was probably an act of special concession to these cities (the quasi Sonderbund) shows that they were not looked upon as suspicious or rebellious members." Freeman, *Fed. Gov.* 537.

Τιμόξενον, who had been already twice general, and lately displaced peremptorily by Aratus (7, 8 above).

5.1 6. ἀρχόντων, i.e. the general and his ministers, the demiurgi, convened extraordinary meetings of the assembly.

7. τοὺς μὲν περὶ Ἀ... This clause with its five prep., half of which are pleonastic, illustrates the trailing style of the writer.

καταγινωσκόμενον, 'despised'.

8. ἄγνοιαν, 'mistake' passing into 'fault', as the verb in 11, 5. This sense appears in the Aristotelian distinction between ἡ καθόλου and ἡ καθ' ἑκάστα ἄγνοια.

9. εἰς Σικυῶνα. The transference to Sicyon was a compliment to Aratus, as his influence was greatest in his own city.

εἰς τὰς χεῖρας. A favourite phrase of P. for 'close relations', generally friendly but sometimes hostile. In the first sense it is used with παραγίγνεσθαι, συνελθεῖν, δίδοναι ἑαυτὸν and a dat. of the person, or as here with λαμβάνειν and acc. In the second the verbs συνάπτειν, συνιέναι occur with a dat.

11. πεντήκοντα τάλαντα. The federal government seems to have no scruple in raising large funds by taxation, though

complaints are repeatedly expressed at this time of difficulty in providing pay for their mercenaries.

ἀναλύγῃν, 'breaking up his camp', 'start'. It is true that the king had set out from home long before, but the pay for three months was to cover the expenses of this time.

μισθοδοτῆσαι, 'provide pay for', taken transitively by a lax usage.

μυριάδας. Supply *μεδίωνων*.

- 2 4. **Δέχαιον**, the port of Corinth on the gulf, and the emporium of her trade with Western Greece and Italy.

ἐγόμεναίε. A like account is given of the Romans training their future sailors in the first Punic war.

5. **γενναϊότατοι**. The Macedonian cavalry was good in the days of Thucydides (2, 100), but the infantry was of slight account, and the rude shepherds, with their rusty swords and wooden shields, are described as hardly a match for their Illyrian neighbours (Arrian 7, 9) till the genius of Philip and Alexander developed the machinery of war, which trained to arms a vigorous and hardy peasantry, and welded together scattered tribes into a proud and self-reliant nation.

χαρακοποιίας, 'fortifying a camp': only found in P.

6. **Ἡσίοδος**. The quotation is not to be found in the extant works.

8. **φέρειν τὴν ἐλάττωσιν παρ.**, 'submit to the humiliating neglect'.

Χαλκίδα, the chief city of Euboea, whose early growth and enterprise is shown by its many colonies in Sicily and on the Thracian coast. Its commanding site on the straits attracted trade while it made it a fortress of great military importance to the Macedonian rulers, who regarded it as one of the chains of Greece. From the old name of the strait (*τὸν Εὐριπον*) is formed the modern Negropont.

9. **κακοτροπευσάμενος**, 'after sinister arrangements'.

ἀπῆρεν, 'started', as *κατῆρεν* § 11 'arrived': not confined to journeys by sea, though more frequently used in such connexion, perhaps from raising or lowering sails or anchor.

10. **ἐνέχυρα τιθέντα**, 'pawning some of the plate which was in use for his table'. Naber suggests *τινα θέντα* which

seems an improvement, as the partitive gen. follows awkwardly on *ἐνέχυρα*.

11. *εἰρεσίαις κατ.*, 'duly furnished with rowers', as *ὑπηρεσίαις ἐξηρτυμένῃ* 1, 25, 3. In § 4 *εἰρ.* is 'the work of rowing', and in one place in P. the 'benches of rowers'.

3. *Νεοκρήτων*. Mentioned in two later passages of this book and there distinguished as military contingents beside the ordinary Cretans (65, 7: 79, 10). They were possibly new recruits.

Κυλλήνην. This harbour and arsenal of Elis, 120 stadia from the capital and W. of Cape Araxus (Strabo 8, 3, 4), was the station of the Peloponnesian fleet while the Athenians were at Naupactus (Thuc. 2, 84), and here Alcibiades landed when he fled from Sicily.

2. *φόβον*, 'danger', as elsewhere, especially with *ἀπό* to express the source of danger, in which connexion it recurs 17 times in P. So also *κίνδυνος* and *πόλεμος ἀπό τινος* (Krebs, *Präp.* 45).

3. *Κεφαλληνίαν*. Nissen remarks that Livy, who closely followed Polybius, has Cephallania, as also damiurgos, Eudamus, Nasum (*Νῆσον*), and infers that P. really used the Doric forms, which were altered by the copyists of the MSS. (*Krit. Unters.* 137 note).

κατὰ τὴν σύνταξιν, 'as was arranged', 'according to the terms specified'.

4. *δυσπολιόρητον*. The Cephallenians seem to have been expert in fortifying their strongholds. Of Same Leake says "The solidity and finished construction of the Hellenic walls seem worthy of a city which stood a siege of four months against the Romans under the consul M. Fulvius Nobilior in 189 B.C." Of another city "The walls of the Cranai are among the best extant specimens of the military architecture of the Greeks, and a curious example of their attention to strength of position in preference to other conveniences."

Παλαιῶν. Pale or Palus. Cf. 5, 5, 10.

5. *γέμουσαν σίτου*. "The soil is rocky in the mountain districts and stony even in the plains; but the productions are generally good in their kinds, particularly the wine"... Leake, *N. G.* III. 66.

περιέβαλε. Naber proposes to correct this to *περιέλαβε*, which would seem more regular in this connexion (*Mnem.* 6, 349).

6. **ἔργα...καὶ μηχανάς,** 'siege works and machines'.

7. **ἵνα πρῶτον...δευτέρον δ' ἵνα.** A variation in the order of the phrase such as P. specially affects.

ὑπηρεσίαν, 'service': abstract for concrete.

8. **παρασκευάσῃ.** The repetition of this word in so short a sentence seems to add nothing to the sense or force.

9. **ἡ Κεφαλληνία.** This island, the older Homeric name of which seems to have been Samos, sent a few soldiers only to the united force of Greece at Plataea, having kept quite aloof from Salamis (Hdt. 9, 28). It was conquered by an Athenian fleet at the opening of the Peloponnesian war, when Thucydides speaks of it as *τετράπολις οὔσα, Παλῆς, Κράνιοι, Σαμαῖοι, Προνναῖοι* (2, 30, 3).

4 2. **Ζάκυνθον.** The 'well wooded' island of Homer (*ὕλη-εσσα* Z. Od. 1, 24) and Vergil ('nemorosa Z.' Aen. 3, 270) was colonized by Achaeans (Thuc. 2, 66), but long allied to or dependent on Athens. Herodotus notices the pitch wells in it which he had himself visited (4, 195).

συνίστασθαι, 'concentrate'.

3. **πολιδυνάστας.** A correction of Bekker for the unmeaning *πόλιν δυνάστας* of the MSS. The word is else unknown, but follows the analogy of *πολιάρχης πολιανόμος* and other late words.

5. **ἀπροφασίως,** 'unreservedly'.

6. **πετροβόλους.** Used by Xenophon for a division of the army, but in P. for the engines, sometimes specially distinguished from the catapults. Many technical changes had been made in the siege train of the Macedonian armies.

7. **κρεμασθέντος.** The details are explained by ancient writers on military matters. The walls were undermined, and the roof of the mines (*δρύγματα*) supported by planks (*σανίδες*) resting on wooden props (*στυλώματα*), which were slender, but numerous. Thus Vegetius describes 'ruinam muri tumultuario opere suspensent' (cf. *κρέμασθαι*). The props were then set on fire and the ruin fell in, bringing down the wall above.

9. σπειρηδὸν τάξας, 'having drawn them up in small divisions', as elsewhere κατὰ σπείρας. In describing the R. army P. uses σπείρα for the maniple. In Acts Ap. 10. 1 it denotes a special 'Italic band'.

πτώματος, 'ruin': first used for 'a fall' by Aeschylus and Sophocles, and then in Attic prose for 'the fallings', as πτώματα ἐλαιῶν, or 'ruins', as οἶκον. The use without a gen. is objected to by Phrynichus (Lobeck, 375), as by St Mark for cadaver (6. 29), or here for the 'breach' in the walls.

- 8 3. ἐτησίῳν στάσιν ἐχ. So Herodotus ἐτ. ἀν. κατεστηκότων (6, 140, 1): these blew from the N.W. for some 40 days in summer.

8. λυμεωνεύομενοι, 'mischievously': a longer form of λυμαίνομαι, which is else unknown, but λυμεῶν 'a destroyer' is found in Sophocles and Isocrates.

10. ἐθελοκακήσεως, 'treachery', lit. 'voluntary cowardice': on the analogy of ἐθελοδουλεία, ἐθελοκίνδυνος, ἐθελοπρόξενος, ἐθελοθρησκεία and the like, which are of late use. For the verb cf. above 2, 8.

11. Λευνάδα. So named from the white rock in front of it (Strabo 10, 2, 9). It was a promontory in early times, ἀκτὴν ἡπείροιο (Hom. Od. 24, 377), but the Corinthians colonized it and in course of time dug a canal through the isthmus (διορύξαντες τὸν ἰσθμὸν ἐποίησαν νῆσον (Strabo). The canal called Dioryctus was three stades in length. Near was the lover's leap, which was famous in old time, and said to have been first tried by Sappho.

12. διακομίσας. In 425 B.C. there was no canal, and the ships were dragged across the isthmus (ὑπερενεχθεῖσαι Thuc. 4, 8, 2).

14. Διμναίῳ. Probably Kervasará, in a valley at the head of a long bay at the S.E. of the gulf of Arta. Near it are the walls of a large Hellenic town. It commanded the most easy and natural access from Epirus into Acarnania. From this point there is a fairly level route to the Achelous for some 25 miles. Cf. Leake, N. G. I. 160.

- 8 3. καθυστέρουν τῇ συναγωγῇ τ. κ., 'were too late for': so συναγωγή τῶν δχλων 4, 7, 6 in assembling their forces.

5. **δεῖλης**, 'in the evening'. Maeris said that *δ.* was not used absolutely by Attic writers without additions like *πρωτας* or *ὀψίας*. It is found however in Xenophon (Hell. 1, 1, 3). Thucydides has *περὶ δελήην* (4, 69).

6. **διαναπαύσας**. An awkward compound: *διὰ* is put on to avoid hiatus and adds nothing to the meaning.

7 **κατὰ δύο τρόπους**: loosely used, 'for two reasons', or 'in two aspects of the question'.

καθ' ἓνα μὲν ἤ...παρουσία, 'one because of the speedy and unexpected arrival of the Macedonians'.

2. **διὰ τὰς ὀχυρότητας**: thus Ephorus described Aetolia as always *μεμενηκὸς ἀπόρρητον διὰ τὰς δυσχωρίας τῶν τόπων* (Strabo 10, 3, 2).

4. **ὀξύν**, 'critical', i.e. admitting of no delay.

5. **προσκόπτων**, 'taking offence': also used by Polybius with a dative for 'giving offence to': so *πρᾶσκοπή* 30, 23, 7.

7. **Ἀγρίνιον** was an Acarnanian town in which the natives of the neighbouring villages concentrated themselves by the advice of Cassander, but which afterwards surrendered to the Aetolians. It was probably Vrachóri.

Θεστυίς. Otherwise unknown.

Κωνώπην. Cf. note on 4, 64, 3.

Λουσιμάχεια "seems clearly to have been Papadhátes near the lake of Zygos, probably founded by Lysimachus when king of Macedonia" (Leake, *N. G.* i. 153).

Τριχώνιον. The chief town of the rich plain which stretched between it and Stratus (Strabo 10, 2, 3). Gáricha on the S. side of the lake Apókuro seems to agree with the data. Cf. Leake, *N. G.* i. 155.

Φύταιον "answers to the ruined polis at Kúveló, that being the only place besides Gávala where any open country is left between the woody mountains and the shores of the lake" (Leake, *N. G.* i. 156).

11. **ἀπουραγούντων**, 'closing the rear': the prep. adds little to the meaning of the word, as in other compounds in P. *ἀποκαρδοκεῖν*, *ἀποληρεῖν*, *ἀπερειδεσθαι*.

δεξιὼν δέ, 'while the Th. and light troops covered the right

flank as the column moved forwards'. ταῖς χώραις 'the several positions of the column'.

ἀντιπαραπορευόμενον, 'moving on the flank to protect it from attack': but perhaps the real force of the prep. ἀντί is here lost, as in ἀντικαλλάττεσθαι (reconcile), ἀνθολογεῖσθαι, ἀντιπαράγειν, and other compounds in P.

παρὰ πλάγια. So παρὰ πλευράν in P. and παρ' ἄσπίδα 'to the left'.

12. ἐκ τῶν εὐωνύμων. Leake points out a difficulty in this account as the route by Vrachóri to Vlokho (Thermus) does not pass within three miles of any lake. "If we suppose that Metapa stood at about the junction of the river Ermitza with the Lake (Trichonis) an army moving thence to the foot of the mountain of Vlokho would have had its right and not its left towards the marshes" (Leake, *N. G.* i. 148).

ἡσφάλιστο, 'secured': the pass. being exceptionally used in an active sense, though both active and middle voices of the verb are employed by P. and the proper passive is also found as below 46, 12.

8. Θέρμον, though now only a village, still gives its name (Vlokho) to a great part of Aetolia, of which it is the natural citadel. Its form and position were such as the Greeks seem to have thought most suitable, a triangle on the slope of a pyramidal hill, bordered on either side by a torrent flowing in a deep ravine, and with a summit convenient for an acropolis. Cf. Leake, *N. G.* i. 133.

3. πολλῆς ὥρας, 'at a late hour', as in St Mark 6. 35, ὥρας πολλῆς γενομένης, the equivalent of which in St Matth. is ὀψίας γενομένης (14. 15). So multo die in Caesar (*Bell. G.* 1, 22), πολλῶν χρόνων more than once in P., extending the analogy of the earlier νυκτός, ἥρος &c.

4. κατασκευῆς δ. τ. π. ΑΙ., 'the choicest furniture in Aetolia'.

5. συντελούντων ἕκαστοι. The transition from the gen. abs. to the nom. is very abrupt.

τῶν ἐν τοῖς βίοις ὑπ., 'of what they had among their means', pleonastically.

6. ἐνταυθοῖ, 'there': prop. 'thither': used by Homer and

late writers, but very questionable in Attic. P. nearly always has *ἐνταῦθα*, which may have been altered here and in 5, 13, 8 by copyists familiar with the later form. Cf. Kalker, *Leipz. St.* III. 220.

9. ὑπήλλαττον, 'took in exchange for their own'.

9 2. τετευχότα. Phrynichus objects to this form as a late variety of the Attic *τετύχηκε* (Lobeck, *Phr.* 595).

3. εἰς ἑδάφος. P. here copies a phrase of Thucydides (3, 68, 3) while *ἕως ἐδάφους* appears in later writers. Equivalent phrases are *ἐκ θεμελίων* or *ἄχρι θεμελίων*, *ἐκ ῥιζῶν*. The metaphor of Herodotus (6, 27) *ἐς γόνυ τὴν πόλιν ἔβαλε* is also copied for a weaker sense. Cf. Krebs, *Präp. Adv.* 2, 20.

ὄντας οὐκ ἔ. δισχιλίων. What P. tells us of the Aetolian character would hardly lead us to expect such stores of works of art in their capital.

4. σύντροφος δέ: this did not save Samus from death by order of his foster-brother. Cf. P. 24, 8, 9.

5. ὁρᾷς τὸ διον. The verse is from the Supplices of Euripides (860), and the parody consists in the equivocal *διον* referred to the town Dium.

6. παράστασις, 'conviction': the word may take many shades of meaning as it implies only the 'presence' of some feeling in the mind, and so it is coupled with *ὁρμή* or takes the place of *θάρσος*. Earlier Greek used the verb *παρίσταται* with a def. subject, and the verbal abstract is a later form of this phrase. So M. Antoninus used a still later form *παραστήματα* for 'prejudices' or 'fixed ideas'.

καθηκόντως. This rare adverb is also found in Plutarch and in inscriptions: other participial adverbs are found in P., such as *ἀρκούντως* and *διαφερόντως*, but not to the extent to which they are used by Xenophon, who forms many from the perf. part. pass. such as *συντεταμένως*, *πεφυλαγμένως*, *διειλημμένως*.

13 6. διαναστάντων: we might expect in place of this the more usual *ἐξανίστασθαι*, but *διὰ* is substituted for other prepositions in several compounds of P., as *διακλίνειν* for *ἐκκλ.*: *διαπίμπρηναι* for *ἐμπ.*; *διεργάζεσθαι* for *κατεργ.* Cf. Mollenhauer, *de verbis ap. P.*

8. *εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν*, 'next day': *εἰς* takes the place of *ἐν* as in many other phrases in P., like *εἰς τὴν ἐπαύριον ἐξῆλθε* or *ἐξῆγον*: *παρῆν εἰς δέοντα καιρόν*.

- 14 6. *ἕως εἰς*. *ἕως* is used by P. occasionally both with *εἰς* and *ἐπὶ* to imply continued extension or duration. Much more frequently indeed *ὥς* takes its place with these prepositions, retaining little or no meaning of its own.

- 17 9. *κοιταῖους γίνεσθαι*, 'to be in their quarters at night', a technical term which is found in earlier Greek, as in Dem. De Cor. 238, where it means 'passing the night in the country', as here of the night-quarters in the city.

- 18 3. *καταντικρύ*: one of the combinations of prep. and adverb which grow more frequent in later Greek.

5. *μετέωροι ἐκ τῶν...καὶ ταῖς*. The change in the construction here seems arbitrary.

τις ἐνεπεπτώκα θροῦς, 'there had been some talk of sending'. *θροῦς* appears in the sense of 'rumour' as early as Xenophon.

8. *ἀναχθεῖς γάρ*. The following paragraph contains a very needless repetition of the earlier part of the ch.

10. *ὑπέρ* with acc. after verbs of rest is found in other places of P. though little to be traced in the best classical style, but this extended use of the acc. in preference to other cases is characteristic of the later stages of the language.

- 19 2. *Ἀνύκλαι* was a place of note before the Dorian conquest, after which it sunk into a village, though its shrine and religious monuments attracted antiquarians and pilgrims.

καλλιδανδρότατος. Dodwell says of it, "it luxuriates in fertility and abounds in mulberries, olives, and all the fruit trees which grow in Greece".

ὥς ἑκοσι σταδίους. If, as is supposed, Sclavochoro is the ancient site, it is nearly double that distance.

3. *ἐπιφανέστατον*. The throne on which the statue of the god was seated was a magnificent work of Bathycles, the carvings of which are described by Pausanias in unusual detail (3, 18).

4. *Πύρρου χάρακα*, called Pyrrhi castra by Livy (35, 27), and a memorial of the fruitless invasion of Pyrrhus. It was near Mt Borbosthenes.

τὸ Κάρνιον. As no Laconian town of this name is mentioned elsewhere, this was probably a temple of the *Καρνεῖος καλούμενος Ἀπόλλων* referred to by Pausanias (3, 24, 5).

5. Ἀσίνην. The oldest place of this name was near Nauplia in Argolis, the inhabitants of which, dispossessed by the Argives, were welcomed by the Spartans in Messenia, where they occupied a second Asine (Strabo 8, 6, 11). Probably the third mentioned in the text, on the Taenarian promontory and also referred to by Thucydides (4, 54, 4), may have been named from a like cause.

ὥς T. This adverb is rarely used by P. in a local sense as a prepos. by itself. Its temporal uses are more frequent.

Ταινίου. The most S. promontory of the Peloponnese, early famed for its temple of Poseidon, and in Roman days for the beautiful marble of its quarries.

7. Ἑλείαν. The Helos (*ἐφαλὸν προλιεθρον*) of Homer was named probably from the marshes which spread to the East of the mouth of the Eurotas. The inhabitants, reduced to serfdom by the Dorians after ineffectual struggles, gave a name, so ran the tale, to all the bondmen of Sparta.

πρὸς μέρος θεωρουμένη. A phrase repeated in 44, 3 below: it means 'examined in detail', as a survey of each separate locality, but it is somewhat pleonastic.

8. Ἀκρίας καὶ Δεύκας. Unimportant places further South along the coast.

Βοιῶν. In the gulf formed by the coast which retires after the peninsula (*δὸν γνάθος*), facing the island of Cythera.

20 3. τὰς προγεγενημένας. Cf. 4, 31.

4. Γλυμπεῖς. Already referred to by P. in 4, 36, 5 as near the Argive frontier: but little known besides, unless it be the same as the *Γλυππία* of Pausanias 3, 22, 6 which was not far from Geronthae.

21 2. καθ' ὃν ἐλάχιστον τόπον. The ἐλ. comes in awkwardly between ὃν and τόπον and qualifies ἀπέχει.

4. ἀνυπότακτα καὶ κωφά, 'confused and obscure': ἀνυπ. not arranged or classified under proper heads: not found before P.

5. παρ' ὅλην τὴν πραγματείαν. "No historian of antiquity

was more fully alive to the importance of geography as an aid to history, than Polybius. This is not only apparent from the geographical remarks interspersed through his whole work, but, like his predecessor Ephorus, he set apart one whole book (the 31st) for a systematic treatise on geography, in which he more fully developed his views on that subject." Bunbury, *History of Ancient Geography*, II. 18.

6. σφάλλουσιν αἱ τ. τ. διαφοραί, 'the differences of locality cause mistakes': some object must be understood after σφ. such as ἡμᾶς or τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας, as he does not seem to refer to fatal mistakes made in actual engagement, but in reading about τῶν...κινδύνων τοὺς πλείους.

7. χώραις ἐπωνύμοις, 'places with distinctive epithets' besides the local names: it is also proposed to take ἐπωνύμοις by itself as equiv. to ἐπωνυμιαίς 'epithets', but χώραις alone would then seem meaningless.

8. ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ περιέχοντος διαφοραῖς, 'the different quarters of the heavens', as οἱ ἐκ τ. π. καιροὶ are the different seasons (9, 13): for τὸ περιέχον, cf. 4, 21, 1.

22 ἐν τόποις ἐπιπέδοις. The plain was of some extent, bounded on one side by the great masses of Taygetus, and stretching on the other to the lower range of Thornax.

βουνώδεις τόπους. There was no commanding height in it for a citadel as in most Greek towns, though one hill was called the Acropolis, and contained the greatest temples. For the use of βουνός cf. note on 2, 67, 1.

2. Εὐρώτας: the δονακοτρόφος of Theognis and καλλίροος of Theocritus, which flowed through Laconia from Belmina to Helos.

3. κατὰ χειμερινὰς ἀνατολάς, 'to the South East'.

διαφερόντως ὑψηλοῦς. Sir W. Gell describes M. as "a range of hills of little elevation", and Dodwell as "steep, furrowed and shattered by earthquakes, but mere hillocks when compared to Taygetus", but P. only compares them with the other βουνοὶ of the lowlying Spartan valley.

ἐπικεῖσθαι, 'command' the opposite bank.

κυρίως. Cf. note on 4, 64, 9.

7. αὐτοὺς παραδιδόναι, 'lay themselves open to attack'.

11. πρὸ τοῦ τέλους. In the time of Thucydides, and long afterwards, Sparta had remained unfortified, but in its weaker days it had built walls, which now had a circuit of 48 stades.

ποιοῦντες, 'forming in line': a sense found in Xenophon.

23 3. ὑπεράρας...ἔφοδον, 'having marched round was ready to fall upon their flank'. ὑπεραίρειν is repeatedly used by P. as a technical term of tactics for 'outflank'.

4. ἐπαρθέντας...ἐφεδρεία, 'encouraged by the support'.

10. καὶ περὶ τοῦτον τὸν καιρόν, 'in this conflict also' (as well as on the hills above): so οἱ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος καιροί, and often καιρός is taken for the fight itself in P.

24 τῆς ὥρας συναγωγῆς, 'under pressure of the late hour'. Cf. πολλῆς ὥρας 8. 3: συνάγειν commonly implies 'constraint' in P., but the ἀπαντας inserted after it in some MSS. seems needless, and it may mean only 'as night was drawing in'.

2. κατὰ σύμπτωμα—περιβαλομένων, 'while the guides had accidentally occupied', &c.: for σύμπτ. cf. note on 2, 57, 8.

4. ἀπορρώγι, 'precipice': an Homeric word elsewhere used by P., which was suggested by Casaubon as a correction of the ἀνόδω or ἀπόδω of the MSS.

5. διὰ τὴν παράθεσιν: the prep. can have no causal or final meaning unless we take it to refer to the danger negatived by ἀσφαλεῖ, i.e. 'safe from any risk from the close neighbourhood of the city', or it may be loosely used for 'as regards'.

7. κλίνας ἐπὶ κέρας. Cf. note on 4, 12, 3.

9. στερροποιστάμενος τ. οὖ., 'having strengthened the rear' as most exposed to attack from the Spartans.

11. παρὰ Ῥοδίων καὶ Χίων: these industrial and trading communities had much to lose from the continued warfare, and suffered especially from the disturbed state in the Aegean, where the Aetolian corsairs were at work.

12. πράξεις ὁλοσχερεστέρας, 'wide-reaching designs': probably intrigues for a general movement in favour of the confederates.

29 3. παραχῆς. A mutiny had been stirred among the peltasts by the discontented conspirators who had failed in their schemes and feared Philip's displeasure (cf. 5, 2, 8).

τὸν Ἀπελλῆν καὶ Δ. The chapters omitted describe the evidence which Philip gained of the treachery of these high officials and of the death of these two as well as Megaleas.

παρέλκον...ἡμέραν, 'they protracted (the negotiations) by putting off the day of meeting'.

τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ 'P. ταχθεῖσαν, 'appointed for their muster in R.': a verbal phrase is implied in the ἐπὶ, which is used however somewhat loosely in P. with many verbs, and even without one, as ἐπὶ τὰδε, ἐπέκεινα.

ἀποτρέβεισθαι, 'obstruct'. Cf. note on 4, 20, 11.

5. Δημητριάδα, at the top of the gulf of Pagasae (Volo), took its name from Demetrius Poliorcetes who drew to it the population of the neighbouring towns about 290 B.C. From its command of the approaches to Tempe and its maritime advantages it ranked among the chief fortresses of Greece, and as such was prized by the Macedonian rulers.

6. ἐν τοῖς Μ., 'in the presence of': so ἐν is used in other cases of a court of justice ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τὰς εὐθύνας ὑπέχειν 6, 15, 10, and ἐν ἰσῷ κριτῇ, 18, 6, 1.

30 καταπεφρονημένον. Cf. above 5, 1, 7 and 4, 82, 8.

πολιτικῶν νεανίσκων, 'civic troops': νεανίσκοι being taken simply as soldiers, because of military age.

4. τὸ Παναχαϊκόν. Now Voidia.

5. παρελκομένων καὶ καθ., 'being delayed or even withheld'.

93 ταῦτα ἄρμοςάμενος, sc. Aratus. The Spartans and Eleans had concerted measures for an inroad into Messenia, but failed to effect a junction. Aratus now provided a special force to watch the frontier and check like incursions.

2. ὑπὸ Κλεομένους ἑπτακότας. Cf. 2, 55.

4. τοῦτο φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι. The unequal pressure of war or economic distress on different classes in the state was a frequent cause of στάσις in the Greek Republics, which were commonly in a state of unstable equilibrium.

5. τειχίζαν...περιστάντος, 'shall succeed in their endeavour to fortify and defend at a critical time'.

τὴν ἑρμίαν. Cf. notes on 2, 44, 5 and 2, 55, 2.

6. κτηματικούς, 'wealthy': not found before P.

μέρος τῆς γῆς. So in early days after the Messenian wars some of the impoverished Spartans *θλιβόμενοι διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἤξιουν ἀνάδαστον ποιεῖν τὴν χώραν* (Arist. Pol. 5, 6).

8. τῶν νόμων γεγραμμένων. It was an early practice of the Greek republics after a period of civil strife to call upon some eminent man, whether citizen or stranger, to draw up a new constitution for them: thus Lycurgus at Sparta, Solon in Athens, Philolaus in Thebes, Pheidon in Corinth, Charondas at Catana, Zaleucus in Locri are well known examples of the individual *νομοθέτης*. So Demonax was called in to arbitrate at Cyrene. Their work was not so much a civil code as a regulation of the tenure of land and rights of franchise. This applies probably to the action of Prytanis.

τοῦ Περιπάτου. The famous walk in the Lyceum at Athens in which Aristotle lectured as he walked, and from which his followers took their name. Thus Aulus Gellius distinguishes the morning lectures to the privileged few (*ἑωθινὸν περίπατον*) from the evening (*δελινόν*), which any might attend (20, 5).

9. τὴν ἐνδεχομένην ἐπιστροφὴν. There was no forcible interference of the Federal Government in the home rule of Megalopolis, for Aratus only acted as mediator.

10. ἐφ' οἷς. P. probably omits the details as they were publicly inscribed on the tablet in his native city.

ἐν Ὁμαρίῳ. A temple at Megalopolis, as it would seem, named after that at Aegium, on which cf. note on 2, 39, 6.

100 9. τὰ κατὰ τὰς Θήβας. Philip had been engaged of late in seizing Bylazora, a strong fortress in Paeonia, and in besieging Phthiotic Thebes, from which as a centre the Aetolians had ravaged much of Eastern Thessaly. The town surrendered to him.

Πτολεμαῖον. The king surnamed Philopator, whose sensual excesses P. described as *ὀλιγῶρως ἕκαστα χειρίζων διὰ τοὺς ἀπρεπεῖς ἔρωτας καὶ τὰς ἀλόγους καὶ συνεχεῖς μέθας* (5, 34, 10). The confederates had begged him at the outset of the war to observe neutrality (4, 30, 8), and this he had done.

101 Σκερδιλαῖδου. Cf. 4, 16, 6. He had turned against Philip recently on the ground that the subvention stipulated had not been duly paid.

Μαλέαν. The extreme point of the Peloponnese to the South East, the dangers of which to the sailor gave rise to the proverb 'after doubling Cape Malea forget your country'.

2. **καταφράκτους**, 'decked', distinguished by Thucydides from the *παλαιῶ τρόπῳ ληστικώτερον παρεσκευασμένα* (1, 10, 6).

ἡμιολίους, literally $1\frac{1}{2}$, but especially 'piratic craft', *myoparones*; hence Theophrastus, *ὁ δὲ δειλὸς τοιοῦτός τις οἶος πλέων τὰς ἄκρας φάσκειν ἡμιολίας εἶναι*. The old etymologer explained it as having one half the deck free of rowers for fighting.

μετέωρος, used abs. in the well-known passage of Thucydides *ἢ τε ἄλλη Ἑλλάς πᾶσα μετέωρος ἦν* (2, 8, 1), but frequently in P. with *ἐπί*, *πρός* or *εἰς* and the object, as well as with a dat. as here.

συνεικέναι, the unusual perfect of *συνίημι*.

3. **τῇ περὶ Τυρρηνίαν μάχῃ**, the battle at Lake Trasimene.

4. **τὰ δὲ λοιπά**. The lighter vessels could be more easily hauled across the Isthmus.

ὑπερισθμίσας. Cf. note on 4, 19, 9.

5. **τὴν τῶν Νεμέων π.** Cf. note on 2, 70, 4.

εἰς Ἄργος. Nemea was in the territory of Cleonae, which at first presided at the festival. Her powerful neighbour Argos however dispossessed her of this right, and commonly held it, though Cleonae had resumed it for a while a few years before.

6. **γραμματοφόρος**, 'bearer of despatches', as 2, 61, 4: elsewhere *βιβλιαφόρος*, *tabellarius*.

λείπονται, 'are defeated': so when the tidings are announced at Rome from the Rostra P. represents the praetor saying *λειπόμεθα μάχῃ μεγάλῃ* (3, 85, 8).

τῶν ὑπαίθρων. Cf. note on 4, 8, 5.

7. **Δημητρίῳ**. Cf. note on 2, 65, 4. His advice to Philip was naturally dictated by the desire of vengeance on the Romans who had made him homeless, and by the hope of regaining his hold on Illyria which he had forfeited.

10. **τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων ἐπιβολῆς**, 'his schemes of universal empire', such as one of the successors of Alexander might naturally entertain. In pursuit of it Antigonus had lost his throne and liberty in rash enterprises in Asia, while Pyrrhus

had spent in Southern Italy his best soldiers and his brilliant talents as a general.

- 102** *ἐξ οἰκίας*: that of the first Antigonus, the peer of Alexander, whose own family was swept away by the bloodthirsty Cassander. Though the new dynasty ruled commonly over little more than Macedonia and Thessaly, it never acquiesced in those narrower limits, but aimed at wider empire.

ἐφίεται. Reiske proposed *ἐφίετο* on the ground that in 2, 37, 8 P. had spoken of the *ὀλοσχερῆς ἐπαναίρεσις* of the whole royal line.

2. *διαβούλιον ἀνεδίδου*. A familiar phrase of P. for proposing a subject for debate: so he has also *ἀναδίδωσι τὴν πράξιν αὐτῷ* for the consultation prior to action.

3. *διεξαγωγῆς*, 'peaceful issue'. Cf. 4, 26, 3.

5. *ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας*. He had been recently captured: *ὅς διὰ τὸ πρόξενος ὑπάρχειν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν παραυτὰ μὲν οὐκ ἐπράθη*, P. 5, 95, 12.

6. *Λασιῶνα*. Cf. note on 4, 72, 7.

ἐν τοῖς Περιπείοις: otherwise unknown.

9. *Πάνορμον*. Near the promontory Drepanum, and the Achæan Rhium (Thuc. 2, 86, 4): the explanatory words which follow were needed to distinguish it from several places of the same name, among which the Sicilian city—now Palermo—was the most distinguished.

10. *Ζάκυνθον*. Cf. note on 4, 2 above.

- 103** 4. *ὁρμηθεῖς*, 'induced', for which P. commonly has *παρορμηθεῖς*.

5. *τῆς ἐντεύξεως*, 'the conference': as early as Plato in this sense, but in N. T. 'intercession'. Cf. *ἀγιάζεται διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ καὶ ἐντεύξεως*, 1 Tim. 4. 5.

7. *ὥστ' ἔχεν ἀμφοτέρους*: the 'uti possidetis' principle.

9. *Ἀγαλάου*. He has been already mentioned as negotiating a treaty with Scerdilaidas (4, 16, 10), and as concerned in the dreadful massacre at Cynaetha (4, 18, 8). Here he appears as a farsighted patriot.

- 104** *καθάπερ οἱ τοὺς π. δ.* Gronovius quotes Diodorus in illustration of this: *τὰς χεῖρας ἀλλήλοις συμπλέκειν καὶ τὴν δλην τῶν σωμάτων πυκνότητα ποιεῖν ζεύγματι παραπλησίαν* (17, 55).

τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων, that is of the Romans, for so Greek insolence named them.

2. πρὸς ταῖς δύσιν, 'in the west', i.e. in Italy.

5. εἶναι δὲ φυλακὴν: explanatory of φυλάσασθαι in the line before, 'and the path of caution lies in this', &c.

7. πραγμάτων ὀρέγεται, 'longs for action'.

9. εἰς τὰς ἀναπαύσεις ἐπετίθεσθαι, 'reserve for quiet times', or 'for the amusement of his leisure'.

10. εἰν ἄπαξ...ἐπιστῆναι, 'if he should wait until the clouds which were beginning to show themselves in the west discharged themselves at last upon the regions of Greece'. Justin copies this in a speech which he puts into the mouth of Philip, "videre se consurgentem in Italia nubem illam trucis et cruenti belli: videre topantem ac fulminantem ab Occasu procellam" (29, 3).

δὲ νῦν παύομεν: abrupt change from the oratio obliqua.

ἐκκοπήναι, 'be cut short'.

7. 10 At the conference of Naupactus, B.C. 217, Agelans had warned Philip to look to the West for future conquests and find his support in the peace and union of Greece. For two years the king seemed to keep this policy in view, strengthening his navy for a descent upon the coast of Italy and making repeated efforts to negotiate with Carthage, in which much valuable time was lost, till the crisis of Rome's danger and Philip's opportunity passed by. Meantime he left Greece to herself. But he seems to have soon hankered after a more stirring part in the Peloponnese, where he appeared, we know not with what special object, attended by Demetrius the Pharian. A revolution took place at the time in the city of Messene, and both Philip and Aratus hurried to the spot, the latter certainly on an errand of peace. The former seems to have played a double part, and worked on men's passions on both sides, till a riot followed in which 200 of the citizens were killed. He was minded to seize the opportunity and make himself master of the citadel on the strong height of Ithome, but forbore, perhaps in shame, at the frank remonstrance of Aratus.

οὗτος δημοκρατίας. At the beginning of the Social War

the constitution of Messene seems to have been more or less oligarchic (4, 4, 2).

τῶν δὲ κατακ....οὔσας, 'those who had divided their property among themselves': the γῆς ἀναδασμός, which so often was dreaded as the result of revolutionary measures.

τὴν τούτων ἰσηγορίαν, that is, to be put upon a level with these upstarts.

- 11 τὴν τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἀκρόπολιν. Messene was built on a commanding site on the central mountain which overlooks the whole length of the valley of the Pamisus and the great ranges of Taygetus which bound it on the East. It was built under the direction of Epaminondas to cripple the power of Sparta and to revive Messenian independence which had been extinct for centuries. The new citizens recalled from their scattered homes were planted under Ithome, which was the scene of the long struggle for freedom in their earliest wars, and the oldest sanctuary of the national worship. Between it and the twin peak of Eva ran a narrow sharp-backed saddle, and in the basin between the two mountains which gradually sloped towards the S.W. "lies the skeleton of the city of Messene shut in by a circular wall, and now distinctly traced by its towers. Beyond, until the eye reaches the sea, stretches the magnificent plain, covered with culture of all kinds, still meriting, notwithstanding the multitudinous adversities through which it has passed, its enviable title of μακάρια" (Sir T. Wyse, *Exc.* i. 262). Ages afterwards the walls filled the traveller Pausanias with admiration as far exceeding the strength of those of Byzantium and Rhodes, and other strong places he had visited. The great city gate, with its two flanking towers and its large circular space within of 64 feet in diameter, is spoken of by Leake as "one of the finest specimens of Greek military architecture in existence" (*Morea*, i. 372). Plutarch speaks of the acropolis as οὐκ ἦπτον εὐερκής τοῦ Ἀκροκορίνθου, καὶ λαβῶν φρουρὰν γίνεται χαλεπὸς καὶ δυσεκβλαστός (Arat. 50).

διακλίνας, 'stepping aside'; a late word not found before P. who has it with τῆς ἀγορᾶς and ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν. In Plutarch's description of the scene we have παρὰ μέρος ἀποκλίνων εἰς ἑκάτερον (Arat. 50).

2. **Δημήτριος**. This evil genius of Philip lost his life afterwards in an attack on the very city which Philip now relinquished (3, 19, 11).

αὐτόθεν ἐκ τοῦ προβεβηκότος, 'immediately on the spur of the moment': **ἐκ τοῦ πρ.** is explained by older commentators as 'e re nata' or 'ex tempore': that is, after what had gone before.

πραγματικοῦ, 'shrewd', 'man of business'.

3. **τὸν Ἰθωμάτην**. So Plutarch, while Strabo and Pausanias call it **Ἰθώμην**. Possibly the **Ζεὺς Ἰθωμάτας** to whom the height was sacred gave his name commonly to the citadel.

4. **τοῦ δ' ἐπ....φαινόμενον**, 'when he hesitated the king bade him say just what he thought'.

6. **τὰς ἀκροπόλεις...συμμαίχους**, 'the strongholds, and the security which pledges to you the allies whom you inherited from Antigonus'.

9. **ὑπὸ τοῦ νεωτέρου**. The younger Aratus, who had passed before as an admirer of Philip, was so indignant at the massacre which the king encouraged, that he told him **ὡς οὐδὲ καλὸς ἐτι φαίνοιτο τὴν δψιν αὐτῷ τοιαῦτα δράσας ἀλλὰ πάντων αἰσχιστος** (Plutarch, Arat. 50).

13 2. **κατὰ τὴν πέμπτην βύβλον**, i.e. 5, 12, 8: cf. also 4, 77, 4. **τοὺς συνεφιστάνοντας**. Cf. note on 2, 58, 13.

5. **τὴν πίστιν**, 'the evidence'.

6. **καθυστερήσαντος**, 'came too late', a favourite word of P. Cf. 5, 6, 3.

7. **λύκος ἐξ ἀνθρώπου**. The legend is said by Plato to have been familiar in the temple of the Lycaean Zeus in Arcadia (Rep. 8, 566).

τύραννος ἐκ βασιλέως. P. says of his earlier popularity that **κοινὸς τις οἶον ἐρώμενος ἐγένετο τῶν Ἑλλήνων, διὰ τὸ τῆς αἰρέσεως εὐεργετικόν**.

8. 14 Aratus soon perceived that he had lost his influence over Philip, after he had thwarted his treacherous project at Messene: and he held therefore aloof, and would not take part in his disastrous expedition to Illyria, which was turned into a disgraceful flight when the Romans appeared to raise the siege of Apollonia. But when the king, regretting the

opportunity which he had lost, sent Demetrius to seize Messene, and ravaged the country in revenge when the attempt failed and Demetrius lost his life, Aratus could not suppress his disapproval at the wanton outrage. The young king had no stomach for such warnings and soon, so ran the story, rid himself of the old statesman by doses of slow poison.

πολεμίους γεγονότας. The unprovoked attack of Philip on Messene, in which Demetrius lost his life, had been followed by plundering incursions into their territory.

ἀσθαλειαυ. He was charged with adultery with the wife of the younger Aratus, and with having given drugs to the husband to destroy his reason.

2. **μετὰ Ταυρίωνος.** If T. really played this odious part, he had at least borne a more honourable name in his earlier career as far as it is reported by P.

3. **διάθεσιν**, 'a morbid state': a further specialization of the meaning, which is commonly a 'passing condition' as opposed to the **ἔξις**. Cf. note on 2, 70, 6.

6. **ἐπὶ τῷ τ. Φ. συμφέροντι.** This is perhaps too strongly put, as Aratus studied the interest of the Achaean league more especially, though he also acted as a wise adviser to the young king, whose success redounded to his own credit as a statesman.

7. **πολλάκις τῆς ἀρχῆς τετευχέναι.** According to Plutarch he was seventeen times **στρατηγός** (Arat. 53), but there are difficulties in the reckoning, and he may have slightly overestimated the number. Cf. Freeman, *Fed. Gov.* 601.

μεταλλάξας τ. β. B.C. 213.

παρὰ τῇ πατρίδι. Sicyon begged the league to allow it to transfer his remains to its own ground, and sent to Delphi for sanction for their interment within the city (Plut., Ar. 53).

8. **θυσίας**: especially those called **σωτήρια**, held on the anniversary of the deliverance of his city from its tyrant.

πρὸς αἰώνιον μνήμην. But most of them had died away before the days of Plutarch (Ar. 53). Aratus himself was the remarkable product of a complex age. He had proved the ardour of his patriotism by many years of ceaseless efforts to rid the towns of Greece from Macedonian garrisons and tyrants, yet he handed them all over to Macedonian influence rather

than submit to the supremacy of Sparta. Skilful and adventurous as he was in stratagems and night-attacks, he met with little but disaster in the open field. He spent freely of his own means for the common good, and rose above suspicion of any sordid interest, though he was for years the pensioner of Egypt. He could brook no rival in the councils of the league, and could not treat the character of Cleomenes with common justice even in his memoirs, yet he played with discreet reserve his ignominious part as confidant and adviser of the young Macedonian ruler. His mistakes of policy and blunders in generalship were patent to the world, yet the league honoured and trusted him even to the end, and never ceased to re-elect him to its highest office.

10. 21 Rome had been long aware of the designs of Philip to join hands with Carthage, and had sent a fleet to watch his movements in the Adriatic and to find him occupation nearer home. In 211 B.C. the Aetolians, already weary of the peace, were drawn into the alliance on condition of receiving as their part of the spoil all conquered lands, while the Romans had the booty. The danger was first felt on the North of the Corinthian Gulf, but the league as the ally of Philip was soon attacked at home. Elis, as before, and Sparta made common cause with the Aetolians and ravaged the border lands, while the Roman fleet swooped down upon Aegina, which was sold for hard cash to Attalus of Pergamum, and its people all enslaved. The fighting power of the league had fallen sadly low, and it sent in its distress to beg for Philip's help. But it soon began to feel more confidence in its own strength when it learned that there was a soldier of real genius at its disposal. Philopoemen had retired from Greece after the battle of Sellasia, declining the flattering offers of Antigonos, and had found for years a school of strategy in the civil wars of Crete. But he had returned at length and lost no time, first as Commander of the Cavalry and then as general of the League, in reorganising the whole military service of his country.

ἄτολμος: so of an earlier στρατηγός Eperatus P. says ἀπρακτον ὄντα τῇ φύσει (5, 1, 8).

2. ἐφέστακόςτος, 'brought us'. The perf. forms of this

verb are commonly used by earlier writers in a pass. or neutr. sense, but P. has them frequently in an active sense with an α, while he uses *ἐφεστηκώς* in the neutral meaning.

ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. Ph. had borne a distinguished part in the battle of Sellasia, but it is his official career which is here referred to.

3. *ἀγωγάς*, 'training', 'education', as in Plato, *Legg.* 819 A: so *Λακωνικὴ ἀγωγή*, P. 1, 32, 1.

ἱήλους, 'interests', 'studia'.

4. *πρὸς ἐπανάρθωσιν*. This moralising tendency and practical object in historical study is constantly before the mind of P.

5. *φέρειν ἀπολογισμόν*, 'render an account'.

7. *κατὰ μέρος*, 'on one side' and 'on the other', 'in turns', as *οἱ μὲν ὕπνον ἡρῶντο κατὰ μέρος, οἱ δὲ ἤλαυνον*, *Thuc.* 3, 49, 4.

8. *ὁ τόπος*, the 'topic' of Rhetoric, which is a division of a subject as well as one of the 'common places', 'loci communes', which may be conveniently applied in dealing with it.

κεφαλαιώδη, 'summary', not as excluding details, but as implying dogmatic assertion rather than criticism or 'pieces justificatives'.

αἰξήσεως, 'embellishment'.

τῶν... συλλογισμῶν, 'the calculations of the effects of every event': this suits the Aristotelian sense of *συλλογισμός*, but P. has it also in the meaning of 'design', 'plan', and the passage may be 'the motives that accompanied each action', so giving a more accurate turn to *παρεπομένων*. Cf. 2, 56, 10.

22 *τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων*. Plutarch calls his father Craugis *ἀνδρα πάντων ἔνεκα λαμπρόν* (*Philop.* 1).

τραφεῖς. He was left an orphan at an early age, and Cleander cared for him out of gratitude for benefits received from his father.

2. *ἡλικίαν*, 'early manhood', as *οἱ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ* are men of military age, like *νέοι*.

Δημοφάνους. Plutarch calls him *Megalophanes*.

Ἀρκεσίου: the chief figure in the Middle Academy which developed the tenets of Plato in a somewhat sceptical direction.

The two students of Megalopolis are said by Plutarch to have been occupied φιλοσοφίαν μάλιστα τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐπὶ πολιτείαν καὶ πράξεις προαγαγόντες, though there was little apparently in the teaching of Arcesilaus to point to a resolute republicanism.

Ἀριστοδήμου, 'the good' (ὁ χρηστός), as he was called on his tombstone, which even later republicans respected (Pausan. 8, 36, 3). Tyrant though he was there was nothing recorded to his discredit, and he had a title to respect for his victory over Sparta, and the fine portico and temple which he left behind him.

3. Νικοκλέους, who had slain his predecessor, and ruled only four months.

κοινωνήσαντες Ἀράτῳ. The story is graphically told by Plutarch in his life of Aratus.

μεταπεμφθέντων: as they had entrusted Demonax of Mantinea in an earlier age with the restoration of order after revolutionary troubles.

5. λιτός κατὰ τὴν περικοπήν, 'simple in his dress', or outer man: λιτός is used by Aristotle in a like sense of an unadorned style (Rhet. 3, 16, 2). περικοπή has taken a long step from the 'mutilation' of the Hermae in Thuc. 6, 28, 2, which meaning passes to that of 'section' of Scripture in Ecclesiastical writers. Its present sense, not found before P., comes from that of 'outline', as of a shadow cut out or marked upon a wall.

6. ἱππάρχης. Master of the Horse or Commander of the Federal Cavalry: an office not apparently in itself of much political weight, but regarded as a stepping-stone to the highest post of General.

κατεφθαρμένα. Plutarch explains that they were allowed to shirk actual service, and sent incapable substitutes into the field (Philop. 7).

7. ἐπιτεκτικόν, 'which promises success': not found before P.

9. ἐξειθεύονται, 'court favour with', 'turn into partisans', a sense illustrated by a passage in the Politics of Aristotle, ἐν Ἡραίᾳ ἐξ αἰρετῶν ἐποίησαν κληρωτὰς (ἀρχάς), οἳ ἡρῶντο τοὺς ἐριθεινομένους (5, 3, 9). The word comes from ἐρίθος, a

‘paid labourer’, transferred to the interested action of partisans. Plutarch explains that the cavalry properly consisted of men of substance whose political influence was too great to be neglected by men of ambition who aspired to the highest place (Philop. 7).

μικρῇ χάριτι...πιστεύοντας, ‘for the sake of a little popularity doing grave mischief to the men who had entrusted them with office’.

10. τὸ τῶν κοινῶν ἀπέχεσθαι. P. speaks elsewhere emphatically of the corruption in public life among the Greeks. “If a single talent only be entrusted to those who have the management of any of the public money; though they give ten written sureties, with as many seals, and twice as many witnesses, they are unable to discharge the trust reposed in them with integrity”; while among the Romans “it is no less rare to discover one that is tainted with this crime” (6, 56, 13).

πλείω κακὰ...τοὺς πεζοὺς, ‘doing worse mischief even to the infantry by their miserable rivalries’.

κακοζηλωσίαν, an otherwise unknown form: the common form is κακοζήλια.

11. 9 Philipoemen had already breathed new fire into the military spirit of the league. On the Western frontier he had routed the cavalry of the Eleans, whose commander he had slain with his own hand: soon after a victory was won over the Aetolians near Messene (B.C. 209). In the next year he was elected General and could use all the influence of his high office to carry out the sweeping changes which thoroughly reformed the Federal army. It was time indeed for the Union to defend itself unaided, for Philip had pressed already by the Confederates, and menaced on all sides, had hardly saved Euboea from the clutches of the Romans—and to do this needed all his energy and rapidity of movement—and then when the danger on that side was averted by the withdrawal of the Roman forces, he found work enough upon his Northern frontiers in beating back the incursions of his restless neighbours. Machanidas meantime, who had seized the throne of Sparta, had raised a formidable army and was ravaging the borders of Arcadia. Philipoemen had now his chance to show

his skill as leader and the mettle of his troops. He met the invader in the open field at Mantinea; routed the Spartan forces, and slew Machanidas himself. B.C. 207.

ἔφη. Philopoemen was now στρατηγός, and we have here the gist of his speeches in which he introduced his military reforms, rebuking the vanity and ostentation of the richer Achaeans.

ἐπισκευήs: the earlier sense was 'repairs', but here probably 'equipment', as the changes of Philopoemen were too thorough for the word to refer to them. P. seems to use it loosely, and to let it take the place of παρασκευή in one place, and ἀποσκευή in another.

4. ἐξοπλισίαν, 'parade under arms'.

στᾶλβουσαι, 'polished', a poetical word adopted in late prose, as in St Mark 9. 3.

ὑποδυσμών, commonly ὑποδημάτων, 'shoes'.

5. τὸν θώρακα καὶ τὸ κράνος. Plutarch describes the tactical changes of Philopoemen in which he accustomed the Achaeans to fight at close quarters instead of skirmishing, and armed them differently, κράνεσι καὶ θώραξι καὶ περικνημῶσι πεφραγμένου μόνιμον καὶ βεβηκυῖαν ἀντὶ δρομικῆς καὶ πελταστικῆς μάχης ἀσκεῖν (Ph. 9).

7. ὁ ἐν τοῖς ἱματίοις καλλωπισμός. In another age the love of finery in the Greek nature is thus illustrated in the history of the Greek Revolution. "The luxury of embroidered dresses and splendid arms is the dominant passion of every military class in Turkey.....The money poured into Greece by the loans suddenly created a demand for Albanian equipments. The bazaars of Tripolitza, Nauplia, Mesolonghi and Athens were filled with gold embroidered jackets, gilded yata-ghans, and silver mounted pistols. Tailors came flocking to Greece from Joannina and Saloniki.....The arms and dress of an ordinary palikari made in imitation of the Tosks of S. Albania often cost £50. Those of a chiliarch or strategus, with the showy trappings for his horse, generally exceeded £300." Finlay, H. G. vi. 339.

8. τὸ βουλευτήριον, probably here 'assembly hall', not 'senate house', as the speech of the general on such a

subject would be addressed to the people, not to senators alone.

9. *παρετήρουν...προειρημένους*, 'scrutinized each other as regards the points just noticed'.

- 10 3. *εὐπερίκοπτος καὶ ἀν.*, 'plain and unostentatious': as *περικοπή* above is 'dress' or 'externals' so *εὐπερίκοπτος* seems to be 'plainly dressed', not 'waiving all ceremony' as in Liddell and Scott.

4. *ἀληθεύειν*. A trait by no means Greek in any age, and least so in the period of decline.

6. *τῇ πίστει...πραγμάτων*, 'by their trust in him and their memories of his services'.

9. *τὸν τύραννον*. Machanidas usurped the power at Sparta after Lycurgus, whose young son was allowed to retain some shadow of royalty. No darker features of his character are known to us.

- 11 2. *εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν*: the late and Hellenistic use of *εἰς*, 'on the morrow'.

4. *τὴν φέρουσαν*, sc. *ὁδόν*.

5. *τὸν λόφον*, the Mt Alesium of Pausanias.

6. *κατὰ τέλη σπειρηδὸν ἐν δ.*, 'in divisions drawn up in companies at regular intervals'.

τὴν τάφρον. "The ditch may have been intended to drain the plain around the city, and to draw off the water towards the Katavothra at the foot of the hill." Leake, *Morea* III. 88. We learn from Thucydides that the drainage of the valley was the subject of frequent strife between Mantinea and Tegea (5, 65, 4).

τῇ τῶν Ἑλισφασίων. Leake suggests "Helissonia, for the name Elisphasii occurs nowhere else in ancient history". A coin however since discovered confirms the reading of the MSS. Cf. Pinder, *Bericht der Preuss. Ak.* 1855.

- 12 *συστήματα*. Often in P. for the various divisions of an army, without any definite reference to numbers.

ἐμφαντικῶς, 'with special reference to': not found before P.

4. *ὀρθῶς*, 'in column', as *προῆγον ὀρθίους ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους*, 11, 23, 2. So Appian has often *ὀρθίους λόχοις*.

περίελλα ἐπὶ δόρυ, 'wheeled to the right', as *ἐπ' ἀσπίδα* is 'to

the left'. Schweigh. explains the movement thus: "posteriores ordines circum eos qui ante sunt locati ita circumducere, ut ingrediantur in linea ad angulum rectum inflexa sive fracta". Such evolutions *κατὰ περικλασιν* Philopoemen thought too easy to require special training, *σχεδὸν γὰρ ὥσπερ πορείας ἔχουσι διάθεσιν* (10, 23, 6).

6. *τῶν Ταραντίνων*. Cf. note on 4, 77, 7.

13 *αὐτῶν τούτων*, 'of these alone'.

2. *καθ' ὅσπερ*, 'towards which army the clouds of dust would roll', i.e. as their own men turned in flight towards their ranks: so *τὸν κονιορτὸν ἑώρα κατὰ τῶν ἰδίων φερόμενον* (5, 85, 1).

5. *τῶν...ὑποταγμένων*, 'the civic forces ranged under a tyrant's standards'. These remarks of P. are illustrated by those of Guicciardini on the Italian mercenaries of the 15th century (Thirlwall, *Greece*, 8, 273).

6. *ἐπανορθώσεως*, 'gain', 'advantage': so in 5, 88, 3 it is contrasted with *βλάβη*.

14 *τοὺς ἐφεδρεύοντας τ. ξ.*, 'stationed in reserve behind'.

3. *συνεπιθέσθαι*, 'put the finishing stroke to', 'take advantage of'.

6. *κατὰ κέρας ὑπεραίρειν*, 'wheel round and take them in flank'. Cf. note on 5, 23, 3.

7. *τὸν φόβον ἱκανὸν ὄντα*: accusative abs. instead of gen.

15 2. *ὑποστεύας αὐτὸν ὑπό*, 'withdrawing under cover of'.

τὸν τόπον καθ' ὃν ὁ κίνδυνος ἦν, 'the scene of the recent conflict'.

ἐπ' ἀσπίδα, 'to the left'. Cf. note above on 12, 4.

3. *ὑπερδέξις ἐγεγόνει*, 'had outflanked'.

4. *τὴν ἐπαγωγὴν ἀναμίζ*, 'the general charge': *ἐπ.* like *ἐφοδος*: so Thuc. 3, 100, 1.

5. *Πολυβίφ.* An uncle probably of the historian, not the writer himself, who many years afterwards was hardly old enough for the embassy in which he served (25, 5).

διακεκλικότας τὴν φυγὴν, 'kept clear of the rout'. Cf. 8, 11, 1.

6. *καταβαλόντες τ. σ.*, 'levelling their spears'. Cf. note on 2, 69, 7.

7. *κατάβασιν ἐκ πολλοῦ*, 'a gradual descent for some distance'.

κατὰ τὸ τέλος, for *εἰς τέλος* 'at all' is quite unusual. Casaubon suggested *κατὰ τὸ θέρος*, 'as was natural in summer time'.

ἀνεπιστάτως, 'rashly': not found before P.

16 *ὑπάγειν*, 'march up', 'succedere in acie pugnae conserendae causa', Schweigh. Cf. Thuc. 4, 127, 1.

5. *εὐθέως...τὴν τάφρον*, 'from the first had used the trench as a screen'.

6. *ἐκ παρατεταγμένων ἀπ.* 'should break up his line of battle'.

μακρὰν...διαβαλεῖ, 'divide himself (his army) too far on the march', i.e. make his line too long for effective combination. We have however to force the Greek to get this sense. The MSS. have *ἐμπορεία διαβάλλει*, which Casaubon corrected into *ἐμπειρίας διαβαλεῖ*, 'accuse himself of coming far short in experience (skill)'. The passage seems corrupt and almost hopeless. Cf. 4, 12, 11.

8. *μακρὰν ἑαυτοὺς δόντες*, 'extending their line too much'. Cf. 5, 22, 7.

17 3. *κατὰ τὴν τ. δ. παράπτωσιν*, 'in the course of the pursuit', as *πᾶν τὸ παράπιπτον* in P. is 'anything that happens'. Generally the prep. retains in the compound a more distinctive meaning as 'lying off the road', or 'erring from the right'.

4. *προπέπτωκε*, 'advanced too far'.

ἄθρους διαπσεῖν, 'cut their way through in a body'.

18 2. *παρασπισταῖς*: the probable conjecture of Schweigh. The MSS. have the meaningless *παρεσπίπτων*.

4. *προσθέντα τοὺς μύωπας*, sc. *τῷ ἵππῳ*, 'spurring his horse'.

συναγαγὼν ἐκ μεταβολῆς αὐτῷ, 'turning sharply round and charging him': an unusual sense of *συνάγειν*.

ἐκ διαλήψεως, 'at close quarters', or perhaps 'thrusting it with both hands', as in 2, 33, 6 where it is opposed to *ἐκ καταφορᾶς*: 'punctim' and 'caesim'. In the account of the combat in Plutarch we have *διαλαβὼν τὸ ξυστὸν ἐκ χειρὸς ὥθει* (P. 10), which is probably intended as an expansion of *ἐκ διαλήψεως*.

ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ διέφθειρε, 'slew in hand to hand combat': so Philopoemen, while master of the horse, had slain Damophantus the leader of the Eleans in the battle by the river Larisos: winning according to Roman usage the spolia opima.

13. 6 While the league with Philopoemen at its head could hold its own within the Peloponnese, Philip was carrying all before him in the North, and after more than one invasion of their country drove the Aetolians to sue for peace. Rome was on the point of succouring her allies, but the help came too late, and indignant as she was at the separate treaty formed, soon after came to terms herself with Philip, and concluded peace that she might have her hands free for the crisis of the struggle with Carthage (B.C. 205). Meantime Machanidas had been succeeded by Nabis, a tyrant of the vilest stamp, whose power was a reign of terror at Sparta, and a disturbance to the peace of Greece.

2. καταβολὴν ἐποιεῖτο, 'made a beginning', much the same as θεμέλιον ὑπεβ. So in N. T. πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, St John 17. 24.

3. διέφθειρε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἄρδην ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης, 'quite ruined all in Sparta'. τοὺς λοιποὺς seems to be equivalent to πάντας, though strictly it includes all not referred to in the following paragraph.

4. παρασχίσται, 'burglars': from παρασχίζω, 'rip open': a conjecture of Schweigh. for the unmeaning παρασχεῖται of MSS.: but the τοιχωρύχοι 'housebreakers', which follows, in that case would seem needless.

6. ἐξηρκεῖτο, 'was content', as ἀρκοῦμαι πεποιηκέναι τοῦτο, 1, 20, 1.

- 7 2. διαφόρως ἀπειργ. P. has εἰς ὁμοιότητα διαφερόντως ἐξεργασμένον (6, 53, 5), the language of which is more regular.

3. τῶν πολιτικῶν, 'of the well to do citizens', distinguished from the artisans (ἐργαστικοί) in 10, 16, 1, though more commonly from ξένοι or μισθοφόροι.

8. καὶ περιέπτυξε ταῖς χερσὶ. Hultsch suggests in place of this obviously corrupt phrase περιπτύξαι ταῖς χερσὶ κελευσθεῖς, 'being bidden to embrace her he was drawn gradually towards her breast'.

10. προσήρεισε...γυναικός: this seems hopeless, Schweigh. proposes προσήρεισε ταῖς χερσὶ τῆς γυναικὸς πρὸς τὰ νῶτα τὰν-θρώπου, where προσήρεισε refers to Nabis who was arranging the mechanism.

8 2. ὁδοιδόκους, 'highway robbers', on the analogy of ὁδοι-πόρος.

μερίτης. Cf. note on 4, 3, 11.

6. μαρτυρομένων, 'protesting that they should'.

6.36 Nabis the tyrant of Sparta had grown bolder with impunity: he had sent plundering parties to Arcadia and made an unprovoked attack upon Messene, which was only frustrated by the prompt and personal ascendancy of Philopoemen. It was time to take decisive action. Philopoemen therefore assembled the forces of the Union at Tegea, outgeneralled the tyrant's army, and drove it with great slaughter back to Sparta.

ποῖαι...παραγίνεσθαι, lit., 'which can reach Tegea by the same roads', for 'which of them lie upon the same roads leading to Tegea'.

3. τοῖς ἀποτελείοις, 'the magistrates': only found here and in 10, 23, 9 where it is explained by οἱ κατὰ πόλεις ἄρχοντες soon after. οἱ ἐν τέλει is the earlier phrase from which it seems to be derived.

πέντ' ἀργύριον, 'money for five days': a bold ellipse. Schweigh. proposes πέντ' ἀργυρίου, supplying δραχμάς.

4. οἱ παρόντες, 'those who had answered the roll call'.

37 ὠτακουστῶν, 'spies': so Aristotle specifies it as a common device of tyranny εἶναι κατασκόπους, οἷον περὶ Συρακούσας αἱ ποταγωγίδες καλούμεναι, καὶ τοὺς ὠτακουστὰς ἐξέπεμπεν Ἱέρων, ὅπου τις εἴη συνουσία.

2. Σελλασίαν. Cf. note on 2, 65, 7.

3. Σκοτίται, a place beyond Caryae on the road to Tegea, where there was a temple of Zeus, surrounded by a thick forest of oak.

5. Πελλήγη, not far from Belmina; cf. 2, 54, 3.

45 7. ὁ δὲ Τίτος. T. Quinticius Flamininus, who, after other generals had failed, managed the war with Philip with signal success, and closed it with the victory of Cynoscephalae. In

dealing with Greece he showed as much generosity as the interests of Rome allowed.

The balance of power in the neighbourhood of Greece was wholly changed by the first Macedonian war. The Romans, who had closed the long strife with Carthage by the decisive victory of Zama, had now leisure and means to deal with Philip who had given ample provocation not only by his ambitious projects of invasion early in the Punic war, but also by repeated attacks on the allies of Rome, and unscrupulous aggression on his neighbours. At first the league was neutral in the war, but after much hesitation and division in its counsels, it threw in its lot with Rome against its old ally, whose caprices and cruelty had estranged the sympathy and trust of Greece (B.C. 198). The victory of Cynoscephalae soon proved that they had sided with the winning cause (B.C. 197), and the proclamation of general independence at the Isthmian games seemed to promise a new era of security and peace.

Ἐλατείας. On a gentle slope above the plain of the Cephissus, commanding the entrance into Phocis and Boeotia. It had been lately taken by assault by Flamininus.

μετὰ τῶν δέκα. It was usual for the Roman senate to send commissioners after a successful campaign to consult with the general and to organize a new system of government for the conquered country. Large powers were vested in them for the purpose, and the regulations which they made were commonly observed long afterwards as a fundamental '*lex provinciae*'. "*Sicunde potes, erues qui decem legati Mummio fuerunt: Polybius non nominat. Ego memini Albinum consularem et Sp. Mummium*". Cic. Ep. ad Att. 13, 33.

Ἀντίκυραν, occupied by the Roman fleet as a favourable centre for operations in the Corinthian gulf. It was famed for its manufacture of hellebore.

8. **διαβολῆς.** The Aetolians were highly dissatisfied that Philip had not been pushed further to extremes, and that the Thessalian towns which were once theirs had not been restored to them. They criticized with bitterness the measures of Rome and pointed to the real hold she kept on Greece, despite her fine phrases and seeming generosity.

9. τὴν τῶν Ἑ. εὐκλειαν, equivalent to τὴν παρὰ τῶν Ἑ. εὔ. and the gen. of the object.

οὐ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἕνεκεν. They must have indeed been credulous who supposed that Rome had interfered in Greece in so magnanimous a spirit, though it suited her policy to leave Greece nominally free.

10. προδιειληφθαι. The commissioners seem to have had their hands tied with unusually definite instructions.

περὶ δὲ Χαλκίδος: this and the other two were the so-called Ἑλληνικαὶ πέδαι on which Philip had laid stress.

11. δῆλος ἦν ἐπέχων. Antiochus, surnamed the Great, perhaps from the success of his campaigns to restore the Eastern provinces which had been lost for a time to the Syrian Kingdom, had been summoned by Roman envoys to restore the conquests made from Egypt and from Philip, but angrily rejected their dictation. The Aetolians in their discontent at their treatment at the hands of Rome, played upon his vanity and pride, and tempted him to measure himself with Rome. He invaded Greece in 192 B.C., but his schemes, rashly formed and executed without energy or skill, collapsed after one blow at Thermopylae (191 B.C.), and he returned to Asia where the long arm of Rome struck him down once more.

46 τῆς Ἰσθμίων παν. The Gymnastic contests were held here every five years and continued even after most others had fallen into neglect. They lasted on even after the destruction of Corinth, and the presidency was then intrusted to Sicyon.

2. ἀδύνατον εἶναι. Yet it was the practice of Rome to appropriate her conquests gradually, leaving them for a time to some trusty ally, or under a semblance of freedom till they were ripe for annexation.

εὐρυστολογίας, 'gossiping talk': this with the verb εὐρυστολογεῖν does not appear before P.

4. σαλπικτοῦ: as to the form of this word cf. note on 4, 19, 12.

5. στρατηγὸς ὑπατος, 'the Commander in Chief', Proconsul.

λευθέρους ἀφ. ἀφ.: the familiar formula, cf. 4, 25, 7. The list given is that of the peoples or towns more or less held in subjection to Philip, not including of course free Greece.

10. *παραστατικοί*, 'distraught', as one sense of *παράστασις* in P. is 'madness'.

11. *ἥ* refers to *παραστάσει* implied in the adj.

12. *διέλυσαν*, 'pulled to pieces': an unusual sense of the word.

13. *πολὺ καταδεστέραν*: as Thirlwall observes, we cannot explain this reflection of P. so as "not to question either his judgment or his sincerity".

14. *χάριν τῆς τ. 'Ε. ε.* It would seem scarcely possible that this could have been written after the final crash in 147 B.C. Probably it was penned before there was so much reason to mistrust Roman generosity, and the friend of Scipio even in that case had a partial judgment.

22. 3 There were still elements of discord, though peace had been proclaimed. Nabis of Sparta had seized Argos by treachery, and would not let go his hold after shameless abuse of power. The Greeks were eager to combine their force with that of Rome against him, and Nabis was soon reduced to see Laconia dismembered as the price of peace, and her coast towns put under the protection of the league. Soon after Flamininus had withdrawn the strife broke out again about these towns, and Philopoemen who had been long absent from his country took the lead again and, after a passing failure with his fleet, drove the tyrant again within the walls of Sparta. Nabis soon after lost his life from a treacherous attack of an Aetolian force, and Philopoemen hurried to the city to take advantage of the general confusion, and prevailed on the leading citizens to make Sparta join the league, to which it proved however a reluctant and fatal member. B.C. 192. Disturbances began there even the next year, but were calmed by Philopoemen before the General of the Union and Flamininus arrived in force upon the scene. Then they sent to Rome to beg for the restoration of their towns upon the coast, which gave a shelter to the exiles of the oligarchic party whom Nabis had proscribed, and whose return the new citizens had good cause to fear. As the petition was not granted, they tried to right themselves by force, and seized one of the towns by a night attack. Again appeal was made to Rome, but with no decisive

answer. Philopoemen marched to the Laconian frontier with the forces of the league, and the authors of the outrage were surrendered and put to the sword after scant forms of justice. The walls of Sparta were dismantled, its ancient institutions replaced by others of an Achæan type, the old followers of Nabis banished and the refugees restored. This was naturally followed by fresh complaints to Rome and more embassies on either side.

Κομπασίω, a village on the Spartan frontier otherwise unknown, near which the Achæan camp was pitched.

ἐπανάλειψιν. The Spartans were the undoubted aggressors; they had attacked Las which the Roman commission had taken from them, and had murdered some of their own citizens who had Achæan sympathies. Philopoemen demanded the surrender of the guilty, but allowed some of them to be cut down by their own exiled countrymen in his camp, and others to be put to death after a hasty trial. Eighty thus perished according to P., three hundred and fifty according to another account (Plutarch, Ph. 16).

δυσταραστήσαντες. They had good reason, for the walls of Sparta were pulled down, border-lands annexed to Megalopolis, where a colonnade was built with the proceeds of the sale of the mercenaries of Nabis, and the old institutions of the city displaced by those of an Achæan type.

νομίζαντες. The argument, though insincere, sounded plausibly in Roman ears.

2. **ἀρχιερέως**, Pontifex Maximus.

ἑπατον ἀρχήν. M. Aemilius Lepidus was consul B.C. 187.

3. **οὐκ ὀρθῶς**. It was certainly an impolitic and high-handed interference with the state rights of even a seceding member of the league. The humiliation was the more bitter as it came from the hand of a citizen of Megalopolis, the old enemy of Sparta.

4. **τὸν Ἠλεῖον**. Elis had been only recently included in the league after long-continued hostility. It acquiesced however with a good grace, and the choice of an Elean as envoy marks the confidence inspired.

- 10 2. κατὰ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα χ. When Q. Caecilius was sent as envoy to Macedonia in B.C. 187.

Ἀρισταίνου, a native of Megalopolis, according to Plutarch (Philop. 17), whose policy as a statesman is described in 24, 13. The name is sometimes written Ἀρισταίνερος in the MSS., like that of the native of Dyme who commanded the cavalry under Philopoemen at Mantinea (11, 11, 7).

Πτολεμαῖον. The P. Epiphanes, son of Euergetes, to whom Antiochus had been forced by the Romans to restore the territory seized during the young king's minority.

ἐν Μεγάλῃ πόλει. By a recent change, B.C. 189, even the regular meetings of the league were held in other towns besides Aegium, which was far away from many and comparatively insignificant in population (Livy, 38, 30).

3. μισθοδοτεῖσθαι. The payment of senators had been a common feature of earlier democracies, as of Athens under Pericles, but for a foreign potentate to find the funds would have been humiliating.

4. καὶ παρὰ Σελεύκου. The appearance of these various embassies shows that the Achaean league was regarded as a military power of some importance in the world.

δεκαναῖον, 'a fleet of ten ships': only in P., but like δεκαετία, δεκακυμία, δεκαταλαντία and other late words.

5. ἐχούσης πραγματικῶς, 'dealing with the question in the order of business': a questionable extension of the usage of ἔχειν with an adverb of quality.

τῇ συγκλήτῳ, 'the Roman senate', in which the embassies had been heard.

ὑπέρ, a strong case of its use for περί, as the envoys spoke against the local interests of Sparta.

6. λαμβάνειν ἐκδοχὴν, 'draw the conclusion'.

καταλύσει has the meaning of destruction with words like βασιλείας, δυναστείας, and even with the concrete terms τυράννον, Περσέως, where it refers to their power and not their life only, but it is very questionable in the sense of 'murder', and as the whole passage is corrupt some words may have slipped out, such as τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τῷ φόνῳ.

ποιεῖν: the anacoluthon is explained by the δυσαρεστοῦνται, which implies a δοκεῖ in the contrasted clause.

7. *παρεπέμφθη*, 'allowed to retire', i.e. from the Achaean assembly.

8. *τὴν πατρικὴν*: of the time of his father Attalus.

11 3. *τῶν νόμων κωλύόντων*. These were not in force in the time of Aratus, who had a pension from the king of Egypt.

6. *τῶν πραγμάτων*, 'the interests'.

9. *ἐξηδραποδίστατο*. This was in B.C. 210 in the first Macedonian war, after the Aetolians had joined the league with Rome against Philip and his allies, on the condition that they should have the conquered lands while the Romans carried off the moveable plunder. The sale of a Greek island by Greeks to a foreign power was a startling shock to national sentiment.

11. *διάφορα προτείνοντα*, 'dangling his bribes before their eyes'.

13. *παρέστη*, 'convinced'. Cf. the use of *παράστασις* in 5, 9, 6.

13 *τῆς πανηγύρεως*: probably the festival of Nemea, with which Argos was closely connected. Cf. note on 2, 70, 4, and 5, 101, 5.

τῆς πρεσβείας: to attend to the complaints of Eumenes, the Maronites, Thessalians and others, who had accused Philip before the Roman senate of aggressive action.

2. *τὰς ἀρχάς*, the federal officers and Damiurgi, who formed a sort of Cabinet Council.

4. *Διοφάνης*, an experienced soldier, was trained under Philopoemen in the war with Nabis, and commanded a contingent of Achaeans in the war against Antiochus in Asia. He returned to Greece in a presumptuous mood, eager to chastise Sparta for her discontent, and to force Elis and Messene into the Union, or even to contest the claims of Rome to the island of Zacynthus. This extravagance caused friction between himself and Philopoemen, who saw the need of a more sober course of action.

πατραριβήν, 'feud', lit. 'friction'.

τὰ κατὰ Μεσσηνίην. M., though delivered by Philopoemen from the tyrant Nabis, had reluctantly joined the Achaean league under pressure from Rome B.C. 191.

6. τῶν φυγαδικῶν, probably χρημάτων, as the confiscation of the exiles' property was often a cause of strife on their return.

τὸ τοῦ Τίτου. Flamininus had been appealed to by the Messenians when the Achaean general strove to force them to join the Union. The Roman commander "Messeniis imperavit ut exsules reducerent et Achaeorum concilii essent: si qua haberent, de quibus aut recusare aut in posterum cavere sibi vellent, Corinthum ad se venirent" (Livy 36, 31).

διόρθωσιν: probably some constitutional changes at the expense of the oligarchic party which was opposed to the Union.

8. τοῦ δὲ Φιλοποίμενος καὶ Δυκόρτα: both natives of Megalopolis, as was also Diophanes. The leading position of the city in the league is illustrated by the large proportion of her citizens in the Cabinet.

10. τοὺς πολλοὺς αὐτῷ συναγαγεῖν, 'to summon for him an extraordinary meeting of the Federal Assembly'.

12. τοὺς νόμους οὐκ ἔαν: a like request of Flamininus was met with a refusal on like grounds in B.C. 183.

14. τῆς πρότερον παρουσίας, at an assembly of the league held at Elis after the declaration of war against the seceding Sparta, following on the attack on Las. War was delayed at the desire of M. Fulvius till reference was made to Rome, but the answer returned was ambiguous. Cf. Livy 38, 31.

15 7. Ἀρεὺς καὶ Ἀλκ., of whom Pausanias says that they were of influence at Sparta τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἀχαιοὺς οὐ δίκαιοι, for they had been fugitives from the tyranny of Nabis, but restored by the Achaeans against the will of the Spartan commons, and yet now προθυμώτατα ἐνέκειντο Ἀχαιοῖς. Yet the humiliating treatment of Sparta might well rouse the indignation of any of her citizens, whatever their own fortunes had been.

16 ἐκ συγκαταθέσεως, 'by arrangement', like ἐκ συγκαταστάσεως, 'e composito'. The sense would seem rather to require ἐκ παραθέσεως, 'by way of contrast'.

2. ἐξηγμένον τοῦ πλῆθους: these were the new elements introduced by Nabis, his mercenaries or other aliens whom he had made citizens, but who were now expelled.

3. κατ' ἰδίαν ὑπηρετεῖν: pointing to the dominating in-

fluence of Philopoemen, who had interposed in their disputes without special authority from the league.

4. τοῖς αὐτοῖς πρεσβευταῖς, whom the senate had just decided to send to Philip on the subject of his alleged aggressions in Thrace and elsewhere.

10. προσέχων τὸν νοῦν. Livy puts the answer in more definite terms, "curae iis debere, ut Romanis legatis semper adeundi concilium gentis potestas fieret, quemadmodum et illis, quoties vellent, senatus daretur" (39, 33). But it was easy to give foreigners an audience in the Roman senate, which often met: but much harder to summon the Achaeans from all parts of the Peloponnese to a meeting of the federal assembly.

23. 5 Messene, though it had been rescued from Philip's clutches by the remonstrance of Aratus (B.C. 215), and from Nabis by the promptitude of Philopoemen (B.C. 205), had little mind to sacrifice any of her independence as a state. When therefore Diophanes summoned her to join the Union (B.C. 191), and threatened to resort to force, her citizens resisted till Flaminius, to whom appeal was made, enjoined them to submit and to recall their exiles, promising however his protection if they should have reason to complain. They became therefore reluctant members of the league. Philopoemen tried to strengthen the popular party at Messene, as most in sympathy with federal action, but his policy had been criticised by rival statesmen, and certainly provoked reaction in the oligarchic party at Messene, which seems to have sent Dinocrates to represent its interests at Rome, and on his return took speedy measures for a revolution, and openly seceded from the league.

πρεσβυτής: not of course as an ambassador for the state, which had no right to negotiate simply, nor from the league, but as secret agent for his party.

Σέλευκον, Philopator.

2. τὸν Τίτον. T. Quinctius Flaminius was sent to the court of Prusias where Hannibal was entertained, and his arrival was fatal to the famous fugitive. Cf. Livy 39, 51.

κατὰ τὸν Λακωνικὸν πόλεμον: that with Nabis in which

Rome acted with the Achaean league, and Flamininus invaded Laconia. Livy 34, 26—35.

διαφοράν. Plutarch says that the reputation which Philopoemen had won in the war with Nabis excited the jealousy of Flamininus (Ph. 15), and this may have been increased by his promptitude in hurrying to Sparta and settling matters after an outbreak before the Achaean praetor and Flamininus could arrive, *τόν τε στρατηγὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τὸν ὑπατοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἰδιώτης ὧν ἀπέκλεισε* (Phil. 16).

4. **οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὴν τριβὴν...ῥωπικός,** 'was not only by training but by character a courtier and a soldier, and put on the air of a practical statesman, but he was insincere and worthless'.

7. **πολιτικός,** 'courteous', 'urbane'.

9. **ἀρχὴν μεγάλων κακῶν:** in prompting the secession of Messene from the Union.

ἀφ' ἡμέρας, 'in broad daylight', 'de die'.

10. **βραχέϊαν...λαβεῖν,** 'forced him to take some slight hint as to his behaviour'.

13. **ὡς ἀνόκειον...ἀποδέδωκε,** 'what an unbecoming proof of his natural sentiments he had exhibited'.

8. **ὁ Μάρκιος.** Q. Marcius who had been sent as envoy to Macedonia and Greece: "nam ibi quoque et ex veteribus discordiis residui motus erant, et Messene desciverat a concilio Achaico" (Livy 39, 48): he is now giving his report to the Roman senate.

9. **τῇ Μεσσήνῃ συμφρονήσαι.** Dinocrates, on his return, had provoked an outbreak at Messene, which seceded from the Union and made him general.

11. **μετέωρον ἑῶσαι,** 'leave in suspense': this was the perfidious policy of Rome till matters were ripe for her forcible suppression of Greek independence.

13. **ἀπεκρίθησαν.** Rome, which had systematically broken up all federal systems nearer home, now began to show her illwill to the Achaean league by this malignant appeal to all the malcontents within it.

12. The return of Dinocrates was soon followed by the secession of Messene and an attack upon a town that was still loyal to

the Union. Philopoemen, who was then general, though suffering from fever at Argos, rose from his sick bed and hurried to the spot with the cavalry of Megalopolis, consisting mainly of young volunteers of good family. He charged the enemy without delay, but surrounded presently by superior forces he was thrown from his horse and taken prisoner as he was bringing up the rear in the confusion of retreat. The Messenian leaders, afraid to risk delay while popular sympathies were rising in favour of their noble captive, hurried him out of sight into a dungeon, where a few hours later a cup of poison ended his career (B.C. 184).

3. οὐδενὸς δεύτερος. Philopoemen was confessedly the first soldier of his age in Greece, and even in that period of declining spirit he had trained a national force which made the league a power of importance in the eyes of distant rulers. Though far inferior as a statesman he showed dignity and some degree of prudence, keeping up what he could of independence in the councils of the Union without braving needlessly the overwhelming force of Rome. His great mistake was in forcing into the league the reluctant Sparta, and punishing her secession as a crime. Another was his long and repeated absence in Crete when his country sorely needed his strong hand: but he was ever frank and fearless, and he died without a stain upon his honour, and historians ranked him with the Punic Hannibal and Roman Scipio, who passed away in the same year (Livy 39, 50).

τῆς τύχης ἦσαν. Cf. Plutarch: νέμεσις τις ὥσπερ ἀθλητὴν εὐδρομοῦντα πρὸς τέρμασι τοῦ βίου κατέβαλε (Phil. 18).

- 16 The tidings of Philopoemen's death caused a burst of indignation throughout the Union, and Lycortas the new general took speedy measures to avenge it, invading Messenia with overpowering forces. The Messenians, unable to meet him in the field, and suffering from the ravages of war, were forced to sue for peace, which they obtained on the condition of summary vengeance on the guilty, and submission to the federal rule, while certain of their townships were now admitted on an independent status to the Union.

2. τῇ τῶν πολεμίων ἐφεδρεία. The cities of the league

lost no time in mourning for their national hero, and the forces of the Union marched at once into Messenia and laid waste the open country round the town.

3. οἱ περὶ τὸν Δαινοκράτην. He and his partisans had pushed on the movement of Secession, and hastened the death of Philopoemen in his dungeon in their fear of a popular outbreak in his favour.

περιέχσθαι: some words appear to have slipped out of the early MS., such as τῇ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπεχθείᾳ.

τῶν ἐκ Βοιωτίας. The Achaean league had been urged by Rome to restore, by force if necessary, certain Boeotian exiles who had done good service to the Roman cause in the war with Antiochus. This had led to bitter feeling between the two peoples.

6. ὁ στρατηγός. Lycortas, who had been general the year before, seems in accordance with constitutional usage to have stepped at once into the place of Philopoemen till the elections could be held, and then to have been formally re-elected. Cf. Freeman, *Fed. Gov.* p. 648 note 3.

τοὺς συνάρχοντας, the board of federal officers or the Cabinet, probably equivalent to *συναρχίαι*. Cf. note on 4, 4, 2.

7. ἐπιτροπήν δῶσι, 'surrender at discretion'.

9. τὸ συνέχον. Cf. note on 2, 52, 4.

10. τὴν ἄκραν, the height of Ithome. Cf. note on 7, 11, 1.

12. τῆς μὲν οὖν...ἐποιήσατο, 'he reserved the final decision for the federal assembly'.

τὴν δευτέραν σύνοδον: probably the Spring Meeting of B.C. 182. The official year began now in the autumn, when the first of the two regular Meetings was held for the Elections.

13. αὐτοὺς ἐξάγειν. Plutarch says that Dinocrates put an end to his own life, but that the others who were guilty of the death of Philopoemen were executed by the Messenians at the bidding of Lycortas.

17 2. ἡ δ' Ἀβία. These towns were near the borders of Laconia, to which the last two were annexed by Augustus after his victory over Antonius whose cause they had espoused (Paus. 4, 30). The policy followed by the league was that of Philopoemen, who had done the like in Arcadia by giving an

independent status to certain townships which had before formed part of Megalopolis. He thus gave more weight to the South of the Peloponnese, by increasing the voting power of its population in the federal assembly, while he gratified local pride.

στήλην. Cf. note on 2, 41, 12.

κατὰ λόγον, 'successfully', 'as they desired'.

4. ἀποτρίβεισθαι, 'decline'. Cf. note on 4, 20, 11.

5. συνήγε τοὺς πολλούς, 'convened an extraordinary assembly'.

6. προσλαβέσθαι τὴν Σπάρτην, 'accept Sparta as a member of the Union' on the old terms of equality, for it had been of late humbled and treated as a subject district.

7. Ῥωμαίους μὲν. Repeated deputations had gone to Rome from Sparta begging for her interference: and lately four separate sets of envoys had appeared together, each with a different claim.

10. τοὺς ἀχαρίστας; such as Areus and Alcibiades. Cf. note on 22, 15, 7.

ἀλλ' ἐτέρων...προνομίας, 'but as a rival party had expelled them from the state, they might at the same time show their approval of this policy and by the favour of heaven requite its authors as they deserved'.

12. συνεπισχῆσαι, 'give the weight of their support'.

18 4. Χαίρων, who soon afterwards stirred up strife as an unscrupulous demagogue at Sparta.

5. Κλήτιν Διακτόριον: both these words are of doubtful genuineness: no place is known which could explain the second name.

14. 2 2. ὑπερβέσθαι τὸ διαβούλιον, 'postpone the debate'.

3. τὴν πρὸς Μ. στήλην: the tablet which recorded the terms agreed upon is here put in place of the resolution itself.

ἀπέλαι, remission of all federal taxes.

4. οὐ διὰ τὴν τ. σ. σπουδὴν, 'not from any special interest which the senate took in the matter'.

μένειν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποκειμένων, 'adhere to the former decision': a favourite phrase of P.

6 2. ἀσμένως ἀπεδίξαντο. Yet they had refused a similar

offer of Seleuctus not long before, perhaps from fear of giving umbrage to Rome.

5. **Πολύβιον**: the historian now appears as taking part in the events of which he writes.

νεώτερον ὄντα: not yet thirty years of age, the beginning of a political career in the Union.

6. **τὸν Ἀρατον**, the grandson probably of the famous statesman of that name.

ευστάσεις: the connexion was a close one until it was closed by the war with Cleomenes. Cf. 2, 47, 2.

7. **καίρως τοῦτους**, B.C. 180.

- 10 The long-standing difficulty as to the treatment of the Spartan exiles led, needlessly perhaps, to further reference to the Roman senate, and gave the traitor Callicrates an opportunity (B.C. 180) to gain the confidence of Roman statesmen, and assure them of his willingness to be the unscrupulous tool of their crooked schemes to reduce the States of Greece to unqualified submission.

Ὑπερβάτου, probably a partisan of Rome (29, 23, 2).

ἀναδόντος διαβούλιον, 'laying before the Meeting the question of &c.'

2. **εἰς τὰ μέτρια τῶν ἀξιουμένων**, 'so far as their requests seemed reasonable'.

4. **δ συνέχει...ἡμῶν**, 'which are the bonds of our political Union': **στήλας** as above for 'compacts' so recorded.

8. **Καλλικράτην**: for the character of this traitor cf. next chapter: for the hatred felt for him in Greece cf. 30, 23.

Λεοντήσιον, of Leontium. Cf. note on 2, 41, 8. The form is unusual.

Λυδιάδαν: doubtless a relation of the former tyrant of Megalopolis.

9. **ἐκ καταβολῆς**, 'from first to last', 'systematically'.

- 11 4. **ἀχαϊκώτεραν**, 'more popular with the league'.

6. **ἐπισημασία**, expression of 'disapproval', as **ἐπισημαίνεσθαι** in 2, 61, 1. Commonly both words are taken in a favourable sense.

7. **τοῦτο τὸ μέρος**, 'this matter'.

8. **ἤδη τινάς**. He is pointing to Lycortas and his friends.

9. ἀδιαφόρως ἔχουσι, 'feel indifferent': the correction of Schweig. for διαφόρως of the MSS.

10. τὴν ἐνδεχομένην: the position of this word far away from its substantive is characteristic of the style of P.

12. Κοίντου Μαρκίου. Cf. note on 23, 9, 8.

12 2. τὶνα τῶν...ἐλπόντες, 'after bewailing the state of public affairs', the supposed misgovernment, that is, of the rival faction.

3. διδαχθεῖσα: the great masters of Roman statecraft needed no such schooling, and the change in their attitude towards the league was probably due to the fact that after the successes in the East they had no motive to care for its willing support.

4. προστρέχοντας αὐτῇ, 'hurrying to curry favour with it'. Cf. κολάκων below. P. has προσέδραμε πρὸς τὴν τῶν πολλῶν γνώμην, 'sided with the opinion of' &c.: but a stronger sense seems here implied, and the construction is different.

6. πάντας: the neighbouring states had no rights of interference in the matter, and the only pretext could be the residence of the exiles among them.

9. ἐπισφαλισταῖς: the probable correction of Reiske of the ἐπιφανισταῖς of the MSS.

12. ἀνατρέχουσι...σφᾶς αὐτούς, 'retrace their steps and correct their mistakes'. This is mere idle talk, and P. was indeed blinded by partiality when he ascribes these fine sentiments to the egotistic government of Rome.

13. προσαναεινόμενος...φόβον, 'threatening them with the displeasure of Rome': φόβον, as frequently in P., put for its object.

14. διὰ τὸ μὴδὲν εἰδέναι: the other envoys seem to have neglected to ascertain or repeat what he had said at Rome, if indeed he ever said it: yet their bearing must have been truer, as the senate ignored them when it praised Callicrates the traitor.

δωροδοκηθεῖς. Secret service money may have been provided to ensure his election as general, in which office he could secure the interests of Rome.

18 4. πᾶν τὸ πρόσφορον 'P. So Plutarch says of him that

Philopoemen on one occasion could bear no more in silence, and burst out in anger ὦ ἄνθρωπε τί σπεύδεις τὴν πεπρωμένην τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπιδεῖν; (Phil. 17).

5. τοιαύτην ἐφέλκετο φ., 'gave himself such airs': so of the same statesman P. says μεγάλην ἐφέλκετο φαντασίαν ὡς μόνος εἰδὼς τί λέγει (22, 12, 12).

7. δικαιολογεῖσθαι, 'stand upon their rights'.

8. οἶον ἐπιμ. ἔκειν, 'yield under protest'. Cf. ὡσαυτὶ προδιαμαρτυρομένη in 12, 6.

28. 3 For a time Rome thought it prudent to deal tenderly with Greece and not push matters to extremes till the power of Macedonia was completely crushed. They had watched Philip with a jealous eye as he set himself to repair his losses in the war and to reorganize the national forces. They followed with like suspicions the more peaceful policy of Perseus, listened readily to every complaint against him, and encouraged all his neighbours to slander and scheme for his destruction. Their provocations failed to goad him to an outbreak, still the senate finally resolved on war (B.C. 172), though it had the baseness to send Q. Marcius, the son of his father's friend, to lure him with hopes of peace till its preparations were complete. Little progress was made by the Roman arms in the first year of the war, and a check on the Peneus called out the hopes of those—and they were many—who in the towns of Greece still sympathized with the Macedonian cause, and smarted under the exactions of the Roman leaders, who spared neither friend nor foe in the license of their personal greed, as well as in the official requisitions for their army. But the Achaean League at any rate was cautious and firm in its adherence to the side of Rome: even before the war it had declined the overtures of Perseus and would enter into no relations with him: and while the struggle lasted it had maintained a constant attitude of loyalty to Rome.

Ἀύλος. A. Hostilius Mancinus now proconsul κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χ. B.C. 170.

3. τὰ δόγματα: the senatus consultum was to the effect "ne quis ullam rem magistratibus Romanis conferret praeter quam quod Senatus censuisset" (Livy 43, 20). Demands for

supplies or reinforcements had been made by Roman commanders, as recently at Athens where a large quantity of corn was called for though all had to be imported. The Praetor C. Lucretius had even plundered Chalcis to furnish his own villa with the works of art (Livy 43, 10).

4. τοὺς ἐν ἐκάσταις...προσπίπτοντας, 'those who in the several cities fell short of what was due, as well as those who outran its requirements'.

7. τὸν Ἄρχονα. He had complied with the request of the Roman commissioners to send to Chalcis a contingent of the forces of the league (27, 2, 11).

10. τῆς βουλῆς: perhaps put here instead of ἐκκλησίας, because few but the members of the βουλή attended the General Meeting.

ἀσπαστικὴν, 'conciliatory'.

6 2. τὴν ἄλλην πολιτείαν, 'their general policy'.

ἐβουλευόντο: this was a sort of 'Caucus' of influential politicians to decide upon a programme for party action.

4. τὸ μέγεθος...κρατήσαντας, 'the extent of the resources which the victors would command'.

5. πολλοῖς. Caecilius and Flaminius for example when they demanded an audience in the Federal Assembly.

6. ὑπερκυβιστῶντας, 'in headlong haste': answering to the προσπίπτοντας of 3, 5.

7. Νίκανδρον, an Aetolian who with others had been made responsible for a Roman disaster, and carried off to Rome, because their conduct at home had seemed suspicious.

9. ἔδοξαν: they agreed, that is, to support the statesmen named in the ensuing elections.

ἱππαρχίαν: here specified probably because the historian himself was to stand for the office.

7 προδιαληφόντων, 'come to an understanding before' the Meeting of the Assembly.

τυχικῶς: not found before P.

3. τοῦ δ' Ἀττάλου, 'for Attalus had' &c.

εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἀγοράν: the first Meeting, that is, after the election of Archon, which would be in the spring.

ἀποκατασταθῆναι. It seems that at the time of the refusal

of the offer of Eumenes (22, 11) a resolution was also passed to rescind earlier votes of extravagant honours to the king.

5. ἀμύνεσθαι, 'pay off old scores against'.

6. ἐκάλει. "On any weighty matter it was his (the General's) business to come forward and declare his mind, exactly as it is the business of the Leader of the House in our own Parliament." Freeman, *Fed. Gov.*, p. 293.

7. δεδαπανηκέναι. The offices of state in the Union, unpaid as they were, fell into the hands of men of wealth, who alone could command the leisure and means required to procure election.

8. προσέδραμε, 'inclined to': so elsewhere in P. προστρέχειν πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

9. Σωσιγένη καὶ Δ. The MSS. have 'Podious before or after these names, but it is hard to understand how aliens could hold office unless they had been naturalized by some honorary vote.

δικαστῆς. Federal judges have been already mentioned (2, 37, 10), but nothing is said as to their functions, nor is it clear from this passage how they could have acted on this occasion unless they were commissioned to overhaul the decrees passed, and to rescind such as were unseemly (ἀπρεπεῖς).

12. ἀλογίαν, 'oversight', with or without the shade of contempt, sometimes expressed by the word.

13. ἀπερεῖδεσθαι, 'confer': this verb is repeatedly used by P. in an active sense and in a like construction: it was therefore suggested by Schweigh., instead of the ἀποδίδεσθαι of the MSS.

12 λήψεσθαι τὰ δὲ κρίσιν, 'that the whole war should be decided as might be expected': so λαμβάνειν κρίσιν several times in P. of anything 'brought to an end'. The phrase comes somewhat awkwardly after βουλομένου, as there is little evidence of such intention after the first year on the part of Perseus, who secured the passes which led from Thessaly into Macedonia, but fled away in haste as soon as the Romans made their way across the mountains. Βουλομένου ἤξειν has been taken as a longer form of the future, but this would make the construction of the next clause much harder.

3. τὸν ὑπατον, the consul Q. Marcius Philippus.

8. Πτολεμαίου, one of the two sons of Ptolemy Epiphanes, either the elder Philometor, or more probably the younger Euergetes or Physcon. Cf. below 23, 4.

ἀνακλητήρια, equivalent to the formal coronation of a young king who had before been under a Regency. Cf. τὸ ποιεῖν ἀνακλητήρια δόξαντος αὐτοκράτορος ἤδη γεγονέναι τοῦ βασιλέως, 18, 55, 3.

13 Περραιβίας: the district to the N. E. of Thessaly between the Cambunian range and Olympus on the N. and Mt Ossa on the S. Through it three mountain passes led into Macedonia, and it was therefore often crossed by invading armies, as by those of Xerxes, Brasidas, Agesilaus, and Paulus Aemilius.

Ἀζωρίου καὶ Δ. The roads from the three passes converged in their neighbourhood. Cf. Livy, "deinde saltu angusto superatis montibus, quos Cambunios vocant, descendit ad (Tripolim vocant) Azorum, Pythium et Dolichen incolentes" (42, 53).

2. τὴν ἐντευξιν ὑπερέθεντο, 'reserved their communication', the attention of the Consul being fully engaged with the dangers of the march.

κινδύνων. Livy describes in forcible language the perils of the mountain pass by which the Romans crossed, that by Lake Ascurias, the most Eastern of the three routes which were possible (44, 2—5).

3. Ἡράκλειον. On the Macedonian coast, described by Livy as: "abest a Phila quinque millia ferme passuum, media regione inter Dium Tempeque, in rupe amni imminente positum" (44, 8). It was now taken by storm after the use of a curious form of the testudo copied from the feats of the Circus.

ἡνύσθαι τὸ μέγιστον. So it proved, for Perseus fled away in panic when he found the Romans had forced the passes and were close at hand.

5. μεγαλωστί: an Homeric word found also in Hesiod, but now archaic.

7. εἰς Ἡπειρον: that is, for the campaign in Epirus. The Romans had suffered a reverse in Illyria by the capture of Uscana during the winter, and their forces were much reduced

in number. Epirus had also been driven to revolt by the unworthy encouragement which Rome had given to the insolence of her traitorous statesmen. Cf. Livy: "Ap. Claudius acceptam in Illyrico ignominiam corrigere cupiens Phanotem, Epiri castellum, adortus oppugnare" (43, 21).

8. ἀπραγὲν β.: the mutual jealousies of the Roman commanders were a serious drawback to Roman successes: the outgoing general often purposely reducing the numbers or effectiveness of the forces which he had to leave to his successor.

χαλεπὸν εἶπεν. "It might not be an improbable or unjust surmise that he also wished to entrap the Achaeans into a refusal, which might afterwards be used as a ground of accusation against them" (Thirlwall 8, 423).

12. τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἦν προσκείμενον, i.e. there was no mention of this sanction of the senate in the requisition sent by Appius.

29. 28 τῶν βασιλέων: these two brothers Philometor and Physcon had been struggling for the possession of the kingdom, and Antiochus took action at first in the name of the elder, but when they came to terms and shared the royal power, Antiochus threw off the mask and attacked them both in his own interest.

2. τοῖς μὲν γάρ, to the partisans of Rome whether traitors like Callierates, or men possibly of higher character like the others named.

4. τὸν νεώτερον, Physcon.

καταπεπορεύσθαι, 'returned' to Alexandria. Cf. βουλομένῳ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει κατάγειν τοῦτον (28, 23, 4).

6. ξενολόγιον, 'mercenary troops': not before P., but the verb is found in Isocrates.

7. τὴν ἐπὶ πλείον σύστασιν, 'more familiar acquaintance'. ὧν εἰρήκαμεν, viz. 24, 6, 5.

10. πραγματοκοπεῖν. Cf. note on 2, 43, 4.

11. τοῦ Κοῖντου τ. Φ. Q. Marcius Philippus. P. varies much in his use of the article with these names; sometimes he omits it wholly when the first two are put together; at other times he combines the article with one or other of these two alone.

24 'P. ἀστοχεῖν, 'come short in respect for the R.' : an unusual construction. It is generally put with a gen. of the object or action in view, or with περί and πρός, but not with a gen. of the person.

4. τὸ μέγεθος τ. π. They were in imminent danger as Antiochus was invading Egypt in great force.

5. ἐξέβαλον, 'succeeded in adjourning'.

διασεύσαντες τ. δ., 'having worked on the fears of the presiding magistrates by the objection that', &c.

ὡς οὐκ οὔσης ἐξουσίας. We have no details as to the technical objection urged. The words ἐν ἀγορᾷ seem to point to some distinction between the assemblies held there and in the theatre: or they may mean an ordinary meeting, held without special notice of the business in question, as distinct from one specially convened for the purpose (σύγκλητος). In any case it would seem that the first was thinly attended as compared with the second.

6. μὴ μόνον συμπ. τὴν βουλὴν. This implies that the ordinary meetings were attended by few besides the 120 senators who constituted the working committee of the house.

ἀπὸ τριάκοντ' ἐτῶν. Hence we learn that this was the age at which the Achaean citizens were ripe for political functions.

7. θέρειαν: suggested by Reiske in place of the νύκτα of the MSS.

παρὰ τῷ Φιλίππῳ, 'in attendance on the Consul' during the summer campaign in Macedonia.

8. καλῶς ποιῶντας, 'could with ease', 'with no risk to themselves': a different shade of meaning from the earlier use in Attic.

ἄγειν, 'put into the field'. Reiske took it in the sense of 'be worth', 'be reckoned at', as of coins, on the ground that συναΐγειν or some such compound would be required for military operations, but this seems unlikely.

11. τῶν διαβουλῶν προτ., 'when the resolutions were proposed for debate'.

13. μεγαλοψυχία, 'munificence': he had recently commissioned his envoys to spend 150 talents in presents at Rome and in Greece.

15. *μεγάλην ἐποίητο φ.*, 'made a great impression', as the precedents contrasted were very different.

16. *ἀπηντημένον*, 'which had befallen them': the pass. is often used by P. in this sense with *ἐκ*, *ὑπὸ*, *παρὰ* and the agent, as *αἱ τιμαὶ ἀπηντημέναι αὐτοῖς παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν*.

εἰς πραγμάτων λόγον, 'as regards realities', that is, 'of real importance': so *πρὸς πραγμάτων λόγον*, *εἰς ἀργυρίου λόγον*, &c. in P.

25 2. *τὸ θέατρον*. Cf. note on *ἐν ἀγορᾷ* of 24, 5.

3. *Νεμέσιον*: possibly the T. Numisius whom Livy names among certain ambassadors sent into Macedonia (45, 17), *ε* in Greek taking the place at times both of *i* and *u* in Latin names (Schweigh.).

7. *πόλεμον*. But this was averted by the famous 'circle of Popilius', which P. describes shortly afterwards.

30.23 After three years of war the Roman generals had done little more than gain a foothold on Macedonian soil, but all was changed when the experienced commander Paulus Aemilius appeared upon the scene. His discipline and skill brought out all the terrible fighting force of the Roman legions, which soon shattered the phalanx and all the power of Perseus in the crowning victory of Pydna, B.C. 168. Commissioners were sent from Rome to organise new forms of government for the conquered regions: and with instructions also to act in concert with the partisans of Rome—the traitors to each national cause—in the several states of Greece. Prompted by the base Callicrates two of the Romans called on the Federal Assembly to condemn to death such of the leading citizens as had acted in the interests of Perseus in the war, and among them all who had held the highest office while it lasted. One of the accused rose to protest against the sweeping charge, and said that he would prove, if it were needful, his innocence at Rome itself. The commissioners caught at the rash offer, which the league dared not refuse to extend to the case of all the rest. The long list of the proscribed which was drawn up by Callicrates included a thousand of the ablest and worthiest of the Greeks, who were carried off, nominally to stand their trial at Rome, but really to languish in the country

towns of Italy for many a long year of exile. Their countrymen at home made unavailing efforts to bring them back to freedom: appealed first to the Roman sense of justice in behalf of men accused but never fairly tried, then pleaded in more suppliant terms for mercy, but were coldly answered that their return was inexpedient. For 17 years all their entreaties met with like response, till at last Cato raised his voice in their behalf, and the senate's pride, touched by his blunt sarcasm, at last consented to restore them, but in contempt rather than in pity, B.C. 151.

2. τοῦ περὶ K. There is certainly some error here in the MSS., τεκμήραιτο requiring an acc. or περὶ with its case, and πρὸς K. would be more regular. Reiske proposed τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πρὸς K. or τὸ πρὸς K.

3. τῶν Ἀντιγονείων, a festival in honour of Antigonus Doson, to whom various honours had been paid (3, 70, 5) besides the changing the name of Mantinea to Antigonea.

μάκτρας, 'bathing tubs': the correction of Reiske for the μακράς of the MSS. πυέλους are smaller pans, but both should be of ample size if the same water could be used for many bathers.

οἱ κομψότεροι, 'men of nicer scruples': but not perhaps markedly so according to modern standards.

καθεῖη. Sc. ἐαυτόν.

6. κηρύττειν, 'mention publicly', whether in terms of praise or as a matter of public business.

7. προσκοπή, 'offence'. Cf. note on προσκόπτων 5, 7, 5, and μηδεμίαν ἐν μηδενὶ διδόντες προσκοπήν, 2 Cor. 6. 3.

1. 8 ἔχοντες ἐντολάς...ἀποκρίσεσι, 'with instructions bearing on the reply' made by the Roman senate. This embassy was sent about 164 B.C.

2. ὑπὲρ ὧν αὐτοὶ κεκρίκασι, 'on whom they had themselves pronounced sentence'. It needed all the effrontery of the senate to assume this in the teeth of facts, and to take the charge of traitors like Callicrates for the national verdict.

5. τοὺς περισπασμούς, 'the distractions' of other public duties. Cf. 4, 32, 5, and the use in P. of ἀπερισπάστως.

μισοπονῆρας, 'without indulgence for the guilty', 'impartially'.

7. πρόδηλον τὸν δλεθρον. The Romans protected throughout their unscrupulous partisans in the Greek states who committed with impunity the grossest outrages.

8. συμμίσαντες, 'in silent grief': the correction of Casaubon and Reiske for συμμίσαντες of MSS.

ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις. In Epirus, Acarnania, Aetolia and Boeotia, the vile traitors who posed as partisans of Rome had lorded it with more outrageous insolence than Callicrates could venture on within the league.

9. δήμοις. In referring not to the whole State but to its component parts, Rome again encouraged the discontented elements to show themselves.

10. ἀνακεκλημένους, properly 'summoned to trial', as 4, 4, 2, and so repeatedly of the Achaean exiles detained in Italy. περὶ τοὺς ἀν. pleonastically for τοῖς ἀν.

11. τὰ μὲν πλῆθη: the people generally were for national and popular institutions: some of the more prominent were for oligarchic rule under the cover of Rome's authority.

Χάρσπα: the miscreant who had played his vile part as traitor and pushed Cephalus and others to the revolt, which had been so terribly revenged by the wholesale slavery of the inhabitants.

82. 7 14. Στρατίου: already mentioned in 28, 6, 2 as a leading statesman of Tritaea. He appears again as an old man in the war which closed Greek freedom.

15. τοὺς πλείστους, less than 800 returned at last out of 1000.

16. ἀξιωματικῶς, 'in suppliant terms', without resort to argument, as the ἀξίωμα of scientific language is prior to demonstration. Another meaning in P. is 'dignified', from an earlier sense of the subst.

85. 6 ἐντευχθεῖς, 'interceded with'. Cato's son had married the sister of Scipio Aemilianus with whom Polybius had been long on intimate terms. A few years before, in 154 B.C., there were signs of more favourable feeling in the senate, and the exiles might have been restored but for the mode in which the

presiding magistrate, A. Postumius, put the question to the vote.

4. τὸ τοῦ Κύκλωπος. Cf. Hom. Odys. 9, 216—442.

8. 7 The exiles, who returned with bitterness in their hearts after years of forced inaction, were inexperienced and rash and venal as Callicrates. Their country soon had cause to rue their influence in its counsels. For Sparta, reluctant from the first to join, had been always a troublesome member of the league, and now was hot about disputed lands on the Arcadian frontier. Appeal was made to Rome, which dallied with the question, till the Achaean leaders, impatient of delay, proceeded to settle their claims with the strong hand of force. The Spartans, unable to resist, appealed once more to Rome, which temporized till the fourth Macedonian war was safely ended and the pretender Andriscus crushed, and then it sent commissioners with L. Aurelius Orestes at their head to declare its sovereign will. Ignoring the Federal Council or Assembly, he summoned the magistrates of the chief cities of the league to hear the senate's mandate, which was to the effect that Corinth and Sparta and other late accessions should wholly cease to be members of the Union. In fact the league, so long the object of Rome's jealousy, was to be reduced to the helpless insignificance of its earliest days. The magistrates who heard the message rushed into the streets to tell the tale to the excited people, who rose in blind fury to take such vengeance as they could on any Spartans they could find, while the Roman ambassadors themselves hardly escaped from outrageous words and acts.

τὸν Αὔρηλιον. L. Aurelius Orestes, who was mentioned as the chief of the commission lately sent to the Peloponnese.

2. καινολογίας, properly 'new-fangled phraseology', but must here refer to 'made up details'.

παρδειγματίζειν, 'expose to open insult' as in the pillory: a word scarcely found in any earlier author. Cf. S. Matth. 1. 19.

3. 'Ιούλιον. Sextus Julius Caesar who had been consul with Orestes ten years before.

6. οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ διασπᾶσαι. It seems, on the contrary, to have been the persistent policy of Rome to break up all independent federations round her, and to pulverise political systems.

τὴν αὐθάδειαν. The bearing of the league had been moderate enough, and the sole fault was the aggressive action in the dealings with Sparta.

7. καθ' ὑπόκρισιν: probably the prevailing belief, and certainly justified by antecedents.

8. παραδεγμένοι, 'accepted as allies'. P. had been so long at Rome that he unconsciously adopts the tone of a Roman diplomatist and glosses over the provocation given.

3. The senate, whose mandate had provoked the explosion of rage in Greece, sent commissioners to speak in studiously temperate terms of the submission that was needed, but they met with scant courtesy from the rash spirits that had lately risen to the highest offices of state. The envoys sent from Macedonia by Metellus met with like reception, though he would gladly have had the credit of restoring order in Greece as well as in the seat of war. But the general Critolaus played with success on the national pride and passions of the ignorant people who had flocked in unusual numbers to the meeting held at Corinth, gained a vote which gave him absolute power in the field, and rushed headlong into war.

2. παραιτησόμενοι: suggested by Naber in place of the MS. παραστησόμενοι, the construction of which would be awkward.

5. παραπεμπόντων, 'ignoring': a meaning apparently not found before P. who has it more than once.

βέλτιον ἐκδεχομένων, 'putting a better construction upon'.

8. Δάϊων. He had been made general of the Union soon after his return from exile in Italy, and again in the year preceding the events recorded in this chapter. While in office he was accused of corruption and was certainly responsible for much of the trouble with Sparta which had embroiled the league with Rome.

Κριτόλαον, the general of the present year, of whom

Pausanias says *δριμύς καὶ σὺν οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ τὸν Κριτόλαον πολεμεῖν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἔρως ἔσχε*.

κατ' ἐκλογήν, 'as if they had been picked for the purpose'.

λυμωνευόμενοι. Cf. note on 5, 5, 8.

9. ἐν παροιμίᾳ. Schweig. thus explains the phrase: 'quae ab aliquo dantur dextra manu, sinistra accipere, id est, quae ingenuo animo et bona fide offeruntur danturque, ea non eodem animo accipere sed suspecta habere, ac nonnisi cunctanter et nulla cum gratia accipere'.

10. τὰς ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ: the third Punic war, in which Carthage was resisting with desperate energy after being drained of her resources by the demands of Rome.

τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν. About this time Viriathus gave great trouble in Lusitania, rising from shepherd to guerilla leader and conquering two praetorian armies.

δεδιότας: the general practice of Rome to deal with her rivals singly gave colour to this belief.

11. ἴδιον, their special chance.

- 9 3. συνεδρεύσαντες, 'holding a meeting of the Cabinet' (or demiurgi): this seems the meaning of the phrase as in 39, 10, 5. In P. the word applies to smaller meetings than those of βουλή or ἐκκλησία.

5. μετὰ μῆνας ἕξ. He declined that is to convene a special meeting to deal with the question, as he was constitutionally empowered to do.

6. ὀβολοκακοῦντα, 'trifling with them': generally used in P. of treacherous action, as of soldiers who will not fight.

7. ἐκκλησίας συνήγει: apparently an irregular proceeding, if he ignored the magistrates of the several states.

10. μὴ πρῶταιν τοὺς ὀφ., 'not to press the debtors for payment': like 'suspending evictions'. He could have of course no constitutional warrant for such a course.

τοὺς δ' ἐράνους ἐπιμόνους ποιεῖν, 'let loans run on without being redeemed'; ἐρανος is generally a subscription or donation, but is used in earlier Greek for a loan.

- 10 ὁ δὲ Κόιντος. Q. Caecilius Metellus had been sent to deal

with Andriscus, who had made himself master of Macedonia and invaded Thessaly after defeating a Roman general. He crushed the insurrection and was now busy in restoring order.

5. ἐργαστηριακῶν: a word otherwise unknown, from ἐργαστήριον, a 'factory'. Cf. our 'mill-hands'.

ἐκορύζων, literally 'were drivelling', from κόρυζα, 'influenza': not elsewhere in this derivative sense, unless perhaps in Plato, Rep. 343 A.

7. ὑποθέσειω ἐπιλημμένος, 'got hold of a subject for declamation': so Reiske 'ὑπόθεσις est argumentum fabulae agendae ab histrionibus; recte ergo de theatro subjectit'.

κατανίστατο. Cf. 4, 8, 12.

10. ἐμπορεύων, lit. 'playing the pedlar', 'using crafty tricks', as Casaubon translates 'multa proprii lucri causa jactare'. 'Nempe ut mercatores solent qui merces suas venum exponentes multis et fraudulentis verbis eas commendant' (Schweig.).

11. ἐποίει δ' ἐμφάσεις, 'gave himself airs', or 'spread the impression'.

- 11 τῶν τῆς γεροντίας: not to be identified with the members of the federal senate, for (1) βουλή and γερονσία are terms carefully distinguished by constitutional writers, (2) the senate, as a deliberative committee, would not coerce the head of the executive. It probably refers to the demiurgi who acted as presidents of the Assembly, as Thirlwall suggested.

περισπασάμενος, lit. 'stripped himself of', i.e. bidding the soldiers withdraw, and as general he could give the order.

4. δι' ἀπορρήτων ἐν ταῖς συναρχαῖς, 'the state secrets of the Cabinet'.

7. κυρίους, 'absolute', like αὐτοκράτωρ.

39. 8 Critolaus, who had hurried on the war, soon met the fate which his folly had provoked. He marched towards the North to coerce Heracleia, a seceding town, and in hopes also to join hands with the Boeotians, many of whom were in such abject misery and had suffered so grievously from Roman leaders as

to be ripe for any desperate plans. But his courage failed him at the news that Metellus was at hand in force: he did not make a stand even at Thermopylae, but failed to escape from the pursuing army, which soon shattered his force and swept him from the scene. Diaeus, who had been chief magistrate the year before, stepped at once into the place of Critolaus and persisted in the hopeless struggle, despite the overtures of Metellus and the despair of sober minds. In vain he drafted slaves into the ranks to raise an army: a single battle near the gates of Corinth sufficed to bring all the horrors of destruction on the proud city, and to close the last chapter of the story of the Achaean League.

μετῆλλαχότος. It is not known whether Critolaus died on the field of battle or not, *οὔτε ὥφθη ζῶν μετὰ τὴν μάχην οὔτε ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς εὗρέθη* (Paus. 7, 15, 3).

τοῦ νόμου: the same constitutional practice was probably observed after the death of Philopoemen.

ἐπὶ ἅν συμβῇ τι: like our euphemistic 'if anything should happen to &c.', so *κάν τι συμβῇ περὶ ἡμῶν ἀνθρώπων* (3, 5, 8).

ἡ καθήκουσα, the regular half-yearly meeting held in the spring.

3. **εἰς τὰ Μέγαρα:** to hold the passes through which the army of Metellus would march into the Peloponnese.

οἰκογενῶν καὶ παρτροφῶν. 'Slaves born in the house (vernae) or brought up with the family'. The last term may be illustrated by the Mothaces of Sparta, explained in Hesychius as *πατραρεφομένους τοῖς ἐλευθέροις* (Schweig.).

καθοπίσαντας: as Cleomenes seems to have done in the struggle with Antigonos and Rome herself in the great crisis of the Punic war.

4. **τὴν ἐπιβολήν:** an unusual sense for *τὸ ἐπίβαλλον μέρος*, 'the quota which fell to each city'.

6. **τὴν ἀπορίαν.** The war with Sparta had led to much devastation of the country in border forays, as well as to loss of life.

9. **προσκατελαίοντο,** 'bewailed to each other'. Reiske preferred *προ* as 'ante fata', 'in anticipation of their doom'.

10. ἀνάτασιν, 'mutinous airs', 'threatening language'. Cf. note on 4, 4, 7.

ἐπισυρμόν, 'slackness' in their duties, as 4, 49, 1.

9. ἡ τῶν...κατάπληξις, 'the affright at the incidents that happened day by day'.

3. Ἠλείοι καὶ Μ. They had come into the Union unwillingly at a late date, and were in no mood to risk much in its behalf.

ἀπὸ τοῦ στόλου. The Roman fleet was expected from Italy or the coast of Carthage.

οὐδὲν...ᾤκησεν, 'but no resources of their own would have availed them'.

4. συντελικόν: the neighbouring townships or cantons which were dependent on Patrae.

κατὰ τὴν Φωκίδα: in the flight from Thermopylae when the siege of Heraclea was raised by the appearance of Metellus.

6. τὴν τοιαύτην χρεῖαν, 'such service' as informer. The Romans were in no mood for such inquiries at the time.

7. παρηλλαγμένης, 'unheard of', 'unwanted': the correction of Hultsch for the MS, ἀρχομένης. Cf. note on 4, 15, 11.

8. ὑπὲρ πραγμάτων, 'for political power': a specialized meaning which πρ. often has in P.

9. ὁμολογουμένη, 'befitting' their recklessness; unless we take it adverbially with διὰ as 'confessedly owing to'.

10. Πυθίας. He had been prominent in urging the Achaeans to the struggle by the promise of Theban help.

καθεσταμένου, 'regularly elected' at the spring meeting of B.C. 147, after occupying the place left void by Critolaus.

Ἀνδρωνίδαν, who had acted with the traitor Callicrates, and like him was the object of general hatred (30, 23, 2). He had been lately sent to negotiate with Metellus before the arrival of Diaeus at Corinth.

3. Φίλων, also sent by Metellus, who seemed sincerely anxious for a peaceful settlement.

4. Στράτιος. Cf. 32, 7, 14.

5. συνεδρείσαντες. Cf. note on 38, 9, 2.

6. *ἐὶ καὶ...δυσήμαρτον*, 'careless if they ruined the whole state'.

9. *Δαμόκριτος* had been general of the league shortly before, and after defeating the Spartans might have made himself master of their city, as it was believed. He was fined 30 talents and went into exile (Paus. 7, 13, 3). As *Diaeus* succeeded him in office, and *καθόδου* can hardly refer to the return of the exiles from Italy some years before (not *ἀπρι*), Schweig. proposes to read *τετευχώς* for *τετευχότες*, which cannot be easily explained.

Ἀλκαμένης had been sent to Megara at the head of the force referred to in 8, 2: but had retired to Corinth when Metellus drew near, and Megara which he abandoned had to surrender.

10. *αἶρηται*: but the description is unfortunately lost.

11 2. *προστατῆσαι*. Nothing is known of the nature of the meeting, whether of the senate or otherwise, at which he presided.

3. *δικαστής*. Cf. notes on 2, 37, 10 and 28, 7, 9.

στραβλοῦντες: surely an outrageous abuse of power, not allowed by constitutional usage.

5. *ἐπὶ τοῦ σκάμματος ἂν*, 'though the death struggle was at hand'. *σκάμμα* was the trench drawn round the arena in which the athletes strove.

6. *Μεναλκίδαν*. A Spartan who was the general of the league a few years before, and outbid Callicrates in treachery, but escaped punishment by bribing *Diaeus*, his successor in office. He afterwards poisoned himself, having mismanaged the war for Sparta (Paus. 7, 12).

8. *τύχη*. Cf. note on 2, 38, 5.

πανούργος: rarely in a good sense as here, for the word became a familiar term for a clever rogue.

ἐπὶ τὸ καταλειπόμενον, 'to the only resource left'.

10. *ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης*: now disengaged by the issue of the third Punic war.

12. *τὴν παροιμίαν*: of which Themistocles was the author, according to Plutarch, who quotes it in the form *ἀπωλόμεθα ἂν εἰ μὴ ἀπωλόμεθα*.

13. The arrival of Mummius and his legions soon put an end to these extravagances of short-lived power. The 'levée en masse', for which Diaeus called, would have been powerless to resist the Roman army: as it was, scarcely 15,000 men were mustered to defend Greece in her hour of need. Yet a trifling advantage, due to the over confidence of the invaders, emboldened the Achaean general to offer battle at Leucopetra near Corinth, and this Mummius readily accepted. The cavalry soon left the field, for they were drawn chiefly from the wealthier classes, who resented bitterly the caprices of the popular leaders: the infantry, after fighting stoutly for a while, were routed when their flanks were thus exposed. Corinth was undefended, for soldiers and citizens alike had mostly fled, and two days later the richest city in Greece was, in accordance with the instructions of the senate, first ransacked for plunder and then given to the flames.

2. Ἰσὲν παρὲν. Polybius was present at the capture of Carthage in the same year, and had probably not returned in time to witness the sack of Corinth. But he came soon after to use his interest with the victors in behalf of Greece, and he may have passed by such a scene as is here described before the soldiers had marched off with the plunder.

πίνακες ἐπ' ἰσάφους. This is illustrated by the famous story of the warning of Mummius to the contractors who were to ship the works of art to Rome, that if they lost them on the way they must find new ones of like value. Cf. also 'Quum rudis et Graias mirari nescius artes | urbibus eversis praedarum in parte reperta | magnorum artificum frangebatur pocula miles | ut phaleris gauderet equus'. Juv. 11, 100.

3. οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διώνυσον. This may refer to the high price at which Attalus wished to purchase it. Strabo who calls it κάλλιστον ἔργον, saw it in the temple of Ceres at Rome where Mummius placed it (Strabo 8, 6, 23).

15. There was no more resistance to be feared after the victory of Leucopetra and the sack of Corinth. It remained only to arrange for future order. Commissioners were sent from Rome to act with Mummius and organize the new political

conditions. Greece was still left nominally free, but all federal unions were dissolved, and the constitutions of the several states reshaped upon a timocratic basis, by which the government was vested in the wealthier classes. Landed property in every state was confined to its own citizens, and heavy fines imposed upon the districts that were foremost in the struggle. Cf. Paus. 7, 16.

δόντα δωρεάν. The offer was highly invidious, though the refusal was, according to Greek standards, creditable to Polybius.

- 16 καλὸν δαίγμα.** Greece was not yet turned into a Roman province: for its literary fame may perhaps have moved the Roman philhellenes to plead for its nominal independence, though the governor of Macedonia had certain powers of suspension. But the country was very poor except in works of art, and had little to tempt Italian administrators and contractors: *ἐς ἅπαν ἀσθενείας τότε κατήλθεν ἡ Ἑλλάς, λυμανθεῖσα κατὰ μέρη καὶ διαπορθηθεῖσα ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος.* Paus. 7, 17, 1.

2. ἐντελιαντο. The large experience of Polybius, familiar as he was with both Roman and Greek methods, as well as his personal influence with the leading men in the Peloponnese and in Italy, peculiarly fitted him for this work as mediator and adviser. It was probably owing to his influence that the heavy fines were afterwards remitted, and the restrictions on landed tenure removed, and that a shadowy form of federal union was revived: *συνέδρια κατὰ ἔθνος ἀποδιδόασιν ἐκάστοις τὰ ἀρχαία.* Paus. 7, 16, 10.

τῇ πολιτείᾳ: the new timocratic order established in the several cities.

4. τιμώντες τὸν ἄνδρα. It has been supposed, with obvious probability, that this passage was re-written after the death of the historian by some admirer, who has allowed himself more freedom of eulogy than would be becoming in P. himself. *μεταλλάξαντα* is decisive as to the later date.

ταῖς μεγίσταις τιμαῖς. Pausanias in his eighth book refers to a number of statues in the Arcadian towns in memory of Polybius with honorary inscriptions, such as one at Megalopolis *ὅτι σύμμαχος γένοιτο Ῥωμαίων καὶ παύσειεν αὐτοὺς ὀργῆς ἐς τὸ*

Ἑλληνικόν (8, 30). Another has been lately found at Cleitor with the lines

τοῦτο Λυκόρτα παιδί πόλις περικαλλές ἄγαλμα
ἀντί καλῶν ἔργων εἶσατο Πουλυβίῳ.

(*Arch. Zeit.* 39, p. 153).

5. τῆς κοινῆς δικαιοδοσίας. Such federal courts for the settlement of disputed questions between the members of the different communities were a primary requisite of peace and order, and the *δικασταί*, mentioned several times already, point to such an institution in the past.

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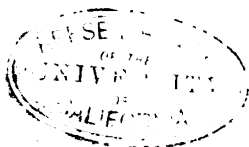
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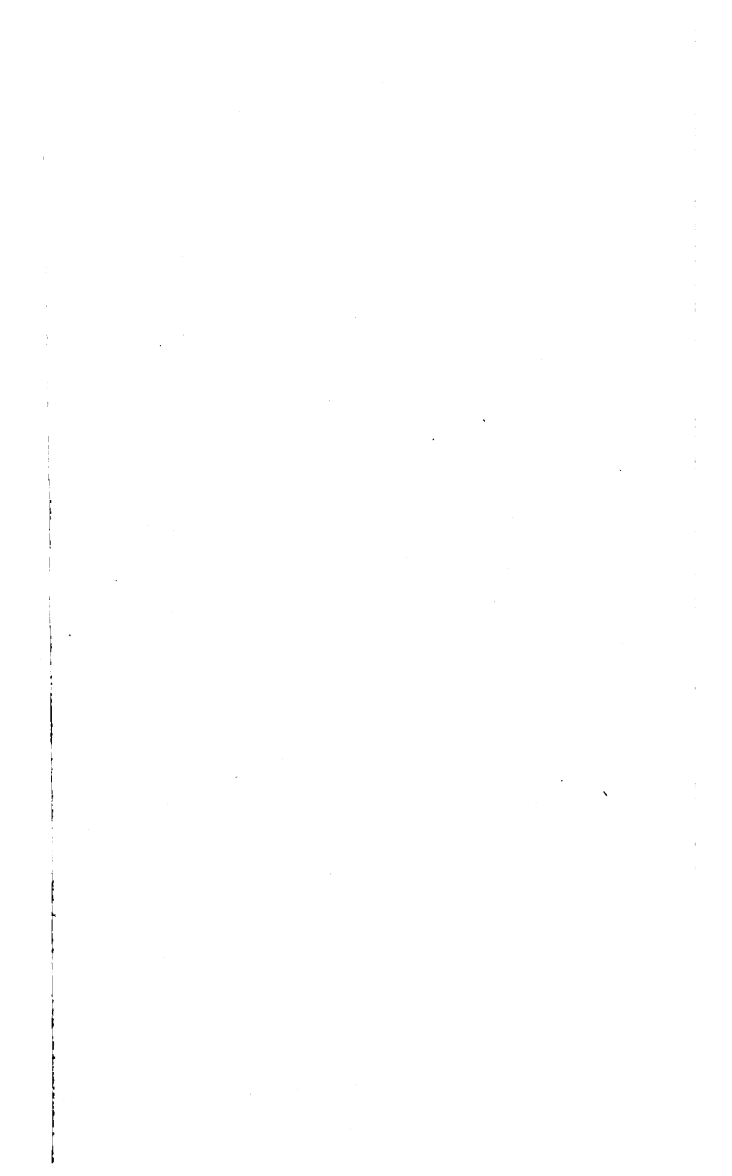
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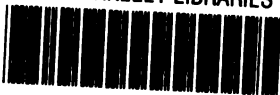
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